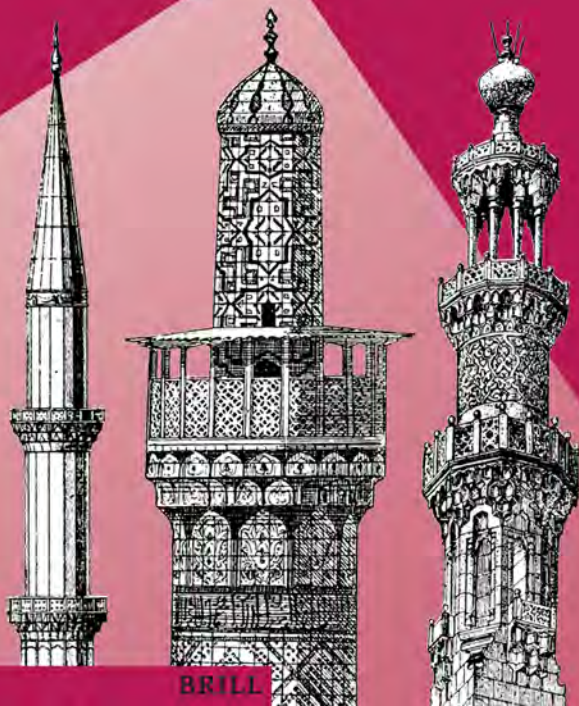


VOLUME XXIV

Muqarnas AN ANNUAL ON THE VISUAL CULTURE OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY:
ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE
"LANDS OF ROM"



BRILL

MUQARNAS

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AN ANNUAL ON THE VISUAL CULTURE
OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY: ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE “LANDS OF RUM”

EDITORS

SİBEL BOZDOĞAN
GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU

MANAGING EDITOR

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SİBEL BOZDOĞAN AND GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU

ENTANGLED DISCOURSES: SCRUTINIZING ORIENTALIST AND NATIONALIST LEGACIES IN THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE “LANDS OF RUM”

The essays in this volume are revised versions of papers presented at the symposium “Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the ‘Lands of Rum,’” held in May 2006 under the auspices of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University, with a generous grant from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture in Geneva.¹ The idea for the symposium was born in 2002 through the happy coincidence of our individual preoccupations at the time: Sibel Bozdoğan with nationalism and architectural historiography in early republican Turkey, and Gülrü Necipoğlu with Orientalism and a critical rethinking of surveys of Islamic art and architecture.² During our many exchanges we observed a basic connection between our pursuits that would eventually become the premise of the symposium, namely, how the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Orientalist discourses that informed the very constitution of the field of “Islamic art and architecture” by Western European scholars were often mirrored in and entangled with the nationalist narratives of local scholars in predominantly Muslim geographies, both of them doing injustice to the actual complexity of premodern histories before the advent of modern nationalisms.

It is often claimed that while Western scholars have put forward a “holistic conception of Islamic art, in Muslim lands—some of which only established their territorial boundaries in the twentieth century—scholars have tended to proceed on ‘national’ lines.”³ In our view, this way of putting it sets up a false dichotomy. Just as Western scholars, with their retrospective search for the unifying “essence” of Islamic art in its formative period, actively engaged in ethnicizing discourses that mapped out the regional/national compartments of this “universal” visual heritage, so too did local writers participate from the late nineteenth cen-

tury onwards in the production of both Orientalist and nationalist paradigms. Hence, scrutinizing the intertwined strands of these paradigms (in which international and indigenous scholars alike engaged, whether to negotiate points of convergence or of divergence) promised to complicate the reductive Western/non-Western binary that informs recent overviews of scholarship in the “Islamic field” as well as many postcolonial critiques of Orientalism.

We knew that, given the current theoretical frameworks and intellectual resources at our disposal, we were well equipped to address such issues of historiography and ideology, and the time was certainly ripe for a more nuanced critical assessment of the architectural historiography of historically and culturally “multi-layered” regions once ruled by supranational Islamic empires. Above all, since the 1980s the Orientalist constitution of the “Islamic field” (and Middle Eastern Studies) has been challenged by post-Saidian scholarship, while theorists of nationalism from Eric Hobsbawm to Benedict Anderson have exposed the historical processes of “invention” and “imagination” by which modern nations everywhere were constructed.⁴ At the same time, within the discipline of art/architectural history itself, critical scrutiny of the inherited, founding narratives and of the paradigmatic texts/authors of the field has been underway for quite some time. Whether it is within the “Western tradition” (recently dubbed the “non-East”⁵) or the increasingly visible fields of inquiry traditionally designated as “non-Western” (under which “Islamic” visual culture is generally classified), the major thrust of recent critical scholarship has been in the direction of revealing historical complexities, contingencies, and even contradictions in the unifying “grand narratives” of canonical scholarship—in showing how

what has been taken for granted as “universal,” “natural,” or “timeless” is in fact context-dependent and historically constructed. That a critique of the “canon” does not necessarily mean discarding it altogether, but rather constructively exposing its exclusions and premises, has long been accepted in the case of the “Western canon” debates.⁶ It is in the self-reflective spirit of these wider critical trends that the present volume addresses historiography and ideology in the “Lands of Rum” (a region corresponding to the Eastern Roman domains, commonly designating Anatolia and the Balkans) in an attempt to scrutinize the intersections of Orientalist and nationalist discourses on the architectural heritage of a specific region within the Islamic world.

Our decision to focus upon a particular region was intended to promote a contextualized way of questioning both the presumed unity of “Islamic” architecture and the presumed clarity of its ethnic/national boundaries in terms of which modern scholarship has generally constructed the premodern past. Although it has repeatedly been acknowledged that “Islamic art and architecture” as an umbrella term poses inevitable problems (especially for postmedieval periods), there nevertheless seems to be a considerable sense of nostalgia for the traditional unity of what has grown to be an “unwieldy” field. This longing for the uncomplicated simplicity of inherited frameworks—a kind of nostalgic neo-Orientalism—entails a fear of fragmentation and an uneasiness about regionally framed approaches, which are seen as threatening to dismantle the “universalism” of the field by missing the larger picture and losing sight of the forest for the trees.⁷ To such anxious guardians of the integrity of the “Islamic field,” the regional focus of our symposium may well appear too narrow and overly specialized. In our view, however, one has to start with a specific place and time before moving to a more general critical reassessment of “Islamic” architectural historiography, preferably on the basis of similar case studies of other regions and artistic traditions.

We have come to believe, for reasons outlined below, that the “Lands of Rum” are a particularly fertile starting point for productive discussion. Why the “Lands of Rum” the reader may ask, as opposed to, say, the “Ottoman Empire” or “Turkey,” both of which we initially considered? We settled on our choice of terms simply because the alternatives mentioned evoked precisely the kinds of dynastic or national categories that we wished to question in the symposium. “Lands

of Rum” was a more inclusive and evocative designation for generating the type of critical discussion we intended.⁸ With this term, the motivation behind our geographical focus was less likely to be construed as “seeking to understand [our] own [Turkish] heritage” or seeking to “transform...the study of Islamic art, once a branch of the humanistic study of art history open to all, into one of many fields of area and ethnic studies.”⁹ By focusing on historiographical, ideological, and methodological questions pertaining to how the architectural history of Islamic dynasties in this multicultural region was written in the modern period, we hoped (and continue to hope) to open up a debate with broader implications for other regions as well.

* * *

Few other modern nations exhibit the historical and cultural complexity of Turkey, with its tangled and difficult dilemmas of identity resulting from the multi-ethnic and multicultural legacy of the Ottoman Empire, caught “between two worlds.”¹⁰ The pre-Ottoman, medieval Islamic dynasties of Anatolia were equally complex polities, whose monumental heritage is often teleologically treated as a precursor of the Ottoman period in linear constructions of regional architectural history. Consequently, both Western and native scholars have been confronted with a distinct problem in writing the architectural history of the “Lands of Rum,” and their work often reflects the ideological and/or methodological biases with which they approach the topic.¹¹

On the one hand, histories of the Ottoman and pre-Ottoman architecture of this region sit rather uncomfortably in general surveys of “Islamic” art and architecture, within which Western scholars were the first to classify these traditions. A perennial problem, implicit in the holistic term “Islamic architecture,” is that of a dubious universalism: the tendency to explain the architectures of a vast multiconfessional region by the common denominator of religion or religious culture. Another legacy of nineteenth-century European Orientalist scholarship is the equally problematic tendency to account for regional diversity in terms of “schools” designated by ethno-racial categories (e.g., Arabian, Moresque, Persian, Turkish, Indian) that have masked the multiethnic and multilinguistic character of premodern Islamic polities. In the classical corpus of texts on Islamic architec-

ture (most of them produced at the height of Western colonial ambitions in the Middle East and elsewhere, particularly during the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire) the monuments of “Turkish” dynasties are often relegated to a lesser status than those of the “Persians” and “Arabs,” which for many European Orientalists represented the superior “sedentary” architecture of authentic “Muslim civilization” before it was overtaken by the “nomadic” Turks.¹² Moreover, these texts often display a medieval bias that judges the monuments of predominantly Turkic “later Islamic dynasties” as derivative. They also reflect a geographical bias that privileges the “Arab” and “Persian” lands of the “medieval Middle East” as the “central zone” or “heartland” of Islamdom, at the expense of frontier regions (such as Spain, North Africa, sub-Saharan West Africa, East Africa, Anatolia, the Balkans, the Indian subcontinent, China, and Southeast Asia) characterized by more fluid and hence “impure” cultural mixtures. We believe that it is precisely this “impurity” and “hybridity” that makes the “Lands of Rum” particularly relevant for our purposes. Compared to the central zones of the Islamic lands, these frontier regions, or “margins of Islam,” have greater potential to challenge the essentialist constructs that still pervade general surveys and popular venues such as museum displays and exhibitions.¹³

On the other hand, regional scholarship on the “Lands of Rum” produced by Western and native authors alike has been fraught with its own essentialist biases in the form of prolific constructions of nationalist genealogy. In fact, the “Lands of Rum” present an especially interesting case because the earliest examples of local counter-narratives against French and British Orientalist discourses—discourses saturated with derogatory character evaluations of “the Turks” as lacking artistic sensibility, in contrast to the exalted “Arab,” “Persian,” or “Indian” creative genius of their own colonial domains—were produced in this region starting in the late nineteenth century, before they emerged anywhere else in the Islamic world.¹⁴ Hence, contrary to the claim that “the notion of a distinctly ‘Islamic’ tradition of art and architecture” and “the terminology used to identify it”¹⁵ were entirely a product of Western scholarship, a dynamic interaction existed from the very beginning between the dialogical discourses produced by late Ottoman authors and the publications of European Orientalists. Moreover, as a number of essays in this volume demonstrate, such critical engagements on the part of Turk-

ish scholars, albeit from defensive nationalist positions, owed a great deal to the efforts of German and Austrian art historians to promote the hitherto undervalued field of “Turkish art” at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁶ The emergence of this art-historical field (paralleling the linguistic constitution of the new discipline of Turcology, particularly in Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, and Moscow, and subsequently in Ankara and Istanbul), occurred just before the disintegration and collapse of the multinational Romanov, Habsburg, and Ottoman empires. The political alliance linking the Austro-Hungarian and late Ottoman empires as well as the Wilhelmine Reich owed much to a confluence of shared interests that offer compelling testimony on how imperial/colonial histories were intricately intertwined with the highly contested arena of art/architectural history. The resulting entangled discourses were informed by a much more complex process than the one envisioned in Edward Said’s Arabo-centric critique of Orientalism, which remains silent on the presence of the Ottoman Empire as a sovereign entity in the Middle East and does not differentiate between various brands of Western Orientalist scholarship, whether French, British, Central European, or Russian.

Starting in the early twentieth century and intensifying with the creation of the secular Turkish Republic in 1923, ethnocentric nationalist perspectives have led native scholars to highlight the “Turkish” element over the “Islamic” in Seljuk, Beylik, and Ottoman architecture or to foreground the “purity” of these building traditions by marginalizing the formative input of many centuries of cross-cultural exchange with both Anatolian/Balkan Christendom and Europe.¹⁷ Another bias of nationalist paradigms has been their anachronistic focus on the present borders of modern Turkey, to the exclusion of neighboring Islamic regions such as western Iran/Azerbaijan, Iraq, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and North Africa—former provinces of the Ottoman Empire—which, in turn, have developed their own exclusivist traditions of Orientalist as well as nationalist historiography. In the symposium we sought to address the currency of comparable discourses over a broader Islamic geographic range by inviting papers that extended the horizons of our inquiry beyond the “Lands of Rum” to areas associated with the “Arab,” “Persian,” and “Indian” traditions of art/architecture.¹⁸ For the sake of focus, we decided not to include papers addressing the nationalist architectural historiographies of non-Muslim nation-

states that partitioned the once-unified territories of the Ottoman Empire, a subject that certainly deserves comparative analysis in the future.

In short, the premise of the symposium that resulted in this volume was our conviction that the tendency to read the past through the optics of present-day national boundaries has long obscured the synchronic unities and complex intercultural exchanges across the Balkans, Anatolia, the Middle East, and beyond that existed prior to the rise of modern nation-states and their teleological, diachronic historiographies of architecture from ancient to modern times. Without considering these unities and transcultural interactions, any “ethnicized” reading of architectural history in terms of exclusive national categories is highly problematic—at least as problematic as the blanket term “Islamic art and architecture” that has plagued the field with its specious “universalism.”

Following the structure of the panels in the symposium, the papers collected in this volume are thematically organized in three sections and preceded by an introduction (originally the keynote lecture). The introductory essay, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the ‘Lands of Rum,’” problematizes the essentializing uses of ethno-racial or regional identities, with specific reference to the concepts of “Rumi” and “Rumi-ness” in late medieval and early modern written sources. The papers in the first section, grouped under the subtitle “Ethnicized Discourses on the Arts and Architectures of Islamic Geographies,” critically address paradigms and methodologies pertaining to the art/architectural historiography of Anatolia, Syria/Egypt, Iran, and India, exposing not only the anachronistic uses of ethnic and national categories, but also the medieval and geographical biases underlying the construction of the “Islamic field.” The second section, subtitled “Dominant Narratives in Historiographies of the Ottoman Architectural Heritage,” examines in detail paradigmatic texts that have focused on this postmedieval tradition of architecture, exhibiting the entangled relationship between Orientalist and nationalist discourses from the late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. The essays in the final section, assembled under the subheading “Interface of Historiography with Institutional Practices in Modern Turkey,” bring the discussion to the present by analyzing the ways in which contemporary

policies of archaeology, museology, and preservation have been informed by and diverge from the “grand narratives” of art/architectural historiography.

All of the papers published in this volume look closely and critically at some of the key texts, personalities, and narratives that have shaped the historiography of architecture in the “Lands of Rum” and beyond, scrutinizing their ideological subtexts and methodological biases while concurrently retrieving some of their overlooked insights. Here are some of the questions we asked the authors of these papers to address:

To what extent is the premodern architectural heritage of the “Lands of Rum” “Islamic”? To what extent is it something else? To what extent and from which period onwards is it “modern”? What are the limits and problems of ethnicized readings of architecture in the “Lands of Rum” and elsewhere? Are the terms “Rum Seljuk,” “Beylik,” and “Ottoman” interchangeable with “Turkish”? Can we talk about different but simultaneous threads within nationalist historiography, a “critical” one (against the “universalist” approaches of Orientalist frameworks) vs. an “ideological” one (in its espousal of exclusive particularistic identities)? In what ways is art and architectural historiography an autonomous field? From the late Ottoman Empire into the Republic, what role has the historiography of art and architecture, as well as related institutions of archaeology, museology, and preservation, played in constructing particular definitions of Turkish identity? How can new critical scholarship contribute to the questioning of existing ideological paradigms, not only in the “Lands of Rum” but also in other regions and artistic traditions?

Inevitably, the papers published in this volume barely scratch the surface of the formidable questions we initially posed. Given the implications and ongoing relevance of these issues today, however—not only for research and scholarship but also for architectural education and practice as well as the work of museum professionals, exhibition organizers, archaeologists, and preserver/restorers—we believe that they will provoke further debate. We hope that by taking issue with the ideological premises of received historiographic traditions, these papers will collectively contribute to the project of rewriting the “universal” and regional surveys available to us today, as well as to the transformation of institutional practices informed by these surveys.¹⁹

Cambridge, MA

NOTES

1. The symposium convened May 11–13, 2006, at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, MA. We would like to thank the panel discussants—David Roxburgh, Zeynep Çelik, and Renata Holod—for valuable critical insights that, along with comments made by the audience, have contributed to the revised papers published in this volume.
2. Sibel Bozdoğan started working on this topic in 2002 with a Post-Doctoral Aga Khan Program Fellowship at Harvard University. During the same year, Gülrü Necipoğlu organized “Surveying Islamic Art and Architecture: A Symposium,” held May 17–18, 2002, at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, MA, under the auspices of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University. The symposium included sessions titled “Thoughts by the Authors of Surveys of Islamic Art and Architecture,” which featured papers by Oleg Grabar and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, Barbara Brend, Robert Hillenbrand, and Robert Irwin, and “Thoughts on the Future of Surveys,” comprising papers that addressed publishers’ concerns, museum perspectives, and the impact of surveys on teaching.
3. Stephen Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–c. 1950,” in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London and New York, 2000), 53. This claim has recently been repeated in a polemical overview of the state of the field, where it is maintained that “the study of Islamic art and architecture...was invented at the end of the nineteenth century and was of interest primarily to European and later American scholars.” Arguing that “there is no indigenous tradition in any of the Islamic lands of studying Islamic art,” the authors assert that “there are very few positions teaching ‘Islamic art’ in the Islamic lands themselves, where professors and students largely study the arts of their own countries. Thus, one is far more likely to encounter Egyptians studying and teaching Egyptian art in Egypt, Turks studying and teaching Turkish art in Turkey, or Iranians studying and teaching Iranian art in Iran. In other words, the concept of a universalist ‘Islamic art’ remains specific to the West.” See Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *Art Bulletin* 85, 1 (Mar. 2003): 153, 157.
4. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978); Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990); Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London and New York, 1990); idem, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York, 1994); Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis, 1998); Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH, 2000); Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York and London, 2006).
5. Dana Arnold, “Beyond a Boundary: Toward an Architectural History of the Non-East,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York, 2006), 229–45. The preface and introduction by the editors of this collection of essays provide an overview of recent critical trends in global architectural historiography.
6. See, for example, the special issue “Rethinking the Canon,” *Art Bulletin* 78, 2 (1996).
7. Blair and Bloom, “Mirage of Islamic Art,” 158–60, 174–76. Blair and Bloom explain in the catalogue of their recent exhibition, *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art from the David Collection*, Copenhagen (Chesnut Hill, MA, 2006)—where objects are grouped ahistorically according to “four themes of decoration” (figures, writing, geometry, and vegetation and the arabesque) commonly singled out in early-twentieth-century Orientalist discourses on the “decorativeness” of Islamic art and architecture—that their approach is based on the exhibition “The Arts of Islam,” held in 1976 at the Haywood Gallery, London, whose catalogue preface proposed to “define the essential character of Islamic art...taken to be calligraphy, geometry, the arabesque, and the treatment of figuration”: see idem, *Cosmophilia*, 13. For critiques of the essentialist approach adopted in “The Arts of Islam” and of the Orientalist concept of the “arabesque,” see Oleg Grabar, “Geometry and Ideology: The Festival of Islam and the Study of Islamic Art,” in *A Way Prepared: Essays on Islamic Culture in Honor of Richard Bayly Winder*, ed. Farhad Kazemi and Robert D. McChesney (New York, 1988), 145–52; Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA, 1995), especially the chapter titled “The Discourse on the Geometric ‘Arabesque,’” 61–83.
8. It was far from our intention to privilege the spatial/geographical over the temporal/historical dimension in the study of architectural history. The methodological pitfalls of geographical approaches have been cogently analyzed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London, 2004), a book of collected essays that attempts to develop a “geohistory of art” combining chronological/historical and geographical factors. Kaufmann observes (100) that “monographic series, such as the Pelican History of Art, still present material according to national categories, even when such categories did not exist in the period they denote.”
9. Blair and Bloom, “Mirage of Islamic Art,” 174, 176. The authors nostalgically recall that during the 1970s “we and our fellow students were virtually all white, non-Muslim Americans,” but observe that now “white non-Muslims are becoming less dominant in the field.” They believe that the new generation of Middle Eastern and Muslim students/scholars, largely aiming to “trace their roots,” are somehow more ideological than the leading Western scholars who have established the field of Islamic art and architecture; although the authors view this new diversity as “welcome,” it “raises complicated issues about who is doing what for whom.” They write: “The interests and opinions of those seeking to understand their own heritage can be very different from those who are seeking to understand and explain something they consider somewhat distant in time and space...While we admire students’ eagerness to understand what they identify as their own heritage...we are concerned that this approach transforms the study of Islamic art, once a branch of the humanistic study of art history open to all, into one of many fields of area and ethnic studies, sometimes organized along national or eth-

- nic lines. It is, in our view, a sorry commentary on our field that at the graduate level most students from Iranian backgrounds study Persian art and students from Turkish backgrounds study Turkish art." Blair and Bloom not only assign value-free objectivity (and superiority) to studying a distant culture not one's own (a pursuit almost exclusive to Western scholars) but also, by logical extension, deny the capacity for objectivity to those studying their own culture, particularly when the culture in question happens to be non-Western. It seems that students/scholars originating from the Islamic lands can never get it exactly right, unlike Western scholars, who are able to observe the challenges of the field from their panoptic, disinterested vantage point, with deep concern for the "universalist" humanistic foundations of the field.
10. See Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1995).
 11. Blair and Bloom admit that "Turkish" art and architecture pose a more difficult problem for historians than do "Arab" and "Persian" art: see "Mirage of Islamic Art," 159.
 12. For the ethno-racial ranking of "Persian," "Arab," "Indian," and "Turkish" art, in which the "Turks" occupied the "lower rung," see Vernot, "Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview," 6–7, 19, 22, 40–41.
 13. The geographical biases of the two Pelican surveys (Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* [Hammondsworth and New York, 1987], and Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* [New Haven, 1994]) are, in fact, admitted by the coauthors of the second volume. Blair and Bloom write (in "Mirage of Islamic Art," 158), "The two volumes differ in their approaches, as befits the nature of the material: the first deals more with archaeological evidence and is divided regionally (perhaps with some overemphasis on the western Islamic lands) whereas the second [by Blair and Bloom] treats more individual masterpieces, usually under dynastic rubrics, and gives special emphasis to the arts of Iran [italics ours]." This conspicuous bias towards "Persian" material reveals the extent to which the authors are protective of the traditional assumptions of the "Islamic field" as primarily "Arab" in its formative period and overwhelmingly "Persian" thereafter. The premise of their volume (which omits such regions as sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa, China, and Southeast Asia) is thus the elaboration of the "canon" rather than its critique and revision. These regions are also missing from the only comprehensive survey of Islamic architecture, which moreover excludes the Indian subcontinent: see Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, Meaning* (New York, 1994). In a chapter titled "The Mosque" Hillenbrand explains that these areas "fall outside the purview of this book; what follows is therefore intended to encompass the significant basic types of medieval mosque in the central Islamic lands. This material does lend itself tolerably well to analysis within the framework of the three 'ethnic' traditions," namely, "Arab, Turkish, and Persian": Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 64.
 14. For the denial of artistic creativity to the "Turks," see n. 12 above and the papers of Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh and Gülrü Necipoğlu in this volume. Counter-narratives against derogatory evaluations of "Turkish art" are analyzed in the papers of Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan.
 15. For this claim, see Blair and Bloom, "Mirage of Islamic Art," 153. In fact, one of the earliest uses of the term "Islamic" with regard to architecture appears in Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî = L'architecture ottomane = Die ottomanische Baukunst* (Istanbul, 1873), 40–42. This trilingual publication, commissioned from a cosmopolitan committee of Ottoman bureaucrats and artists by Sultan Abdülaziz for the Vienna International Exposition of 1873, glorifies the undervalued dynastic tradition of Ottoman architecture; it is analyzed in the papers of Ahmet Ersoy, Necipoğlu, and Shirine Hamadeh in this volume. Another early text that uses the same term is the 1906 essay by the late Ottoman architect Mimar Kemalettin, titled "Mi'mârî-i İslâm" (Architecture of Islam), published in İlhan Tekeli and Selim Ilkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* (Ankara, 1997). This essay criticizes the omission of "Turkish" monuments built under the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties from a chronological manual of Islamic architecture published in Europe that privileges "Arab" monuments. Yet another early critique of European Orientalist "universalism" for its construction of a unified, imaginary Orient is provided in Celâl Esad Arseven's 1928 survey of Turkish art, which in some respects anticipates Edward Said by five decades: for Arseven, see the papers of Necipoğlu, Hamadeh, and Bozdoğan in this volume.
 16. See Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkârlar = Österreichische Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei* (Istanbul, 1993).
 17. For the proceedings of a conference criticizing nationalist paradigms and promoting a recognition of the 700-year "supra-national heritage" of Ottoman architecture, see Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, eds., *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı "Uluslararası bir Miras"* (Istanbul, 1999).
 18. See the papers of Watenpaugh, Kishwar Rizvi, and Finbarr Barry Flood in this volume.
 19. Both types of survey continue to raise concerns about how areas of study are delimited, spatially and temporally. The value of so-called universal surveys, particularly in the "Islamic field," where they did not exist until quite recently, is certainly not to be denied. Now that we have several examples of such surveys, however, what are urgently needed, in our opinion, are books that focus critically on particular regions or periods, generating contextually specific new interpretations that will, in turn, contribute to innovative synthetic visions in future "universal" surveys.

A ROME OF ONE'S OWN: REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY IN THE LANDS OF RUM

When writing of the Ottoman forces vanquished near Ankara in 1402 by his patron, Timur, the chronicler Nizamüddin Şami mentions the *Efrec* (Frankish, Eurochristian?), presumably implying the forces under the command of the Serbian king, an Ottoman vassal, but reserves most of his disparaging remarks for the *Rūmīyān*, that is, Turkish-Muslim soldiers serving Sultan Bayezid. To add injury to insult, he cannot resist the temptation to cite the second verse of the sura *al-Rūm* (Qur'an 30), "The Romans [i.e., the Byzantines] have been conquered."¹ This is harsh but not particularly creative. Many learned and presumably some not-so-learned Muslims of Asia Minor knew the verse well, as did others in the rest of the Muslim world, but saw nothing wrong with identifying themselves as Rumis, or people of the lands of Rum.

Today, the Battle of Ankara is remembered primarily as a confrontation between Ottoman Turks and Central Asian Turks, in narratives that tend to erase all other layers of identity and their historical transformations in favor of a linear story of Turks moving from Inner Asia to the Middle East, building, and of course destroying, state after state. In Orientalist scholarship and its current offshoots, the Turks, even after being rooted in the Middle East and the Balkans for a millennium, remain latecomers, marginal at some levels to the essence of Islamic Middle Eastern civilization, and certainly to the Greco-Roman Mediterranean tradition, even if they are recognized for their military, political, and, perhaps, administrative skills and accomplishments. They may have protected the Islamic Middle East from going under during the destabilizing incursions of the Crusades and the Mongols, or they may have created successful polities by being receptive of Byzantine institutions and traditions, but ultimately they were not wielders of culture (other than, perhaps, the culture of yoghurt), and their high art and literature were but an imitation of Arab, Persian, and Byzantine precedents. Since the latter part of the

twentieth century, under the influences of cultural relativism and political correctness, such discourses may have been shunned or pushed beneath the surface, but both the underlying categories and the means of analysis remain intact.

As for Turkish scholarship itself, it developed under the paradox-ridden circumstances of the late Ottoman Empire and after its demise, but even then in the hands of those who grew up with the legacy of those circumstances. On the one hand, there was a project to articulate their archaic empire to the modern imperialist world order as an empire among empires that, statesmen and intellectuals hoped, would survive against all odds and refurbish itself with the techniques and technologies of modernity for proper recognition in the civilized world. On the other hand, there was an anti-imperialist current, not always in opposition to the first project but ensconced within its frustrations and the recognition of what the European powers "really thought" of Turks. The latter attitude would grow strong in the context of the First World War and especially after the invasion of the Greek armies into Asia Minor in 1919. It would also be accompanied by defensive and fanciful theories about Turks civilizing the world, in response to historical theses aimed at robbing those "nomadic and Asiatic" people of any legitimacy in maintaining political control over (western) Anatolia, Thrace, and Istanbul.

The truth is not always somewhere in the middle. I cannot simply say that the two approaches schematically presented above are both wrong or misguided, and that we should find the middle ground and be happy. They cozily share an unproblematized conceptualization of Middle Eastern and Balkan history (of world history, for that matter) in terms of both essences and ethno-national collective agents (Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Germans, etc.)—a conceptualization still dominant in history writing in general, no matter how fashionable it is to crack jokes about trendy

postmodern intellectuals. It might thus be useful to refer not merely to nationalism but to “nationism” as a broader problem, because the implied conception of history and identity can be shared between nationalist and, say, colonialist discourses and in fact derives its very power partly from that double imbrication. Many non-nationalists, or those who embrace (the illusion of?) the downfall of nation-states in an age of globalization, still write history through national identities as primary analytical categories. So long as continuous ethnic-national units and their cultures (*Volksgeist* defined by *Stamm*, to use the ur-vocabulary of this discourse) are taken as the main analytical units of historical study, the Turks naturally get to be the descendants of Inner Asian nomads and warriors, and their culture reflects those twin essences: nomadism and militarism.

Modern Turkish historical consciousness generally takes that story to heart, qualifying or reversing some of the attached values, and adding that there were many who emigrated from the urban centers of Central Asia and Khurasan as well, or that the steppe tradition allowed Turks to be much more tolerant than other kinds of Muslims, or that their conquests, achieved with minimal bloodshed, brought order and justice to peoples who were suffering from chaos or tyranny. What others might see as militarism can equally be translated as state building, and that is a matter of deep pride in the long national history of the Turks. At a more popular level, many modern Turkish habits, charming faults, or quirks are often explained as survivals of nomadic customs, just as academics have observed avatars of “shamanism” in all sorts of “unorthodox” practices among Turkish Muslims.

In narratives of this long history, nationalism is supplemented by statism, again with variants among Turks and others. From the teleological perspective of “the emergence of modern Turkey,” it can be described as a funnel-vision statism: Manzikert happens (according to Seljuk designs), and Turks pour into Asia Minor; then, in neat order, we have Seljuk Turkish Anatolia, the empire of the Ottoman Turks, and the Turkish Republic. State formation by Turks—conceptualized through moments of real or presumed, but always desirable, unity—provides the backbone of the historical narratives, which in turn provide points of departure and reference for all sorts of cultural analyses. Even if “state” remains a significant category of historical understanding, after historicizing and differentiating types of political organization that are often too sim-

plistically brought together under that rubric, the cultural space and configuration that we are studying are not subsumed by state control and state patronage.

The term “Seljuk Anatolia” is, by now, standard usage in referring to a period of more than two centuries before the beginning of the story of the Ottomans around 1300. Thereafter, a “*beylik* (emirate, principality) period” is recognized but almost always located within the orbit of the rising Ottoman state; worse, it is also conventional to move straight into a narrative of “Ottoman Anatolia” at the turn of the fourteenth century. From my point of view, the period of four and a half centuries between Manzikert (1071) and the Kalender Çelebi revolt (1526), instigated during the Ottoman incorporation of the Dulkadirid lands, the last remaining principality, needs to be characterized in its own right, at least for the purposes of cultural and social history. It might be useful for this purpose to adopt the term *ṭavāʾif* (short for *ṭavāʾif al-mulūk*), which was used in late medieval Arabic sources with respect to Iberia, where the fortunes of a waxing and waning set of “party kings” (*los reyes de taifas* or simply *taifas* in Spanish) rather than of a single polity are recognized as having constituted the framework of the narrative.²

One might quibble with the temporal boundaries of this periodization and end it with, say, the annexation of the Karaman lands in 1473–74, when Mehmed II had extended the Ottoman realm to that diagonal line in the east that more or less overlapped with the boundaries of the empire of Basil II (d. 1025) and had consolidated unitary rule over the former “Byzantine Anatolia.” It is clear that the Ottomans had already emerged supreme in that setting before the end of the fourteenth century and reasserted this supremacy two or three decades after Timur. It is also clear, however, that we are not always well served by the term “Seljuk (or pre-Ottoman) Anatolia” for the whole period between 1071 and 1300, followed by “the Beylik period” or, even worse, “Ottoman Anatolia” immediately after the demise of the Seljuks. It is only an obsession with state as one of the twin protagonists of history, and with national unity under a single state—*Anadolu Türk birliği* (Anatolian Turkish unity)—as the inevitable telos of Manzikert, or a pragmatism that lives comfortably with nation- and state-based history, that would conventionalize the term “Seljuk Anatolia” from 1071 to 1300.

In my reckoning, the Seljuks of Rum, as they were called in their own time and for many centuries there-

after, ruled over a relatively unified Turco-Muslim Anatolia for only a few decades during that period. Ibn Bibi, for instance, who wrote the only history of the Seljuks of Rum that might be considered an imperial chronicle, starts his book with the reign of Giyaseddin Keyhusrev (r. 1192–96, 1205–11). In his thoughtful introduction, Ibn Bibi justifies his starting point by saying that he is uncertain of how to organize the earlier materials, since he finds them confusing in their apportioning of the roles of conqueror and sovereign among the Seljuks and mighty emirs like Mengücek, Artuk, and Danishmend.³ In much of the territory designated as Seljuk Anatolia by modern scholarly convention, dynasties founded by those emirs, particularly the Danishmendids, were in control for several generations after Manzikert, often in rivalry and sometimes in direct confrontation with the Seljuks. The Seljuks themselves seem to have been conscious of their graduation to a higher level of rulership in the age of Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1155–92), who eliminated the Danishmendids in 1177 and established a semblance of political unity in the lands of Rum. The practice of naming Rum Seljuk princes after the heroes of ancient Persian imperial epics began during his reign, which also witnessed the demise of the Great Seljuks of Iran.⁴ So long as the latter maintained power, the Anatolian branch was bound to remain the lesser one. Even after Kılıç Arslan, the period between 1192 and 1205 can be deemed an interregnum, and the Seljuks' power was on the wane after 1243, when Mongol armies defeated them. Ilkhanid-Mongol rule in Asia Minor turned more direct in 1277, only a year after Baybars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Syria, marched all the way into Kayseri, in a context that clearly signaled to the oligarchic elites of the late Seljuk era and to leaders of the Turcoman tribes that the political future of the peninsula might be redesigned without much Seljuk input. Competitive principalities emerged under the leadership of *begs* (modern Turkish *bey*, chieftain or lord) from both Seljuk elite and Turcoman backgrounds and included one under a certain Osman Beg.

In considering the vicissitudes of Seljuk rule, it is appropriate to speak of "Turco-Muslim Anatolia," rather than of all Anatolia, since there were parts of the peninsula outside Muslim control until the Beylik period or even until the reign of Mehmed II,⁵ whose imperial vision could not coexist with the Swiss-cheese configuration of the lands of Rum and called for a homogenization of sovereignty in what were eventu-

ally considered to be the Ottoman core lands. It is also worth applying some caution in using the term "Turkish Anatolia," because not all Anatolian Muslims, rulers or subjects, were necessarily Turkish in a strict ethnic sense. Admittedly, terms like "Turco-Muslim Anatolia" or "Turkish-speaking Muslims" are inelegant when compared to "Seljuk Anatolia" or "Turks," but historical accuracy sometimes does not warrant such shortcuts. At any rate, these qualifications should not in any way detract from the profound association that emerged over time between the historical setting and the Turkish identity scrutinized here. As early as the late twelfth century, the word "Turchia" appears on a Latin map as a caption on Asia Minor, a harbinger of future European-language usages such as "Ottoman Turkey" or "European and Asiatic Turkey" all the way into the early twentieth century. A similar usage can be located in Arabic sources, as in the travel book of Ibn Battuta, whose account of Anatolia in the 1330s introduces the region as *barr al-Turkiyya al-ma'rūf bi-bilād al-Rūm* (the Turkish land known as the lands of Rum).⁶ A historicized approach cannot, however, overlook the fact that it is only in the aftermath of the First World War that the predominantly Turkish-speaking Muslims of the peninsula, now adopting wholesale the self-designation "Turk," embraced the word "Türkiye" for their country.

Based on such considerations, some students of late medieval (*tavā'ifera*) Anatolian and Ottoman studies have been trying to move beyond a critique of the nationalist and statist paradigms and to develop, or to forge out of that critique, a more historicized perspective on the dizzyingly complex realities of the lands that we study, without assuming the fixity and transparency of categories like "Turkish" or "Islamic" in designating and analyzing cultural processes. This approach is driven by a search for a new historical geography and cultural history of identity in southwestern Asia and southeastern Europe (after a point, the realm of the Ottoman empire) in the late medieval and early modern periods: hence the focus on Rum and Rumi.⁷

The word "Rum" or *diyār-ı Rūm* for defining a cultural as well as a physical space (the lands of Rome, limited over time to the eastern Roman lands, i.e., Byzantium) was adopted from earlier Arabo-Persian usage but now stretched by Turkish speakers to refer to the zone that they inhabited and in large part also governed. Turks and others who moved westward during and after the eleventh century adopted and

reworked many geographical names in the eastern Roman lands on the basis of what had already been “Islamized” and used by Arabs, Persians, or Kurds. They also borrowed or “corrupted” many usages of the non-Muslims of those lands. To take full account of the complexity of ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities they encountered would be impossible here; it cannot be subsumed even under the neat trinity of Muslims, Christians, and Jews. There were other communities, such as Yezidis, who are reported to have fought with the Turcomans against the Mongols in the late thirteenth century; in the 1330s, Ibn Battuta observed that the lineage of the Sons of Germiyan (based in Kütahya, northwest Anatolia) was alleged to go back to Yazid b. Mu‘awiya.⁸

Words like “Rum” and “Rumi” were in common currency among some of those people and moved seamlessly into old Anatolian Turkish. “Istanbul,” too, predates 1071: it is mentioned as early as in the tenth century in an Arabic work by the polymath al-Mas‘udi (d. 955).⁹ Also bearing in mind the legends concerning Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, and his burial site outside the city walls, etc., it is clear that some significant aspects of what the city of Constantine would become after 1453 had been prepared before Turks (and their associates) settled in Asia Minor. In short, the Turkish encounter with Hellenic Asia Minor was in some measure supplemented and filtered by the Turkish encounter with an earlier Arab (and other peoples’) reception of the heritage of the lands of Rum.

As they are written, modern histories tend to erase that filter and prefer to present the whole post-Manzikert story in terms of a direct encounter between “Turkish settlers” and “autochthonous” others. The historical consciousness of the Rumis themselves did not operate in the same manner, however. In the *Saltuknâme*, compiled by a certain Ebu’l-Hayr-i Rumi in 1474 on the basis of oral narratives presumably circulating for generations, we encounter a hero who starts his adventures after receiving, in a dream, blessings and tactics from a legendary Arab warrior of the earlier Islamic-Byzantine frontier operations. Following his oneiric instructions, Saltuk retrieves Seyyid Battal Gazi’s long-idle weapons and horse, waiting for him in a cave, and only then moves on to his own adventures of conquest deeper in the lands of Rum. Various Arab companions accompany him in his exploits, and they occasionally converse in Arabic.¹⁰

All this must be borne in mind in dealing with the current vogue, in Turkey and elsewhere, of speaking

about a Turkish Islam—tending toward modernity and democracy in its essence, of course¹¹—with respect to relaxed attitudes among Turks toward ritual observance and, primarily, to a worldly pragmatism of Turkish states and certain lenient features of Sufism in Anatolia. Those very features themselves, however, were developed or inspired to a large degree by Arab and Persian Sufis, many of whom spent some part of their lives in Anatolia or settled there. One might recall the likes of Ibn ‘Arabi (d. 1240, a Maghribi who lived in Seljuk Konya for several years and inspired the theosophical school of Sadruddin-i Konevi) or Shahab al-Din Abu Hafs ‘Omar al-Suhrawardi (1145–1234), who was sent by the Abbasid caliph Nasir li-Din Allah in 1221 to initiate neo-Anatolian Muslims and neo-Muslim Anatolians into the *futuwwa*. This is not to say that there are no regional dialects of piety and faith, or that it might not be worth speaking of an Islam of the lands of Rum, or of a Turkish Islam as it eventually took shape. Ibn ‘Arabi himself was shocked to see certain practices in Rum, particularly the lack of enforcement of certain shari‘a principles with respect to non-Muslims there.¹² This should not make us overlook the fact that versions of Rumi Sufism, primarily the less rigid ones, owe a good deal to his intellectual legacy. Likewise, the Rumi variant of *futuwwa* (*ahilik*) is unthinkable without Suhrawardi. Kalenderism and some other antinomian movements that flourished in the lands of Rum in the late medieval era originated in Iran, and the representatives of these movements in Rum received a good part of their intellectual sustenance and some of their membership through continued migration from and communication with Iran. It is only with such awareness that we may deal with regional dialects or inflections—specific historical configurations—of belief and practice according to a regional habitus among the Muslims of the lands of Rum, who were apparently distinguishable in that manner as of the thirteenth century.

As in the case of many loan words, something new happened in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the word “Rumi.” It came to be adopted by, or used with respect to, some Muslims of that geography, perhaps at first by outsiders but eventually also by insiders. Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi (d. 1273) is the best-known example, as he is invoked today simply as “Rumi” by millions of modern readers around the world. There is no evidence that he called himself thus, nor does the word appear in *Manāqib al-‘arīfīn*, the main source on the life of the poet, compiled be-

tween 1318 and 1353; but he was called *Mevlānā-i Rūm* (our master [who is] of [the lands of eastern] Rome) in Hamdullah al-Mustawfī's Persian history, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, completed in Iran in 1330.¹³ While he is known as Rumi in most of the world today, the heirs of the heritage of the lands of Rum prefer to refer to him as Mevlana, since they know of several other Rumis.

Whether or not it was then tagged onto the name of one of the most respected poets of the lands of Rum, the *nisba* has been used since the thirteenth century by and for a large number of poets, scholars, and mystics. Moreover, it was also used for men and women (for an instance of *rūmiyya*, see below) of no such distinction. In fact, the earliest usage I have been able to locate thus far is in Rawandī's chronicle—again written in Iran, and dedicated to Giyaseddin Keyhusrev soon after 1207—where the author writes of a certain Cemaleddin Ebu Bekr bin Ebi'l-'Ala el-Rumi, a merchant who came from Asia Minor to Hamadan and brought news of Keyhusrev's conquests and generosity to the chronicler.¹⁴ It was also used regularly to denote the collective identity of a particular segment of society, upon the emergence of new forms of stratification in the late medieval era: those who spoke Turkish (preferably a refined kind of Turkish, but not necessarily as their mother tongue) and acquired their social identity within or in some proximity to urban settings, professions, institutions, education, and cultural preferences—as opposed to “Turks,” a usage that primarily had associations of ethnicity-not-transcended and attachment to tribal ways and cultural codes. In his commentary on one of the poems of Yunus Emre (d. 1320–21?), a prominent Sufi intellectual of the seventeenth century writes that *emre* is a laudatory title “in Turkish, like the word *atabeg* among the Turks or *lala* among the Rumis.”¹⁵ “Rumi vs. Turk,” in other words, also resonated with a social class distinction and had connotations similar to “bourgeois vs. rustic.”

There was a period of transition, and perhaps confusion, when some sources written by Anatolian Muslims continued to use “Rumi” to refer to Byzantine or ex-Byzantine Christians.¹⁶ In the *Dānīsmendnāme*, written in the first half of the fifteenth century but likely based on an original composition of the mid-thirteenth, “Rumis” regularly appear as the Christian enemies of “Muslims.”¹⁷ It is not so much a matter of religious identity in *Manāqib al-ʿarīfīn*, where Mevlana Celaluddin is reported to have said that Rumi servants should be preferred if one wanted to build and Turkish workmen if one wanted to demolish, since

“cultivation of the world belongs to Rumis, and devastation of the universe is confined to Turks.”¹⁸ In time, a finer distinction emerged between “Rumi” and the other meaning of “Rum”; when applied to persons or communities, rather than lands, “Rum” designated the Greeks (or sometimes, even more broadly, the Greek Orthodox) of the former Byzantine realms. The kinship between the two words obviously did not make anyone squirm.

As for the word “Turk” itself, its historical uses demand much more attention than they have hitherto been given. It should suffice here to observe some of the ambiguities and ambivalences, since the conventional scholarly view that “Turk” was a term of denigration in late medieval and Ottoman usage is too simplistic.¹⁹ Such usage was indeed common, implying Turkish-speaking country bumpkins, ruffians, and uncouth tribal or peasant populations. In its Arabized plural, *etrāk* (Turks) often designated Turcoman tribes, sometimes merely descriptively, but at times pejoratively, with the same associations. Still, the Ottoman elites and Rumi urbanites called their language “Turkish” and knew well that it was related to other kinds of Turkish spoken and written by “Turks” elsewhere. Mütercim Asım's eighteenth-century translation and elaboration of a Persian dictionary occasionally points to usages in *bizim Türkî* (our Turkish) as opposed to the Turkish spoken in Iran or in Turkistan, highlighting a sense of “we” as defined, in part, by the western Turkish language.²⁰ Genealogies of the House of Osman proudly linked them to the tribal tradition of the Oghuz Turks; in their own conception of their history and identity, Ottoman writers inserted the formation of the polity into a narrative of Seljuk and post-Seljuk Turkish (*etrāk*) political communities. Moreover, the Ottoman literati (and presumably their audiences) were aware that, no matter what they preferred to call themselves, others called them Turks. It is striking that Ottoman sources often use the word “Turk(s)” to refer to themselves when they are quoting or paraphrasing Byzantine and European characters. In a chronicle of the early sixteenth century, for instance, seven of eight relevant occurrences of the word are instances of such ventriloquism.²¹

The Rumi identity was differentiated but not necessarily detached from its Turkish counterpart. The most general and eloquent account of the usage with respect to a collectivity is given by Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî (1541–1600), who undoubtedly embraced that identity with enthusiasm:

Those varied peoples and different types of Rumis living in the glorious days of the Ottoman dynasty, who are not [generically] separate from those tribes of Turks and Tatars...are a select community and pure, pleasing people who, just as they are distinguished in the origins of their state, are singled out for their piety, cleanliness, and faith. Apart from this, most of the inhabitants of Rum are of confused ethnic origins. Among its notables there are few whose lineage does not go back to a convert to Islam...either on their father's or their mother's side, the genealogy is traced to a filthy infidel. It is as if two different species of fruitbearing tree mingled and mated, with leaves and fruit; and the fruit of this union was large and filled with liquid, like a princely pearl. The best qualities of the progenitors were then manifested and gave distinction, either in physical beauty or in spiritual wisdom.²²

Some might be tempted to romanticize this avowal of hybridity, but it is not devoid of its own manner of pride, even a touch of chauvinism. Still, Âlî's formulation is striking because of the different conceptualization of identity when compared to the modern obsession with purity of origin and linear narratives of ancestry.

Unlike "Osmanlı," "Rumi" was not a signifier forged by or for a state; it was not even a part of the official discursive grid of the Ottoman administration. Various place names, as used by the state and the public, had "Rum" in them, but all of them were strictly localized and frozen. Such usage was merely a legacy of the process whereby Turkish-speaking conquerors and settlers, as they moved westwards, found it useful to mark some regions or cities in terms of their location in Roman lands: Erzurum (short for *Erzen er-Rûm*), the province of Rum (former Danismendid lands in central and east-central Anatolia), or Rumeli (designating Ottoman lands to the west of Istanbul). *Diğâr-ı Rûm*, or the lands of Rum, was not itself a regular part of the official language used in documents to denote "Ottoman lands." As for "Rumi," no land survey, tax register, or court document would use it as an operational category. Somewhat anachronistically and tongue in cheek, it can be said that "Rumi" is a category shaped by the civil society.

This is important because premodern states, too, were ready to manipulate or engineer identities and collective memories. The Ottoman enterprise was successful in turning itself into an imperial state in part because it was able to erase or marginalize other narratives of conquest and settlement, competing memories of accomplishments that were once attributed to oth-

ers. Before that, it was able to turn "Osmanlı" (those who belong to [the ruling apparatus shaped around the House of] Osman) into the corporate identity of a political elite, namely a growing number of warriors and scholar-bureaucrats. The misty beginnings of that corporate identity can be found in the tribal inclusiveness of the first generations of begs, or chieftains, from the House of Osman. Along the way, it was able to forge a prestigious lineage for what became the dynastic family. There was no unanimity on this issue at first, but the Kayı lineage from the legendary Oghuz Khan, which makes its appearance in written sources in the 1430s, is accepted by an overwhelming majority of our sources after the late fifteenth century.²³ Their rivals among the competitive lot of emirs with their own principalities, some older and once more distinguished, evidently considered the Ottomans to be upstarts: in both the *Bazm u Razm* and the pro-Karamanid chronicle of Şikari, the sons of Osman are called *bî-aşıl* (without [a worthy] origin).²⁴

As for the members of society, there were several different pigeonholes into which they could be placed, according to religious affiliation, tax-status, etc. Over time—rather gradually over centuries—there is an unmistakable trend in official documents toward improving the scribal means of making distinctions among subjects of different sorts. There were no identity cards or fingerprints, of course, but subjects had to be somehow identified and differentiated into functional categories when they appeared or were counted in front of authorities. The means for doing so were ever refined by increasingly sophisticated bureaucratic cadres.

Cadastral surveys of the fifteenth century, for instance, are likely to use *veled* as well as *ibn* (or *bin*) for a Muslim as "son of" so-and-so. From the sixteenth century onward, *veled* is used only for non-Muslims and *ibn* only for Muslims. The earliest surviving court documents were rather sloppy in naming each person's father and his or her residential neighborhood; beginning around the mid-sixteenth century, probably after the judicial reforms of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) and Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574), every individual was also identified by these bits of information. Again in the court records, where thousands of Muslims and non-Muslims appear regularly, a Muslim would "pass away," but a non-Muslim would "perish"; that was standard, based on assumed inequalities between Islam and other faiths. Some distinctions, however, are not so easy to explain, and these appeared

only over time. Muslims were always *sākin* (resident, but the word also has connotations of being peaceful) of a neighborhood, non-Muslims sometimes *müt-emekkin* (established). In the eighteenth century at the latest, that distinction became standard usage, and another one was introduced. A second (or further) reference to a Muslim involved in a case would mention him or her as *mezkūr[e]* (the above-mentioned); if a non-Muslim were involved, the second reference would use *mesfūr[e]* (the foregoing)—not necessarily a denigration, but a differentiation. Again in the eighteenth century, if not earlier, “misspellings” for non-Muslim names also became standard if those names could be shared with Muslims: *Ishāk*, for instance, would be spelled, consistently, with a correct *sīn* for a Muslim but an incorrect *šād* for a Jew.²⁵ In other words, Ottoman bureaucrats and scribes were developing ever more refined means of making distinctions, by way of inscribing ever more improved identity markers into their ledgers. There are good reasons for calling the Ottoman state an early modern one.

One should not confuse this administrative predilection with social convention, however. Social conventions had their own logic, which displayed a much more freewheeling attitude to identity, by way of labeling or denigrating others through a rich repertoire of slurs and stereotypes but also by recognizing fluidities for what they were. Macaronic texts (also known as *aljamiado*, from the Andalusian experience) are abundant from the fourteenth century onwards. It is hardly possible to follow the bewildering array of words that appear and disappear to designate minute differences of faith, ethnicity, language, locality, and the like: *iğdiş*, *turkopouloi*, *çitak*, *potur*, *torbeş*, *gacal*, *manav*, etc. (A similar comment can be made about sexual identities, as defined by various preferences, for which there is a scandalously long list of words.) In fact, what we would like now to think of as ethnonyms were hardly mere ethnic categories; they also carried immediate sociological and moral associations (perhaps a bit like the still unfortunate word “gypsy”).

There was even a word that might be worth reintroducing for circumstances when “Do you speak this language?” is not a simple yes-or-no question. *Çetrefil*, which simply means “very difficult” or “complicated” in modern Turkish, once referred to those who spoke a language badly, and to a badly constructed sentence uttered or written by someone who spoke a language badly. This must have been an important part of life in the plural environments of premodern empires.

The loose and linguistically creative attitude to identity and diversity must be understood in light of the fact that things were much more complex than can be subsumed under encounters and exchanges between Turkish invaders and those who were already there (“indigenous” or “autochthonous” populations). Even though Oghuz Turks clearly constituted the dominant element among those who emigrated westward, there were also other Turks, leading for a while to the coexistence of different kinds of Turkish, not just regional dialects.²⁶ The role of non-Turks as co-wayfarers in the migrations and conquests also needs to be taken into account. The earliest extant piece of writing by Muslims in the lands of Rum after 1071 is a curious artifact in this regard. Some Arabic tombstones from the first, brief conquest of Nicaea (1081–96) by the forces moving in with the Seljuk prince Süleyman bin Kutalmış survive because they were used as slabs to buttress the fortifications after 1096, when the city was captured by the Crusaders and turned over to the Byzantines. Four of these tombstones have writing on them, two of them with the names of the deceased: “a believer, Ahmed, the tanner” and “Mahmud son of ‘Abdullah of Isfahan.”²⁷ The sources for the lands of Rum, it seems, were destined from the outset to confound modern scholars and resist their comfortable conventions.

The areas held by Turco-Muslim warriors were constantly replenished thereafter, by Turks but also by many other emigrants. Most of the Turks came from the east, while there were some movements of Turkish populations from the north—the Kipchak Steppe or the lands of the Golden Horde. The formation and articulation of tribal bodies that accounted for much of that mobility included members of different ethnic communities that joined the Turks, willingly or through coercion. There were also migrating scholars, scribes, Sufis, and artisans from Central Asia, Iran, and the Arab lands. While conquests in many instances led to outward migration by or dislocation of Christian subjects of former Byzantine lands, many Christians simply stayed put because they preferred to or had to, and some moved from Byzantine-held territories to Turkish-held ones.

The sad institution of slavery was another significant factor in the demographic changes in Rum. In 1429, Murad II was presented a treatise on the medical properties of stones, tonics, and perfumes. In the introduction, the sultan is praised for his dominion extending “from the gate of Erzincan to the gate of Hungary,”

wherein “every year more or less fifty thousand male and female infidels are taken from the abode of war as captives; those become Muslim, and their progeny join the rank of the faithful until the day of resurrection.”²⁸ There may be an exaggeration in the numbers, but there is no hesitation about including the converts and their progeny among the faithful, among “us.” In a generation or two, descendants of those former slaves could blend into Rumi society without any stigma, as far as we know now; if there were memories among those later generations of the unhappy circumstances that initiated the process, they are not overtly stated in our written sources (but there is room for some imaginative research here). Ethnic backgrounds were not always obliterated among the slaves/servants of the Sublime Porte, for instance,²⁹ but they do not seem to have mattered—over the long run, at any rate—as much as belonging to larger categories such as Osmanli or Muslim or Rumi.

Above all, the reconfigurations of identity must have been determined by religious conversions, most of which seem to have taken place independent of coercive mechanisms. Some Turkish communities evidently adopted Christianity within the Greek or Armenian Orthodox church, but this process remains marginal compared to the massive conversions in the other direction. Over time, huge numbers of Christians in the lands of Rum moved into the fold of Islam, and thereby into Turk-ness. The account book of Giacomo Badoer, a Venetian merchant, refers a few times to “Choza Isse turco” as one of hundreds of people with whom he had transactions in Constantinople in the 1430s; on one of those occasions, we are given an eye-opening detail, identifying his son with a Greek title and name: “chir Jacob fiuol de Chogia Ise.” Chogia Ise (Hoca or Koca Isa) may or may not have called himself “turco,” but to the Europeans, Muslims of that geography were Turks.³⁰ (Thus also, until now, were Bosnian Muslims to some of their neighbors.) To present the post-1071 cultural transformations in the former Byzantine lands through the encounters of one side with another is simply not going to work, even if we focus on receptivity, adaptability, and similar processes. And even if we prefer to speak in terms of sides, we need to recognize that millions of people changed sides and homelands, bringing with them tales and proverbs and skills and crafts and styles and—not to let the nasty aspects of it out of our minds—experiences of violence and suffering.

It takes a particularly perceptive student of things Ottoman like Jakab Nagy de Harsány, a Transylvanian

humanist of the mid-seventeenth century, to look at Ottoman society in its full complexity. After warning his European readers that they should not heed the reductionism in so many travelers’ accounts that speak of an essential Turkish this and Turkish that, he raises the question, “What is the Turkish character?” and responds:

This is a most difficult question, since it is not one nation [*millet* in the Turkish text; *una gens* in the Latin] but consists of all sorts of people of the world— Germans, Poles, French, English, Dutch, Hungarians, Muscovites, Czechs, Rus, Cossacks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Abkhazians, Georgians, Kurds, Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Tatars, Wallachians, Moldavians, Circassians, Croatians, Italians, Jews, Indians, and many others. Whoever wishes to speak of the Ottoman character (*Osmanlının tabiatı*), he must know the character of all [these] people (*natio*). Those who are born Muslim have different customs than those who have converted from Christianity; the educated have their way, the uneducated theirs; people of the frontiers develop different customs than those who are born in the central lands of the empire; everyone learns both good and bad things from Christians and [other] neighbors.³¹

Renegadism may have been common among the corsairs, and so, evidently, was the need for denigration of converts: *Nasche un greco, nasche un turco* (When a Greek is born, a Turk is born) is a saying recorded among the corsairs in the seventeenth century. It was apparently used to disparage Greeks by indicating that they could easily “turn Turk”—a compound verb once readily encountered in English tales of renegades and corsairs.³² From the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, both the proverb and the verb seem to have lost their relevance and thus their currency.

If only to highlight differences and regional specificities, the circumstances and processes of Turkish settlement in the lands of Rum need to be compared to those in Iran, another realm where substantial Turcophone populations settled in the medieval era. Vladimir Minorsky, for instance, a modern historian of medieval Iran, tendentiously asserts, “Like oil and water, the Turcomans and the Persians did not mix freely.”³³ The history of the lands of Rum clearly offers us images very different from oil and water and perhaps parallels the history of South Asia in the same period—a setting of mixture and exchange that included much more than two actors (Turks and Greeks, or Turcomans and Persians) and called for new terms of identity, such as Rumi.

Let us consider the case of Eşrefoğlu Rumi (d. 1469–70?). According to a short entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, for instance, he was a “Turkish poet and mystic...His father Eşref left Egypt as a young man and settled in Iznik.” Here, in a nutshell, is the story of somebody for whom a word like “Rumi” would have had to be coined if it did not already exist. Eşrefoğlu indeed wrote some of the most admired lyrical Sufi poetry in Turkish, in the vein of Yunus Emre, but his grandfather’s *nisba* was al-Misri (the Egyptian), his emigrating father’s was al-Misri al-Rumi, and his own was al-Rumi al-Izniki (the Roman the Nicaean, if you will).

The binary of “Rumi” is not necessarily “Turk,” even though we currently focus on “Rumi” in order to question the facile application of a linear and ahistorical Turkishness to the past. In Ottoman usage, “Rumi” is most often paired with “Acem” (primarily “Persian,” but those who spoke and wrote in “Eastern Turkish” might also be categorized among “the poets of ‘Acem”), and sometimes both “Acem” and “Arab,” neither of which should be understood as simply ethnic categories. This is clearer in the case of competitive cultural discourse, when one wishes to speak of the accomplishments of Rumi poets, for instance, as having “surpassed” those of ‘Acem poets. The Rumi-‘Acem binary is also used in a non-competitive vein, namely in descriptive or analytical discourse: “The poetry of so-and-so lacks Rumi qualities; it comes closer to the style of the ‘Acem.” The word “Turk” is of a different order of things; ethnicity, undoubtedly with social and cultural associations, is embedded in it. On the other hand, “Rumi,” in its new meaning, was used in large measure to designate a novel social and cultural constellation, namely the identity of those from a variety of backgrounds but with a shared disposition toward a certain style of expression in the arts as well as quotidian life. The limits of Rumi-ness were delineated, to some degree, by linguistic and geographic criteria. The area around Diyarbakır, for instance, plays a liminal role as a frontier. Someone from Diyarbakır is included among the poets of Rum but at the same time identified as being “from the Eastern lands” (*diyār-ı Şark*). Another poet is “from the Eastern lands; some say he is a Rumi”; yet another is “a Turcoman; he has arrived from the Eastern lands.” All of them nevertheless find a place in books on, say, “the poets of Rum,” since “Rumi” identifies not only social or geographic background but also style and character (*üslûb, tarz, işve*, etc.). A certain Haleti, having served as a judge for many years in Aleppo, Rum, and Diyarbakır, has

acquired “the grace and generosity of the Arabs, the elegance and politesse of the ‘Acems, and the intelligence and attractiveness of the Rumis.”³⁴

The biographical dictionaries of poets (or scholars, calligraphers, and others) spoke about the poets of the lands of Rum, not the Ottoman Empire, and distinguished them from the ‘Acem and Arab poets. Rum was a cultural space inhabited by a community that shared a literary language, Turkish; it included a few Armenian poets who used that language (Mesihî of Diyarbakır, for instance). One of these biographical dictionaries of “the poets of Rum” was in fact written by an ‘Acem, a certain ‘Ahdî, who is defended by another biographer: “We need to be fair: he did a good job. He does not deny [the qualities of] Rum and Rumis, like other ‘Acems.” Of another poet, we read that he “is ‘Acem. He came to Rum as an envoy, married someone in Istanbul, and settled there. Having lived in the lands of Rum for quite some time, he became like a Rumi (*Rûmî gibi olup*). Many conversations and disputes of his, making use of the same discourse as most of the poets of Rum, have been committed to memory. He has [also] written Turkish poetry.” One of our poets is “from an area close to the Iranian frontier. Having spent most of his time in this land, he conforms in his style of poetry to the *şîve* (inflection) of verse in the Turkish manner and to the *işve* (gesture, manner of flirtation, coquettishness) of the poets of Rum.”³⁵

A good Rumi intellectual or artist may have boasted that the Rumis had outdone the ‘Acems and Arabs but would never doubt the need to be steeped in Arabic and Persian classics and compete with contemporaneous exemplars in those traditions, which he or she would consider his or her own. Mihri Hatun (d. after 1512), for instance, one of the few women to appear among the poets of Rum, is described by another poet of her time as a “poetess of gracious sense.” The word *shîrîn* (gracious) here skillfully alludes to the female protagonist of the medieval Persian romance, *Farhad and Shirin*, well known among the Rumis and subject to a few Turkish renderings. Whether in Persian or in Turkish, it was not received as a story of “some other people”: Amasya, Mihri Hatun’s hometown, boasted of being the setting of the original story.

For the truly ambitious, it was almost obligatory to write one’s own poetry collection not only in Turkish but also in Persian and/or Arabic, or venture a commentary on an important work of Arabic or Persian literature (say, the *Qaṣīda al-Burda* or Sa‘dî’s *Gulistân*). And even if one wrote only in Turkish, rarely but some-

times even called *Rūmīce* (in the Rumi manner), one would turn to a rich set of allusions deriving from the Persian and Arabic classics, which Rumi considered part of their own heritage, as well as from a whole body of Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique concepts and figures, often filtered through those classics.

The quasi-amnesia in modern scholarship regarding the once-abundant usage of “Rumi” is deeply rooted in the preference, long predating Turkish nationalism, for the wholesale designation of the Ottomans, and of Turcophone Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, as “Turks”—a preference manifested since the late medieval era in both European and, to a lesser but significant extent, many non-Turkish Middle Eastern or Balkan languages (Greek and Arabic, for instance). Such a designation remained standard despite the countervailing preference among those very Ottomans and their educated urban Turcophone subjects for calling themselves not “Turks” but “Osmanlı” or “Rumi.” The Moroccan ambassador to Istanbul in 1589 was at least aware of this dissonance, while it obviously confused him a bit:

That city was the capital of the lands of Rum [rendered “greco” by the French translator], and the seat of the empire, the city of caesars. The Muslims who live in that city now call themselves “Rum” [again rendered “greco” by the translator] and prefer that origin to their own. Among them, calligraphy, too, is called *khaṭṭ rūmī* [“l’écriture grecque”].³⁶

Another sixteenth-century Arabic source was apparently more cognizant of the usage, but that is precisely why it baffled a modern scholar. After having lived in Mecca for a few years, a woman went to the authorities in Istanbul in 1544 and complained of the use of coffee in the holy city (only a decade before coffee conquered Istanbul itself). She must have been so convincing that the caravan going from Damascus to Mecca that year “brought word that coffee was forbidden.” The Arabic source that relates this incident identifies her as a Rumi woman (*imrā’a rūmiyya*), and the modern scholar writes: “It is hardly likely that a ‘Greek,’ as the original reads, would have lived in Mecca...It is therefore best to assume that ‘rumiyya’ here means a Turk from Anatolia, or perhaps Istanbul.”³⁷

The designations “Rum” and “Rumi” were also common in Iran, Central Asia, and India and are even attested in Indonesia. Bayram Khan (1504?–61), statesman and contributor to the flourishing Chagatai liter-

ature in India in the sixteenth century, writes of the lands of Rum as being “all the way over there” (*tā diyār-ı Rūm*). A Bolognese sailor who was in South Asia with the Portuguese in the first decade of that century relates that Diu was called “Divobandirrumi,” presumably because of the preponderance of Rumiis.³⁸

The heyday of “Rumi” as a socially and culturally meaningful category spans the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. A certain Isma‘īl-i Rumi (d. 1643) founded a branch of the Kadiri order of dervishes that was thereafter known as the Rumiyye, indicating that the word was still used to generate new coinages.³⁹ It seems to have slowly fallen out of favor in the eighteenth century. Still, Nevres-i Kadim (d. 1762), in his history of a Safavid assault on Erevan in 1731, writes of the ‘Acems as planning to massacre the “Rumiis”—i.e., the Ottoman soldiers inside the fort.⁴⁰

As the designation of a physical and cultural geography “the lands of Rum,” or simply “Rum,” enjoyed currency somewhat longer. The beginnings of the usage by Turcophone Muslim Anatolian communities to designate their turf is already attested in a poem by Ahmed Fakih (d. 1221?): “I passed through the lands of Rum and Sham [i.e., Syria] and fell upon Arabia.”⁴¹ Thereafter, it appears regularly in both the somewhat rarefied writings of the poets of Rum and the hugely popular art of the likes of Yunus Emre, Karacaoğlu, and Pir Sultan Abdal, in juxtaposition with place names like “Sham,” “Frengistan,” and “Acem” (or “Acemistan”). In fact, the word “Anadolu” (Anatolia) hardly ever appears in the “folk poetry” that today is considered the “echt-Anadolu” poetry of Turkish bards.⁴²

While “Acem” constituted the most common binary of “Rumi” in Ottoman cultural discourse, as geographical designations the “lands of Rum” were regularly differentiated from the “Arab lands,” even after the incorporation of the latter into the Ottoman Empire, as well as from the “lands of ‘Acem.” In the capacity of a place name, too, the word “Rum” could carry an emotive content of cultural affinity. In a quatrain attributed to Şeyhülislam Ibn Kemal (d. 1534) and addressed to Sultan Selim I, the scholar is alleged to have expressed the sentiments of the soldiery, who were tired of their lengthy campaign into Arab lands and yearning to return to Rum, in the sense of going back home:

What have we left to do in the Arab realm?
Long have we stayed in Aleppo and Sham:

People are all living in pleasure and charm.

Let us go [back] then to the lands of Rum.⁴³

A 1649 *vefeyātnāme* of Bursa—namely, a biographical dictionary of the “distinguished dead” of that city—refers to Rum on a few occasions with rhyming formulae of obvious emotional attachment: *diyār-ı Rûm-ı cennet-rûsûm* (paradise-like lands of Rum) or *diyār-ı cennet-şî‘âr-ı Rûm* (paradise-signaling lands of Rum).⁴⁴

Perhaps the most striking, even precociously “patriotic,” expressions of affection for the lands of Rum are encountered in admiral Seydi Ali Reis’s immensely popular account of his adventures in *diyār-ı Hind*, written after a disastrous naval expedition in the Indian Ocean and his return journey. Having described himself in the introduction as “*Kâtibî-i* [his penname] *Rûmî*, the poor soul” and boasted of generations of service by his family members at the arsenal in Istanbul, his beloved home city, the captain runs through his expedition to the ocean, the misfortunes of the navy, and the shipwreck that took him to Gujarat. There he begins to negotiate his way back home, rendering services to different rulers in northern India, including Humayun and Akbar, demonstrating his always-superior poetic skills at every opportunity, avoiding palace coups and bandit-infested roads, and turning down offers of mighty posts. Soon after the section on Gujarat, he starts to write poems that pepper the text in Chagatai Turkish, as if to accentuate his sense of exile (*gurbet*). The very first poem in Chagatai ends with a prayer that God grant him success in his “journey back to the patria (*vaṭan seferi*).” He returns to composing poems “in the manner of Rum (*Rûm tarzı üzere*)” only when he comes close to the Safavid-Ottoman boundary. In the meantime, he tells us that the “yearning for the patria (*vaṭan ârzûsı*)” never left his heart. How could it, when he knew that he was a subject of the grandest of countries? When Humayun asked him a tricky question as to which country was bigger, the country of Rum (*vilayet-i Rum*) or Hindustan, he had boldly answered: “If, by Rum, one means Rum strictly speaking, that is, the province of Sivas (called Rum in Ottoman administrative division), then Hindustan is bigger. But if one means the lands under the rule of the Padishah-i Rum, Hind does not amount to one-tenth of it...When people speak of Alexander having ruled over the seven climes, that must be like the rule of Padishah-i Rum.” He knew well, however, that “Rum” implied something more limited than the whole Ottoman Empire. He felt he had found safety (*selâmet*) when he reached Ottoman Baghdad,

but he quickly headed from there to *diyār-ı Rûm*.⁴⁵

With or without cultural associations, the “lands of Rum,” or simply “Rum,” referred to the region one entered coming west from the lands of ‘Acem or north from the Arab lands. In this geographical scheme, Arab lands often start in Syria (Sham), but there is a grey area, or zone of transition, where Turcoman tribes mixed freely with Arab and Kurdish tribes of northern Mesopotamia. An impossibly precise boundary is sometimes given by sources that take the political boundaries of a particular moment or very specific geographic points to heart: a chronicle written for the Akkoyunlu in the 1470s refers to a site called “Karabel, which constitutes the line between Rum and Sham.”⁴⁶ In general, the boundaries were vague. They could be conceived to extend as far north as Malatya, for instance: the early-sixteenth-century chronicle of Yusuf b. Abdullah refers to “Aleppo and Aintab, the whole Arab province beyond Malatya.”⁴⁷ Firdavsi-i Rumi (d. after 1512), on the other hand, referred in the 1490s to “*Türk ili* (the province/land of Turks) all the way down to Jerusalem,” even if he did not necessarily have a political project in mind.⁴⁸ In interpreting Selim I’s commission to rebuild the shrine of Ibn ‘Arabi outside Damascus upon his conquest of the “Arab lands,” we need to consider as the audience of this grand gesture of patronage not only the sedentary Arab populations of Syria but also those very tribes of different and sometimes confused identity, many of whom were potential targets of Safavid propaganda and their kind of Sufism.

For Fuzuli, a Turcoman of Iraq, who was and is one of the most revered poets of Ottoman and Azeri Turkish literature, the significant (and, again, vague) boundary was not between Syria and Rum but rather between Baghdad and Rum. He considered himself to be out of touch with the patronage networks of the lands of Rum, where many a lesser poet flourished, while he, a Shi‘a to boot, suffered the fate of the downtrodden of Karbala. In more prosaic and descriptive fashion, the lands north of Mosul, too, could function as the entry to Rum in chronicles depicting the movement of armies or individuals.

Somewhere to the west or north of any of those points, one crossed into the lands of Rum, which since the early twentieth century has almost mechanically been translated as “Anatolia.” But where, exactly, is Anatolia, historically speaking? Today, the word is used almost universally to cover all of the lands of Turkey to the east of the straits. It is also regularly in-

voked in a metaphorical fashion, by Turks in particular, to imply “the deep country,” the soil, the soiled but true essence of Turkey, minus the cosmopolitan corruption and money of Istanbul (and perhaps also “infidel Izmir”). But “Anatolia” was used even as late as the nineteenth century primarily in terms of physical geography, and as such the designation has the same vagueness beyond the diagonal line from Trabzon to the eastern edges of the Taurus Mountains, namely the uncannily overlapping eastern boundaries of the empires of Basil II and Mehmed II. If one ever wanted to consider deep geographic structures à la Braudel, one would also need to take into account a botanical frontier that natural scientists have discovered along, more or less, the same diagonal line.⁴⁹

In that sense, the usage of “Rum” in our late medieval and early modern sources can indeed be identified most of the time with the current delineation of Anatolia, with the same attendant vagueness about its boundaries, but only those to the east or the south. Rum, in other words, included Asia Minor, or Anatolia, but the Ottoman usage had more than the southwestern Asian peninsula in mind. The Balkans, too, were included in Rum as cultural space after the late fourteenth century. Ottoman lands west of the Marmara Sea were called *Rûm ili* (Rumelia), which is another way, after all, of saying “the lands of Rum.” Traveling westward from Iran or northward from Syria or Iraq, one would walk into the lands of Rum, but as one crossed the straits of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles eastward, one entered not Rum but Anadolu. The same Haleti who was mentioned above had held three judgeships, respectively, “in Gelibolu, Yenişehir, and Salonica, of the grand cities in Rum.” In other words, the lands of Rum as a cultural zone had two parts in Ottoman usage: what is now Anatolia and what used to be Rumelia.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century this usage of “Rum” as a geographical designation was likewise gradually abandoned, to be replaced by the broadening semantic field of “Anatolia,” but at first only in the sense of physical geography. *Anadolu*, the Turkicized form of the Greek word *Anatoli* (east), had been used for centuries in frozen institutional terminology, as in “the province of Anadolu” (the central and central-western parts of Asia Minor), or “the treasurer of Anadolu” (in juxtaposition with the same office held in Rumelia). In terms of physical geography, “the shores of Anadolu” (*Anadolu sevâhili*) had been commonly used since the late medieval era for the north-

ern shoreline of the peninsula. The inhabitants of Istanbul had been accustomed for centuries to think of many aspects and landmarks of their city in terms of a playful bipartite division: the castle, lighthouse, etc. of Rumelia vs. those of Anatolia. If one crossed the straits eastward, one crossed into Anatolia.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, “Anadolu” acquired a broader usage: coming north from Syria, one now did not necessarily enter the lands of Rum, but one might enter Anadolu. The chronicle of Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, written in the 1780s, uses “Rum” only twice in the traditional sense of “Asia Minor” and on two other occasions to refer to a Russian political plot to establish an independent *Rûm devleti* (Greek state) and to appoint a Russian nobleman as the Greek king (*Rûm kralı*).⁵⁰ In other words, the word “Rum” had acquired a new political meaning that would only intensify during the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s and thereafter. An account of the annihilation of the Janissaries in 1826 castigates the “heretical” soldiers for having been too cozy with the Greek rebels during the “sedition of the wicked Rum infidels (*kefere-i fecere-i Rûm*) in the year 1820–21.”⁵¹ It must have something to do with this new sensitivity that “Anatolia” acquires a broader range. In the same source is another striking usage: the brief vitae of Hacı Bektaş Veli mentions his migration “from Khurasan to Anatolia,” offering a new take on the time-honored Khurasan-to-Rum axis that prevails in late medieval and early modern hagiographies of saintly figures of the lands of Rum, many of whom are said to have hailed from Khurasan.⁵²

It is ironic that, at around the same time, many Greek intellectuals were feeling embarrassed about the Greeks’ self-designation of *Romaioi* and exerting their energy and influence to replace it by “Hellenes” and “Greeks.” When those intellectuals of the Greek enlightenment and, later, independence started to feel uncomfortable with the Byzantino-Ottoman associations of the word, their observations were based on a perception of *Romaioi* identity as defining a whole variety of institutions and attitudes. In 1787, for instance, Dimitrios Katartzis, in analyzing the ideas of another writer, wrote:

Two *ethni*, the Hellenic and the Roman, covering two thousand and more years between them, he holds to be one, the Hellenic, simply because the latter descends from the former; but they differ one from the other in fortune and constitution and religion and customs

and language and conduct, even in their clothing and utensils.”⁵³

“Rum” did not just keel over and disappear, however. No matter what he thought of a Greek state and a Greek king, Ahmed Vasıf Efendi took some pride in the “*dilâverân* (bravehearts) of Rum,” namely, Ottoman soldiers who fought valiantly against some rebels in Egypt in 1787.⁵⁴ Seyyid Muhammed Nurü'l-‘Arabi, a prominent nineteenth-century mystic, was sent in 1829 (?) to “the lands of Rum” by his sheikh in Cairo.⁵⁵ Even as late as 1874, Namık Kemal, who invented patriotic poetry in the Ottoman/Turkish tradition, would casually drop “Rum” in a couplet and assume that his readers would recognize the word in its old sense.⁵⁶ The entry on “Rum” in the celebrated Turkish dictionary of Şemseddin Sami, published in 1900, sealed the trajectory of the usage in the late nineteenth century, however: “People of Central Asia in our day apply this name to Anatolia...According to us, this name belongs only to the new Greek people.” Under “Anadolu” he would write, “It constitutes the most important part of the Ottoman realm in our day.”⁵⁷

For “Anadolu” to acquire regular usage with deep cultural resonance among the Ottomans, one needs to wait until the turn of the twentieth century, or, more definitively, until the end of the Balkan Wars in 1912–13, when the empire had lost nearly all its lands in Europe. Before that, experimentation with a pan-Ottoman identity for the sake of creating a modern sense of citizenship in the late empire, and the application of this new notion of Ottoman-ness in a widening network of schools and print cultures, rendered “Osmanlı” a broader category than it had been earlier. One could now write about *Osmanlı şairleri* (Ottoman poets), for instance. Toward the end of the century Turkishness, too, was embraced by a small but influential group of intellectuals.

There were, however, new ways of speaking about Anatolia, and perhaps the most original conceptualization is found in a novel published in 1871–72 by Evangelinos Misailidis (1820–90), of the Turcophone Greek Orthodox community. It is both a popular and a scholarly convention to speak of this community as Karamanli, but Misailidis himself objects to this and tells us that he would like to be called Anatolian.⁵⁸ Obviously, he has in mind the Greek Orthodox populations of Asia Minor, whether Turcophone or Hellenophone, and contrasts what he observes to be their backwardness in education and learning to the ad-

vancement in these respects of the Greeks of Greece. “The government of the Ottoman Empire” is no obstacle, he writes; “the Rums of Anatolia” or “Anatolians” (*Anadolu Rumları* and *Anadolulular*, interchangeably), should establish new schools and do our best to pull ourselves into the new age.” He then proceeds to a long list of “Anadolulu” philosophers, scientists, poets, and painters from ancient and Byzantine history as examples of past achievements that need to be revived. His proud list includes Hippocrates, Strabon, Sappho, Palamas, and many others, who are identified as having hailed from Anadolu, and a few occasional figures from areas such as Antioch, Damascus, and Cyprus, which he obviously considers as natural extensions of an Anatolian cultural geography.⁵⁹

Those lines were written in Istanbul in the 1870s for practical purposes, to serve as a source of inspiration for educational reform in a community rooted in Ottoman Anatolia. Competing designs on the peninsula in the early twentieth century would render Misailidis quaint. All of *his* Anatolians were forced to leave for Greece as refugees, and Muslim refugees from Rumelia and the Caucasus were moved to Anadolu, the heartland of the new country of Turkey, where they joined others learning to think of themselves as Turks. New histories had to be written about “our people” and “our homeland.”⁶⁰

“Our people,” it has proven relatively facile for nationalists everywhere to argue, have been around for a long time, perhaps since the misty beginnings of history—but where? Some consider themselves to have been “at home” since time immemorial, but most peoples must reckon with the fact that their forebears (the Germans, the Turks, the Slavs, the Aztecs, and all Indo-Europeans if one goes back enough in time) indeed moved around until they struck the felicitous bond with “our patria.” *Blut* met *Boden* and acquired *Lage*.⁶¹ They may have walked into “vast empty lands,” as is said of the Europeans in North America, or they may have come with “offerings of love and fraternity as well as a superior civilization and political stability” (accompanied by the requisite military action). Now that the destined embrace between “our people” and “our patria” is complete (Why did our ancestors share it with others? They were tolerant, to begin with. Moreover, the Seljuks and the Ottomans forgot they were Turks and fell for Persian and Arab and Byzantine cultures...), now that the Greeks and the Armenians are here no more, how do we recognize our homeland?

Remzi Oğuz Arık, with his influential explorations of “how geography turns into patria,” provides one of the best examples of the obsession with the question that loomed large in the minds of many early republican intellectuals:

How misty is the initial birth of nations? Which people has freely chosen its patria? How big is the role of chance...? Had Turks passed by the northern side of the Caspian, who knows in what religion and in what place we would now be? Imagine the difference of the countries of origin, the reasons for the departure from those countries, of the people who established the United States. Who among them had the purpose of establishing the country, the state, of today?

Once a people and a geography labor for centuries to mutually shape each other, however, mere land turns into homeland. That is how, according to Arık, the Oghuz Turks made Anatolia their own after 1071, while all other people before the Turks either were too dispersed to unify the land or merely exploited it.⁶²

A different understanding of Anatolia was developed by the “Blue” school of thought that embraced the pre-Islamic past of the peninsula, but only after introducing a sharp distinction between “this land of ours” and Greece; Homeros, for instance, was of “this land” and “ours,” not “theirs.” There were yet other approaches that developed in the context of competing irredentisms in the post-Ottoman political space, including a Turkish one, and in response to the new era of colonialism. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek’s *Büyük Doğu* (The Great East) paradigm, elaborated in his influential journal of the same name, found nothing worthy in Christian or, especially, Jewish survivals and survivors; it would be best not to have any traces of them in the new Turkish state. The novelist Kemal Tahir’s Anatolia was a land where Turks built a *kerim devlet* (munificent state) in the form of the Ottoman Empire. Various other “Anatolias” could be treated here, but the topic is ultimately as demanding as a broad intellectual history of republican Turkey.

One cannot escape the fact that all these readings of cultural geography came with their own political twists, in their conception as well as their continued reception. The questions themselves keep multiplying in our own time: how does one write about the cultures of the lands of former Yugoslavia? Where is Macedonia? To come back to Anatolia: What is a Turk? a Kurd? How should we tell their stories and

deal with the fact that those stories inform political arguments at least implicitly sustained by historical narratives? When a celebrated and controversial poet like İsmet Özel, for instance, asserts that “this soil awaited the Turks,” he is sketching a historical narrative and advancing a political argument about Turks and Anatolia that is not irrelevant to our concerns here. Whatever one thinks of his line, or the lines of different neo-nationalist writers, where does their fury come from? And, more important, why does it find such fertile ground? Much as their preoccupation with national essence and their exclusivist discourse strike me as deeply worrisome, I am afraid that, in a self-proclaimed age of globalization, undermining nation-based conceptualizations and narratives can also serve new forms of imperialism, articulating them with some hypocritical discourses (on human rights, democracy, minority rights, women’s rights, etc.).⁶³

It has turned into a postmodern sport to take shots—often cheap shots—at nationalisms and national histories. We tend to forget that nationalisms did and do appeal to millions of people because they provide, among other things, a sense of dignity and a pillar of sovereignty, none of which, in my opinion, is to be disdained or undermined. The political discourse of this age of globalization, and its critique of nationalism, has not grown out of a problematization of nation- or ethnos-based narratives as such; it simply wishes to deem certain parts of the world and certain peoples so utterly steeped in ancient hatreds and incomprehensible disputes that they must be taught better.

To return to the lands of Rum, the appropriation of “Roman-ness” by Turcophone Muslims in the late medieval and Ottoman era, or its recognition today, is not comparable to, say, the nineteenth-century British elite’s claims and attachment to the heritage of Rome: what was being appropriated was not the image of Rome but the soil that the Rumis inhabited and some of the continuous cultural traditions and dispositions. Nor was it to draw glamour or political *baraka* from Roman-ness, as was the case with British colonial administrators and is now true of the neo-cons of the United States.

For different reasons, the avowal of an identity deriving from the physical and cultural geography of eastern Rome among members of Ottoman society, including its most renowned writers and artists, now seems difficult to recognize for many in the Turkish

nation-state. A translator of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's monumental *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (published between 1827 and 1835) finds a reference in the original work to Ottoman art as "the art of Rum" unpalatable, even if the Viennese historian's intention is merely to attribute the glorious dome of the Taj Mahal to Ottoman architects. To the translation is amended a footnote:

Although Ottoman architecture may have borrowed from Byzantine architecture, the two are not the same; while Ottoman architecture has been influenced by other [traditions of] architecture, it has produced works in accord with an original style in full conformity with Turkish-Islamic taste and as an autonomous [tradition of] architecture, and has thus imposed its stamp in history.⁶⁴

It would be sheer romanticism to present this exercise as an attempt to recycle "Rumi" as a panacea to the excesses of nationalism, a mechanical alternative to "Turkish" or "Ottoman," or as an attempt to reinsert the "Turks-as-Romans" into European identity. In our rethinking of history writing through essentialized national, religious, and state-based categories, however, we can benefit from deeper excavation of premodern conceptualizations of identity as embodied in the notion of Rumi-ness, among others, and better understand the vicissitudes of selfhood in the plural environments that we study. That excavation would need to be followed by more intensive micro-geographical studies of exchange and reception, formation, or elaboration of cultural identities.⁶⁵

Identity has always been a political resource ("divide and rule" is partly based on that fact), but the ever more refined forms of production of knowledge about identities is now fed directly into the strategic calculus of security assets and security risks. I may forget Foucault, as I am advised to do by Baudrillard, but how can I forget in this context Sheikh Bedreddin, a child of the lands of Rum who thanks to his education in Egypt grew into a highly accomplished scholar and Sufi and developed a utopian vision and a huge following among diverse sorts of Rumis, only to be executed in 1416 by the Ottoman state? About the *'ulemā-i zāhir* (scholars of the exoteric aspects of religio-legal learning) of his time, Bedreddin wrote, "They say their goal is the acquisition of knowledge, but all their knowledge is for power and status (*cāh ve riyāset*)."

Ultimately, there is no Rome of one's own, unless one remains in a position to design and propagate

one's own identity free of history. Self-knowledge, too, is implicated in relations of power. One is always forced to rethink and redesign one's own conception of self according to others within and outside the "nation," under historical circumstances shaped by asymmetries of power or seduction of/by others. Thus it was that those who eventually learned (preferred?) to call themselves Turks and Greeks abandoned, for different reasons and toward different ends, their attachment to Rumi/*Romaioi* identity during the course of the eighteenth century, just as new hegemonic powers were emerging with a new take on the Roman past. That, of course, is the "real" Rome, not the lesser—the Anatolian, i.e., eastern—version.

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NOTES

1. Nizām al-Din Shāmī, *Zafername*, Turkish trans. Necati Lugal (Ankara, 1987), 307. The Ottoman sources write of Timur's forces as Tatar (making the important association with the Chingisids) and of themselves primarily as warriors of Islam and the soldiers of Rum.
2. The term has already been applied by Halil Edhem (Eldem) in a more restricted fashion, namely to western Anatolia in the post-Seljuk period: *Garbi Anadolu'da Selçukluların Varisleri: Tevaif ül-Müluk* (Istanbul, 1926).
3. Ibn Bibī, *El-Evāmirü'l-'Alā'iyye fī'l-umūri'l-alā'iyye*, facsimile edition, ed. Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara, 1957), 11, and the Turkish translation by Mürsel Öztürk, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1996), 1:29. The actual circumstances were, in fact, even more complicated, with many lesser emirs enjoying short-lived power on their own in small but not insignificant regions. That is why I referred, in an earlier publication, to a "Warholian Anatolia" of this era, where many an aspiring warrior enjoyed fifteen days to fifteen years of glory.
4. Franz Taeschner, s.v. "Kaykhusraw I," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1950–2004); also see Alexios G. Savvides, "A Note on the Terms Rûm and Anatolia in Seljuk and Early Ottoman Times," *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikôn Spoudôn* 5 (1984–85, publ. 1987): 99. The Danishmendids were not modest in this regard, either: there was an adolescent prince of that dynasty in 1177 named Afridûn: Irene Mélikoff, s.v. "Dānishmend," in *EI2*. The *Shāhnāma*, which constitutes the font of names for Rum Seljuk rulers after this point, is indeed the "Persian epic par excellence," as modern scholars often characterize it, but the relationship of medieval Turkish rulers to the epic material is not as predatory as it might seem, and not only because many Turkish rulers were patrons of Persian and Persianate literature, including the *Shāhnāma*. In the epic, the Iranian-Turanian distinction is much more porous than is implied by modern ethno-national conceptualizations of cultural patrimony. First of all, Faridûn (Feridun) is the ancestor of both

- the Iranians and the Turanians. Moreover, Kai Khusraw (Keyhusrev) is born to Siyavush and a daughter of Afrasiyab, after the Iranian prince takes refuge in Turan. Kai Khusraw eventually assumes the Iranian throne, but not without facing an objection that he is "sprung from the race of Afrasiyab." Cited and analyzed in Şener Aktürk, "Representations of the Turkic Peoples in the *Shahnameh* and the Greco-Roman Sources," *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 8 (2006): 15–26. It was the unusual combination of this heritage and the spirit of the new age that led Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to commission an opera to be composed by a European-trained Turkish musician when Rıza Şah Pahlavi was due to visit the Republic of Turkey. Performed in 1934 during the shah's sojourn in Ankara, the opera dealt with the story of the two sons of Faridun, from whom descended the Iranians and the Turanians.
5. Note, for instance, the empire of Trebizond; the realm of the Lascarids who ruled parts of western Asia Minor from their base in Nicaea until 1261, and some Byzantine-held towns even thereafter; brief control enjoyed by some Latin warriors after 1204 in some towns; and the tiny but commercially significant autonomous zones of the Genoese in Foça and Samsun.
 6. Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Battūtah*, ed. and trans. C. Defreméry and B. R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols. (Paris, 1853–58), 2:255ff. See, with respect to the chapter on Anatolia in particular, the useful notes in the reedition of the French text by Stéphane Yerasimos, *Voyages* (3 vols., Paris, 1990), and in the Turkish translation by A. Sait Aykut, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi* (2 vols., Istanbul, 2000).
 7. My initial perplexity with the "Rumi" identity is buried in a long footnote in my first academic article, "A Death in Venice: Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," in *Raiyyet Rüşumu: Essays Presented to Halil İnalcık, Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 191–218; see 193, n. 8. In his dissertation (Princeton University, 1980), which constitutes the basis of his *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, 1986), Cornell Fleischer also touched upon the significance of Rumi identity. More recently, Salih Özbaran, scholar of Ottoman adventures in the southern seas and indefatigable critic of the textbook versions of Turkish national historiography, has published *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14.–17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (Istanbul, 2004). As it often happens, one eventually discovers that some earlier scholar has already made pertinent observations: see M. F. Köprülü, "Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları," *Belleten* 27 (1943): 455. Also see Paul Wittek, "Le Sultan de Rûm," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 6 (1938): 361–390. Architectural historians have lately displayed a sensitivity to related issues: see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–80; idem, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques," in the forthcoming Musée du Louvre exhibition catalogue *Purs des décors? Arts de l'Islam dans les collections des Arts Décoratifs*, ed. Remy Labrousse (Paris, 2007), 10–23; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "'In the Image of Rum': Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70–95; and Tülay Artan, "Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History," in *Rethinking Architectural History*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York, 2006), 85–109.
 8. The defeat and execution by the Mongols of Sharaf al-Din Muhammad, the Rum Seljuks' Yezidi governor of Harput, is mentioned in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Paul Bedjan, trans. E. A. W. Budge, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1:425. On the dynamics of Islamization and Turkification in late medieval Asia Minor the monumental work of Speros Vryonis is essential reading: *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971). Also see the informative article by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak in *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1988–), s.v. "Anadolu: Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesi ve İslamlaşması." Ocak has no qualms about characterizing the Yezidis as *sapık* (deviant). The association of Yezidism with Yazid b. Mu'awiya might well be pop etymology, or simply slander by their Muslim neighbors who thus linked a "bizarre" faith with one of the disliked characters of early Islamic history, but it was accepted by the Yezidis for centuries. In any case, they are of late evidently attempting to disassociate themselves from such a linkage: Sabiha Banu Yalkut, *Melek Taurus'un Halkı Yezidiler* (Istanbul, 2001), 86. While, according to Yalkut, Armenian nationalism has claimed them as a proto-Armenian community that experienced a linguistic conversion (13), and Saddam Hussein's Iraq categorized them as Arabs because of the presumed link with the Umayyad dynasty through Yazid (85), the Yezidis are historically Kurdish-speaking and generally considered Kurds: see John S. Guest, *Survival among the Kurds: A History of the Yezidis* (London and New York, 1993). For some primordialist Kurdish nationalists, Yezidism is indeed the original faith of the Kurds. Ibn Battuta's reference to Yazid as the ancestor of the Sons of Germiyan, even if it is related by the traveler as a disparaging remark by their resentful neighbors, has thus led some modern scholars to deem the Germiyanids Kurds and occasioned a rebuttal by a Turkish historian: see Mustafa Çetin Varlık, *Germiyanogulları Tarihi: 1300–1429* (Ankara, 1974). The actual circumstances may indeed have been so complex as not to allow for a designation of some of those tribal confederations with a straightforward ethnic marker comfortably recognized by modern readers. Ethnic and linguistic transformations could be drawn-out, complex processes and did not always tend towards Turkification; in the regions traditionally inhabited by the Yezidis (now northern Iraq and southeastern Turkey), for instance, there was also a process of Kurdification, as argued by İhsan Süreyya Sırma (who expanded an article by Th. Menzel in the original *Encyclopaedia of Islam*): see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1950–88), s.v. "Yezidiler."
 9. Cited in Halil İnalcık, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "İstanbul: Türk devri." Mas'udi's rendering, *Stanbulin*, is slightly different and closer to the Greek original rendering of *eis-ten-polin*. Casim Avcı, "Arap-İslâm Kaynaklarında İstanbul," in *İstanbul Üniversitesi 550. Yıl Uluslararası Bizans ve Osmanlı Sempozyumu (XV. Yüzyıl), 30–31 Mayıs 2003*, ed. Sümer Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), 99–111.

10. Seyyid Battal Gazi himself was revered as a saintly figure among the Turkish Muslims of the lands of Rum, while around his shrine grew one of the most popular cults of post-Manzikert Anatolia.
11. See, for instance, the unabashedly presentist political uses of this argument in Seyfi Taşhan and Heath Lowry, "U.S.-Turkish Interests: Convergence and Divergence," Policy Watch #661 (Sept. 20, 2002): Special Forum Report, Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Internet distribution: policy-peacewatch@washingtoninstitute.org. According to the authors, Arabs lack these qualities.
12. Ibn 'Arabi's letter is recorded in Kerimüddin Mahmud-i Akarayi, *Müsamemet ül-Ahbar*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara, 1944), 327–29. For a Turkish rendering, see the translation of this work by Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara, 2000), 264–66.
13. Cited in B. Furūzānfar, *Mevlāna Celāleddin*, Turkish trans. F. N. Uzluk (Istanbul, 1997), 66–67. On the basis of an allusion in the *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, Franklin Lewis suggests that the title may have been used in Rumi's lifetime: *Rumi, Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi* (Oxford, 2000), 10. Annemarie Schimmel has a point but is ultimately imprecise when she translates Mawlana Rumi as "Our Master, the Byzantine": *Rumi's World: The Life and Work of the Great Sufi Poet* (Boston, 1992), 11.
14. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Rāwandī, *Rāhat-ūs-Sudūr ve Āyet-ūs-Sūrūr*, Turkish trans. Ahmed Ateş, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1957), 2:461–62. In the 1260s, a member of the Seljuk cavalry bore the curious name Rumeri (literally, man or soldier of Rum); his father was a powerful *çaşnigir* (taster or cupbearer in royal service) named Türkeri (Turkish man, or soldier): Ibn Bibi, *El-Evāmīr-ü'l-'Ala'iyye*, 663; Turkish trans., 2:180.
15. "İsmail Hakkı Bursevi Şerhi," in Mustafa Tatcı, ed., *Yunus Emre Şerhleri* (Istanbul, 2005), 143. *Atabeg* is a construct made of two older Turkish words, while *lala* is a loanword from Persian, indicating the cultural preferences of the two groups mentioned here.
16. *Romaioi* was a common form of self-designation among the Greeks during the Byzantine and Ottoman eras, and this word, too, has had its own curious historical adventures extending into the modern era of nationalism. For an ethnographic analysis of the usage among modern Greeks see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin, 1982). For some striking examples of critical reflections on *Romaioi* identity by Greek intellectuals in the eighteenth century, see Alexis Politis, "From Christian Roman Emperors to the Glorious Greek Ancestors," *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, ed. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (Aldershot, Eng., 1998), 1–14.
17. See, for instance, *Rümiler içerü toluḡ müslümānları helāk eylediler* (The Rumis rushed in and decimated the Muslims): *Dānişmend-nāme*, ed. Necati Demir (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 7 and passim.
18. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-'arīfīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1959), 2:721: *imārat-i 'ālam mahşūst bi Rümīyān va kharābī-i jahān maqşūr-ast bi-Türkān*. Rumi obviously preferred the art of the Rumis. In a famous parable, related by al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and Nizami (d. ca. 1200), Chinese and Rum (Greek? Byzantine?) painters compete to determine who will execute the superior painting on two facing walls; while Rum artists labor to produce a magnificent piece of art, the Chinese merely polish their wall for a perfect reflection and thus triumph, since a mirror reflection is a superior rendering of reality by virtue of its pointing to the ideal beauty beyond the phenomenal world. In Mevlana Celaleddin's rendering of the same parable, the roles are reversed; it is the Rumis who turn out to be wiser and decide to polish, while the Chinese merely display their artistry. The comparison is made by Serpil Bağcı, "Gerçeğin Saklandığı Yer: Ayna," in *Sultanların Aynaları*, catalogue of an exhibition of the same title held at the Topkapı Palace Museum in 1998–99 (Istanbul, 1998), 16–19. We may not be able, at this point, to tell with precision which communities Mevlana Celaleddin's milieu had in mind when speaking of Rumis, but it clearly included a certain Kaluyan and an 'Aynū'd-devle, both of whom are identified as "Rumi painters" by Aflaki (1:552). Kaluyan is also known as an accomplished architect. The early republican authors of a work on Seljuk architecture refer to a controversy concerning the Greek or Armenian identity of the famous artist and decide that he must have been Mekhitarist Greek, or rather Orthodox Turk: see M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Selçuk Veziri Sahib Ata ile Oğullarının Hayat ve Eserleri* (Istanbul, 1934), 121.
19. See, for instance, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1961). For a consideration of the uses of "Turk" by Mevlana Celalüddin, including both the example given above and more positive ones, which have led some modern Turkish writers to claim him not only as a Turk but even as a Turkish nationalist, see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin* (Istanbul, 1985), 206–7. Gölpınarlı rightly insists that ethnonyms were deployed allegorically and metaphorically in classical Islamic literatures, which operated on the basis of a staple set of images and their well-recognized contextual associations by readers; there, "Turk" had both negative and positive connotations. In fact, the two dimensions could be blended: the "Turk" was "cruel" and hence, at the same time, the "beautiful beloved."
20. Mütercim Âsım Efendi, *Burhān-ı Katı*, ed. Mürsel Öztürk and Derya Örs (Ankara, 2000), s.v. *cānkī* and *heftān*. For an instance of *türkī-i kadīm* (ancient Turkish), s.v. *biş-behār*.
21. Yusuf b. 'Abdullah, *Tārīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān*, publ. as *Bizans Söylenceleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. Efdal Sevinçli (Izmir, 1997), 126/127, 136/137, 146/147, 172/173, 234/235, 250/251, 254/255 (facing pages of facsimile and Latin-letter transcription); the only other instance is in reference to "Turks" among the rebels who gathered around Sheikh Bedreddin, 102/103. There are only two other occurrences of the word "Türk," both of them as adjectives, once to designate a person (*Türk Rüstem*, 82/83) and once to define a garb (238/239). On 180/181, Türkmens (Turcomans) are mentioned as *mezheb-süz* (without a proper sectarian affiliation) among the forces of Uzun Hasan, the Akkoyunlu ruler, and as enemies of the Ottomans, who are often designated *ehl-i İslām* (the people of Islam) or *gāziler* (warriors for the faith). It remains true that not all our sources are so consistent, and some of them contain a variety of uses of the word "Türk(ler)" in a neutral or boastful manner, next to unpleasant ones, as argued by Hakan Erdem, "Osmanlı Kaynaklarından Yansıyan Türk İmaj(lar)ı," in Özlem Kumrular, ed., *Dünyada Türk İmgesi* (Istanbul, 2005), 13–26. If the earlier sections of Yusuf b.

- 'Abdullah's chronicle had survived, we might have encountered such counterexamples, since most of Erdem's instances of non-ventriloquial uses are in passages that deal with pre- or early Ottoman history, where links to Oghuz and Inner Asian traditions (the "Turkish past" of the Ottomans) are of particular relevance. It also should be noted that many of them are in passages where an Ottoman/Turkish character is speaking to non-Ottomans. There needs to be a more systematic survey of different sources in order to understand and contextualize the preferences of authors or the routes of transmission with respect to the relevant vocabulary.
22. Translated and cited in Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 254.
 23. Barbara Flemming, "Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7–8 (1988): 123–37; M. Fuad Köprülü, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Etnik Menşei Meseleleri," *Belleten* 7(1943): 219–313.
 24. 'Aziz b. Ardashir Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat (Istanbul, 1928), 382; Şikari, *Karamannâme*, ed. Metin Sözen and Necdet Sakaoğlu (Istanbul, 2005), fols. 111b–112a. The Aydınoğulları at the time of İzmiroğlu Cüneyd apparently called the Ottomans "rabbits" and themselves "wolves": see Nihat Azamat, ed., *Anonim Tevârih-i Âli Osman* (Istanbul, 1992), 69.
 25. Exhaustively documented and analyzed in Najwa al-Qattan, "Dhimmi in the Muslim Court: Documenting Justice in Ottoman Damascus 1775–1869" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996).
 26. Şinasi Tekin, "1343 Tarihli Bir Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Metni ve Türk Dili Tarihinde Olğa-bolğa Sorunu," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (1973–74): 59–157.
 27. Clive Foss, "Byzantine Responses to Turkish Attack: Some Sites of Asia Minor," in *Aetos: Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango*, ed. Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 156–57 and photographic reproductions. Foss modestly presents this important finding "as a preliminary note, intended to draw attention to those unparalleled documents." I am preparing a new edition, translation, and set of photographs, which were taken in collaboration with Dr. Nejdert Ertuğ, to whom I am grateful for his generosity with his time and fort-climbing companionship.
 28. Muhammed b. Mahmūd-ı Şirvānī, *Tuhfe-i Murādī*, ed. Mustafa Argunşah (Ankara, 1999), 73. For the dynamics of slave and post-manumission experiences in a specific setting, see Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late-15th and Early-16th Centuries," *Turcica* 17 (1985): 43–112.
 29. M. Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974): 233–39.
 30. See 162–64 of the text, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakob Nagy de Harsányi*, ed. György Hazai (The Hague and Paris, 1973).
 31. For a full discussion of relevant names in Badoer's account book see Kafadar, "Anatolian Muslim Merchants," 193.
 32. For the proverb see Gillian Weiss, "Back from Barbary: Captivity, Redemption and French Identity in the 17th- and 18th-Century Mediterranean" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2005).
 33. This assessment, which may be worth revisiting, is widely accepted and cited in later scholarship: see, for instance, John Woods, *The Aqqayunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago, 1976), 9.
 34. Harun Tolasa, *Sehî, Latîfî, Âşık Çelebi Tezkirelerine göre 16. yy.da Edebiyat Araştırma ve Eleştirisi* (İzmir, 1983), 34.
 35. All examples in this paragraph are cited in Tolasa, *Sehî, Latîfî*, 13–14. For a compound word with negative connotations see Mütercim Âsım Efendi, *Burhan-ı Katr: rûmî-hüy* (of Rumi disposition), explained as "a fickle person who has a capricious nature." F. Steingass's rendering, s.v. *rûmî khüy*, is "fickle, like a Greek": *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (Delhi, 1973; orig. pub. 1892). Also see Julius T. Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866), "rûmî-hüy oder rûm-mesreb von griechischem Charakter, unbeständig, flatterhaft, treulos."
 36. 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Tamghrūtî, *En-Nafhat el-Miskiyya fî-s-Sifarat el-Tourkiyya: Relation d'une ambassade marocaine en turquie, 1589–1591*, trans. Henry de Castries (Paris, 1929), 48. The translator, a French officer in North Africa, adds a footnote: "Understand: they prefer to be considered Greeks more than they would wish to be taken for Turks."
 37. Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1991), 38 and 147, n. 23. Özbaran provides a detailed account of modern scholarly literature that tends to conflate Rumis with Turks, Anatolian Turks, or Greeks: see *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği*, 89–98, inter alia.
 38. *Bayram Han'ın Türkçe Divanı*, ed. Münvever Tekcan (Istanbul, 2005), 113. Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna is cited in Kafadar, "Anatolian Muslim Merchants," 194. Many other instances of the usage in Asian sources, including one in Southeast Asia, are noted in Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği*, 58–64; for Portuguese sources, see 78–88.
 39. Ramazan Muslu, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf [18. yüzyıl]* (Istanbul, 2003), 391ff.
 40. Nevres-i Kadim, *Tarihçe-i Nevres*, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Istanbul, 2004), 43.
 41. *Urum'ı vü Şam'ı geçdüm, Arabistanlığa düşdüm*. Cited in Iskender Pala, "Ahmed Fakih ve Şiirleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri* 10 (2004): 131.
 42. There is only one mention of Anadolu, for instance, in the new collection of Karacaoğlu's poetry by Saim Sakaoğlu: *Karacaoğlu* (Ankara, 2004), 556; this poem is likely to have been composed by a nineteenth-century imitator of Karacaoğlu, since the poem refers to "İngiliz, Fransız, Moskof, Alaman"—a list of European nationalities that could hardly have been put together before that era. "Rum" and its alternative, folksy spelling "Urum," but not "Anadolu," appear in two of Yunus Emre's better-known poems: see *Yunus Emre Divanı: Tenkitli Metin*, ed. Mustafa Tatçı (Istanbul, 2005), 281 and 269 respectively.
 43. Cited by Mustafa Demirel in the introduction to his critical edition of İbn-i Kemal, *Divân* (Istanbul, 1996), xxx. This folksy poem is not included in the scholar's own collection of his poetry, which is noteworthy for a ghazal with "Rum" as its refrain (144); another one (182) addresses the beloved and depicts loving hearts as "pilgrims who came to the frontier of Rum that is your beauty."
 44. Baldırzade Selisi Şeyh Mehmed, *Ravza-i Evliya*, ed. Mefail Hız-

- lı and Murat Yurtsever (Bursa, 2000), 76, 257, 281.
45. Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'atü'l-memâlik*, ed. Mehmet Kiremet (Ankara, 1999).
 46. Abû Bakr Tihri, *Kitâb-i Diyârbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara, 1962), 44; idem, *Kitab-ı Diyarbakriyye*, Turkish trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara, 2001), 41.
 47. Yusuf b. 'Abdullah, *Târîh-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, 269.
 48. Firdevsî-i Rûmî, *Kutb-nâme*, ed. İ. Olgun and İ. Parmaksızoğlu (Ankara, 1980), 76.
 49. Suavi Aydın, "Anadolu Diyağonalı: Ekolojik Kesinti Tarihsel-Kültürel Bir Farklılığa İşaret Edebilir Mi?" *Kebikeç* 17 (2004): 117–37.
 50. Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Ahbâr*, ed. Mücteba İlgürel (Istanbul, 1978), 23.
 51. Şirvânî Fâtiḥ Efendi, *Gülzâr-ı Fütûḥât: Bir Görgü Tanığının Kalemîyle Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın Kaldırılışı*, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan (Istanbul, 2001), 19. The same source refers (40) to the "ulema of Anatolia" in a sweeping manner when speaking of the scholars' declaration of jihad against the invading Russian armies. The rise to prominence of "Anadolu" may also have something to do with the emergence of the Russians as the major challenger of the Ottoman Empire and patrons of its Rum Orthodox populations; a binary of Rus and Rum is not so easy to imagine from the Ottoman point of view.
 52. Ibid., 81; the full phrase is *ḥıṭṭa-i Anadolu* (the land of Anatolia).
 53. Politis, "From Christian Roman Emperors," 7; also see, in the same volume, Peter Mackridge, "Byzantium and the Greek Language Question in the Nineteenth Century," 50.
 54. Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr*, 357.
 55. Gölpinarlı, *Melamîlik ve Melamîler* (Istanbul, 1931), 234–35. I am not sure that the disciple went astray by going to Serres (now in Greek Macedonia), as Gölpinarlı would have it, "since the lands of Rum imply Anatolia." We should also note that this is an Arabic source, and the trajectory of the word "Rum/Rumi" may be somewhat different in the different languages used in our relevant sources. Here, we are mostly concerned with the uses of the word in Turkish.
 56. *Ey vakıf-ı her mekânı Rum'un / Bir adı da Van mı Erzurum'un*. See Önder Göçgün, *Namık Kemal'in Şairliği ve Bütün Şiirleri* (Ankara, 1999), 397.
 57. Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî* (Istanbul, 1900), s.v. "Rûm" and "Anadolu." He had already expanded the nine-line entry on Anatolia in Bouillet's *Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie* to eleven pages in his own encyclopedic work of history and geography, which took the former as its model. See Ömer Faruk Akün, s.v. "Şemseddin Sâmî," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*.
 58. I am reminded of Elia Kazan's *The Anatolian Smile*, the alternative title to his film *America, America*.
 59. Evangelinos Misailidis, *Seyreyle Dünyayı (Temaşa-ı Dünya ve Cefakar-u Cefakes)*, ed. Robert Anhegger and Vedat Günyol (Istanbul, 1986). From 1849, first in Izmir and then in Istanbul, Misailidis published a periodical called *Anadolu*, which he also used as the name of his publishing house. When his 1871–72 novel was printed in Latin-letter transcription in 1986, a controversy arose as to whether it should be considered "the first novel in Turkish." The case of Misailidis is a reminder that further study of conceptualizations of Anadolu among Greeks and Armenians should be added to a growing list of related research items.
 60. Stéphane Yerasimos has garnered exquisite examples, from various sources published between 1917 and 1920, of the discourse that rendered this task an emergency: "As everyone knows, Turks came from Mongolia. While there, they learned nothing that would enable them to administer a country. They came as soldiers and conquerors and never became anything else. ...When Turks came to Asia Minor, they had no women with them. ...The primitive Turk will always remain at the level of an animal. ...If you scratch the polish on the surface, you will encounter a Tatar. ...Their way of living is always military...History has shown us that Turks do not have a faculty for intelligence...It is undeniable that Turks hate commerce...Turks are merely numbers...Do Turks have the capacity to establish a national identity?...Theirs is neither a country nor a nation. ...We cannot speak of the existence of a Turkish people. ...They have left their real home in Inner Asia and prepared the demise of the eastern Roman Empire. It is a burden placed upon us by civilization to make them return to where they came from, sooner or later." Yerasimos, "Ne Mutlu Türk'üm Diyene," in idem, ed., *Türkler: Doğu ve Batı, İslam ve Laiklik*, trans. Temel Keleşoğlu (Istanbul, 2002), 40–49.
 61. Roughly, blood, soil, and place: held by Josef Strzygowski to be the key determinants of art. See, for instance, his last work, *Europas Machtkunst im Rahmen des Erdkreises* (Vienna, 1943), 721, 723, 725.
 62. Remzi Oğuz Arık, "Coğrafyadan Vatana" (first publ. 1942), in idem, *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (Ankara, 1990), 11–17.
 63. Slavoj Žižek, "Against Human Rights," *New Left Review* 34 (July–Aug. 2005): 115–31.
 64. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 10 vols., Turkish trans. Mümin Çevik and Erol Kılıç (Istanbul, 1983), based on an earlier Ottoman Turkish translation by Mehmed Ata Bey, 5:575.
 65. The promise of such an approach is borne out in Oya Pancaroğlu's article "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Anatolia," *Gesta* 43, 2 (2004): 151–64, in which she brilliantly analyzes exchanges revolving around the dragon-slaying hero of Christians and Muslims in the region of the Arab-Byzantine frontier, the cultural legacy of which played a formative role in the later adventures of the people of the lands of Rum.

AN UNEASY HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE LEGACY OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE FORMER ARAB PROVINCES

The mandate of this essay is to examine the historiography of the architecture of the Ottoman Empire in the former Arab provinces. Any foray into this topic soon stumbles upon a conceptual minefield. Let me clarify two key issues implicit in the title: First, Ottoman architecture was an artifact of empire; it was both an imperial project, a centrally planned network of buildings and spaces disseminated throughout the territories of the Sultan, and the result of countless local initiatives that wove their own complex web of formal and institutional relationships with the center and with other imperial provinces.¹ Second, the territory this essay means to cover, the Ottoman provinces in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Middle East south of Anatolia—roughly the pre-modern Mamluk state—was not always conceived as a unified cultural area, known as “the Arab world,” that transcended historical change. The Ottoman administration classified and named this territory in different ways at different times; a racial-ethnic notion of “Arab land” did not obtain.² Of course the political consciousness of an entity called “the Arab world,” *al-waṭan al-ʿarabī*, is an artifact of the modern era; it reflects a particular ideology and, as originally conceived, postulated the opposition of the Arab and the Turk, as illustrated in the primer of Arab nationalism, *al-ʿUrūba awwalan!* (Arabism First!), by Satiʿ al-Husri (1881–1968).³ The tortured modern history of the region is defined by the broad processes of modernization, empire, colonialism, and nation-building that radically transformed this society’s perception of itself and of its past. The very vocabulary used is inflected by these realities, and needs to be disentangled. This essay does not constitute an exhaustive review of the historiography of the Ottoman period in the former Arab provinces; the intellectual activity in this time and place was so complex and varied that an overarching survey is necessarily incomplete. Rather, it examines two key

intersections of architecture and historiography—Egypt around 1870 and Syria around 1930—to establish a general framework for the study of modern writing on the visible past, and of the transformation of the material remnants of that past in the former Mamluk provinces.

The geographical expanse considered here came under Ottoman rule in 1517, when Sultan Selim defeated the Mamluks at the Battle of Marj Dabiq, outside Aleppo. This brief moment of violence marks the transformation of lands previously unified by their allegiance to the Mamluk state, with its capital in Cairo, into conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire, with its capital in Istanbul. The transformation of these territories into Ottoman provinces was a long, deliberate process that extended to all aspects of society and included adaptations in legal and administrative structures, trade patterns, use of urban spaces, and population movements. The incorporation of the Mamluk state inaugurated the greatest period of Ottoman achievement; the acquisition of the Mamluk Empire forever changed the Ottoman polity as it transformed the newly integrated territories.

As the Ottoman centuries progressed, the architectural fabric of the former Mamluk provinces was thoroughly altered (fig. 1).⁴ Members of the imperial dynasty and Ottoman officials not only built new monumental institutional complexes that renewed the profiles and functions of cities, but also remodeled and redefined existing monuments, shrines, and streets. In a process that Irene Bierman has called “the franchising of Ottoman Istanbul,” the office of imperial architects provided a standardized design of a varied yet highly recognizable Rumi-style mosque that was disseminated in all the imperial provinces along with blueprints for institutions that supported the Ottoman-Islamic way of life, and that was often grouped with these institutions in architectural ensembles.⁵



Fig. 1. View of Aleppo, showing the Ottoman-period Khusruwiyya and 'Adiliyya mosques. (After Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941), 2:pl. 40)

EGYPT CIRCA 1870: CONSTRUCTING THE MEDIEVAL

The users of the multiple architectural layers of the cities and villages of Ottoman provinces produced discourses about their built environment, including a significant local historiography in Arabic and other languages as well as an Ottoman discourse of travelers and geographers from the capital.⁶ Authoritative topographical histories of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods continued to influence the modern historiography of architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the work of the fifteenth-century Cairene historian al-Maqrizi is emblematic in this regard.⁷ Similarly, there existed a premodern European proto-Orientalist humanistic discourse, parallel to a rich tradition of travelogues.⁸ However, the writing of the architectural history of the Middle East as a modern enterprise began in the late eighteenth century, marking a rupture in ways of perceiving and representing the built environment. This rupture is linked to another violent episode of imperial expansion, Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, and to the encyclopedic study that he sponsored, the *Description de l'Égypte*. The monu-

mental *Description* constitutes the crowning achievement of the scientists and scholars who accompanied the expedition and were granted exceptional access to the conquered territory;⁹ it marks the beginning of the modern Western historiography of Egypt, and its methods of inquiry, technologies of research and representation, and narrative plot were to influence generations of historians. It also marks the onset of a critical parallel in the narrative structure and substance of Orientalism and Arab nationalism.

While the colonial presence of France in Egypt was short lived, French cultural influence was decisive and enduring and French science dominant until the British occupation (1882–1922). In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman province of Egypt under Muhammad 'Ali and his descendants achieved a degree of autonomy from the imperial capital in Istanbul, while maintaining nominal allegiance to it. Western experts in all fields descended on Egypt to offer their professional skills to the fledgling state and were granted exceptional opportunities by the aggressively modernizing government of the Khedives. Thus Egypt's engagement with Western knowledge throughout the nineteenth century differed somewhat from such engagement at

the imperial center in Istanbul. The experts' toolbox included the Western methods of scholarly study as well as the entrenched ideological and racial assumptions of their society. Many have analyzed the prejudices and Orientalist biases of this literature; my purpose here is rather to draw out some of the dominant topoi in the historiographic construction of the recent, Ottoman period of Egypt.

Nineteenth-century Western knowledge bisected the history of Egypt into two discontinuous eras: the ancient Pharaonic and Hellenistic periods, considered part of the history of the West and ultimately of modernity, and the medieval Islamic period, which led to Egypt's present.¹⁰ On either side of a divide marked by the advent of Islam, scholars segregated themselves on the basis of the research languages and techniques they used (e.g., archaeology as opposed to philology). Coinciding with the emphasis of medieval Islamic historiography on the *futūḥāt* (early Islamic conquests) as a decisive agent of historical change, this radical rupture tends not to be challenged. Alongside the pioneering Egyptologists of the nineteenth century, scholars, architects, and Orientalists such as Pascal Coste, Émile Prisse d'Avennes, Max Herz, and Jules Bourgoïn took as their field of study the immense architectural wealth of medieval and early modern Egypt. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the French language and techniques developed at the École des Beaux-Arts dominated the production of documentary knowledge about the built environment of Egypt.¹¹ The primacy of French discourses on the built environment also determined the terms by which the subject under study was categorized. Since French discourse linked visual production to ethnic identity, the post-Muslim conquest architecture of Egypt was defined as "Arab." This category was delineated by what it was not: French historiography devised the locutions "Persian art" and "Turkish art" around the same time. In the nineteenth century, then, writers in French chose ethnic terms to demarcate architectural styles and periods; even when they also used dynastic (e.g., Bahri Mamluk) and sectarian (i.e., Islamic) markers, the latter were subsumed under the paramount ethnic designation. Thus the category "Arab art" in part denoted the art of Egypt after Islam. This is not to argue that this discourse held a secular view of "Arab art"; to the contrary, it cast Islam, along with climate and race, in an essential and determinant role in this visual tradition. Prisse d'Avennes described the visual culture of Cairo as "engendered by the Qur'an."¹²

Viollet-le-Duc summarized the category thus: "One has agreed to give the name 'Arab art' to the art that has spread itself in those countries with milieus of diverse races through the conquest of Islam, from Asia to Spain..."¹³ This self-consciously arbitrary definition gave an ethnic name to a range of visual productions by disparate social groups unified by a single religion and some formal similarities. As the twentieth century progressed, however, this ethnic designation came to be taken increasingly literally in Arabic historiography. By contrast, in Western historiography, the ethnic designation was supplanted by the British-inflected, religion-based category of "Muhammedan," and later, around the period of the First World War, "Islamic." This terminology, applied to Egypt, had been crafted in the context of India, where the British used religious designations for architectural categories.¹⁴ A representative of this historiography is K. A. C. Creswell (1879–1974), whose work on the Islamic architecture of Cairo became canonical, as did his rigorously formal approach. Creswell's history of Egyptian architecture ends abruptly in the year 1311, leaving out the late medieval period and entirely omitting the Ottomans.¹⁵

Recent scholarship has charted the rise of the category "medieval" to denote particular districts of Cairo. Irene Bierman has shown how, in the nineteenth century, cultural processes were deployed to ensure that segments of Cairo came to be perceived as "medieval" and "Islamic" and selectively preserved as such, just as other areas of Cairo were expanded and radically reformulated along principles of modern urban planning and architecture.¹⁶ The "medievalization" of Cairo depended on the dual processes of representation and reorganization on the ground. The liminal point of this process of medievalization was the 1867 Exposition universelle in Paris, in which Egypt participated independently from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷ The 1867 Egyptian exhibit became canonical both in its staging of Cairene architecture for mass consumption, which in turn colored the way the "original" Cairo was viewed, and in its highly influential catalogue of architecture in Egypt, composed for the occasion by Charles Edmond (1822–99), where many historiographic motifs first appeared that would be reiterated again and again.¹⁸ The "medievalization" of Cairo's urban history had its cognates in the elaboration of the category of "medieval" in the architectural history of France, and particularly in the construction of Gothic architecture as a pinnacle of national achieve-

ment, a position maintained by Viollet-le-Duc among others. Bierman has shown, however, that in exhibitionary practice as in historiographic discourse France possessed both a medieval past and a thoroughly modern present, whereas Egypt was represented primarily in terms of a medieval past conceived as timeless, while its aggressively modernizing present remained, if not invisible, at least unrepresented in these specific venues.

This elision of the modernity of Egypt directly concerns the fate of the Ottoman architectural layer. The nineteenth-century Western experts, and the *Lajnat ḥifẓ al-āthār al-ʿarabiyya*, or Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe—the institution, established in 1881, that enacted the preservation of medieval Cairo—considered Ottoman monuments incongruous with the medieval character of the city because they were not sufficiently antique.¹⁹ Thus Ottoman monuments were rarely catalogued, studied, and preserved in their own right, and were at best neglected. But there is more at stake in the rejection of the Ottoman moment than the necessity to mark the temporal boundaries of the medieval. The plot of nineteenth-century narratives of Egypt's Arab visual past often comprised three sequential periods—the earliest of original purity and creativity, the middle of maturity and greatness, and the last of inexorable decline. These narratives always cast the medieval period as the high point of Arab art and buttressed this assertion with a wealth of visual and textual sources. The so-called *génie arabe* (a cognate to *le génie français*) found its fullest expression in the medieval period.

Prisse d'Avennes (1807–79) may be considered emblematic of the many Western experts in Egypt during this period. Trained as an engineer and draughtsman at the École d'arts et métiers at Châlons, he traveled in the Middle East, eventually arriving in Egypt, where he was employed by the Khedival government on engineering and hydrological projects and taught at military schools. He also worked on the pivotal Egyptian display at the Exposition universelle of 1867 and was certainly familiar with Edmond's authoritative historic scheme of Egypt's architecture. As bureaucratic success eluded him, Prisse d'Avennes turned to travel and the study of antique monuments in Cairo as well as in Upper and Lower Egypt,²⁰ recording both Pharaonic and Islamic monuments with detailed line drawings as well as photographs. He considered himself both an Egyptologist who refined and completed previous studies and a student of Islamic art

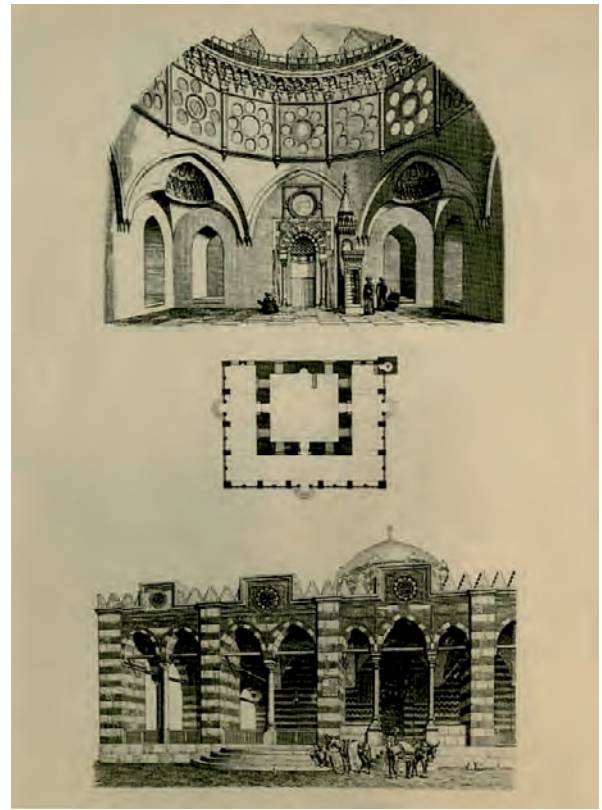


Fig. 2. Drawing of the Ottoman-period Sinaniyya Mosque, Cairo. (Originally published in Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe*, 4 vols. [Paris: Ve. A. Morel et Cie., 1877], 1:pl. 30)

who acquainted Westerners with this underappreciated tradition.²¹ He published his Egyptological and Islamic studies in separate volumes, however, clearly reflecting his conceptualization of these two eras as distinct and discontinuous.

In his 1877 study, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe*,²² Prisse d'Avennes divided the history of Arab art in Egypt into three periods. From the conquest of 'Amr b. al-ʿAs until the end of the Ayyubid period, architecture showed the clear influence of the Byzantine tradition. Under the Mamluks, between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, religious as well as civic architecture reached its apogee; the greatness of medieval Arab art—what Prisse d'Avennes called *le génie arabe*—compared favorably to the full flowering of Gothic art in France. In line with Orientalist discourse, however, he clarified that medieval Islamic civilization was infe-



Fig. 3. Mosque of al-Rifa'i, Cairo, 1869–1911, architects Husayn Fahmi and Max Herz. View of the southeastern and south-western facades. (Photo: Nasser Rabbat)



Fig. 4. Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali, Cairo, 1828–48, architect unknown. Viewed from the Mosque of Ibn Tulun. (Photo: Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh)

rior to its cognate, the French medieval: as Viollet-le-Duc phrased it, "In the Arabic monument, geometry supplied the vestment; in the Western mediaeval structure, it gave the body."²³ Nevertheless, Ottoman rule, or in Prisse's words "Turkish rule," ushered in a period of inexorable decline, where rulers did not strive for the welfare of society. Thus, "from this moment [i.e., the conquest by Selim] onward, the events of the history of Egypt are devoid of interest. They are nothing but small riots, palace revolutions, disputes of soldiers, murders, and poisonings, and they never had as a goal the improvement of the destiny of this unhappy people."²⁴ Still, compelled to catalogue "the march of the decadence of Arab art," Prisse d'Avennes called upon Cairene monuments of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (fig. 2) to show how "Arab genius was extinguished under Turkish influence." The few works of artistic merit represented "the supreme protest of Arab genius against barbarism."²⁵ In the end, Ottoman architecture was tarred by a value judgment: it was of inferior artistic quality. One can of course argue that judgments of quality, based as they are on hierarchical scales and normative systems, inherently represent acts of power.

Prisse d'Avennes's tripartite division of history had a direct precedent in Charles Edmond's 1867 history of Egyptian art, which was also divided into three eras. But while Prisse d'Avennes used a biological metaphor—that of growth, maturity, and decadence—to characterize artistic traditions, Edmond's discussion tended towards the racial: for him, the stagnation and lack of innovation of the modern (i.e., Ottoman) period correlated to the fact that the Ottomans represented a foreign rule in an Arab land: "Ils [the Ottomans] étaient des étrangers parmi la race conquise par leurs armes."²⁶ It is noteworthy that this vision of history defines the Ottomans as bellicose foreigners while it overlooks the equally non-native status of the Mamluks, who were recruited as military slaves from beyond the realm of the state and often were of Circassian or Turkic origin. Such discourse, which was widely shared, was quite selective, or inconsistent, in applying pure racial categories to the architecture produced in heterogeneous premodern societies that did not conceptualize social difference in a manner current in the nineteenth century.

As has been shown many times, the notion of a decadent, stagnant East in contrast to a dynamic and progressive West is at the heart of Orientalist discourse and of the West's notion of its own modernity

in the culmination of history. The paradigm of Oriental decline has been especially powerful in the historiography of the Ottoman past, and only recently has it been effectively challenged.²⁷ However, as Prisse d'Avennes made explicit, decadence did not necessarily conclude the trajectory of Arab art. In fact, as he saw it, the Napoleonic conquest interrupted this progressive decay and paved the way for Muhammad 'Ali and the "regeneration of Egypt."²⁸ Thus France's bold entry into a passive and indolent Orient, rather than an internal development in Egypt, reversed the course of history and ushered in a period of vigorous renewal by modernizing leaders like the Khedives. Experts like Prisse d'Avennes not only documented and preserved medieval architecture but also prescribed the renewal of Arab art in Egypt through a return to the medieval manner. Pascal Coste, Max Herz, Mario Rossi, and others put their advice into practice by designing Neo-Mamluk structures in a style that, inspired by the promise of a return to the essential genius of the Arab race, gained currency among European and Egyptian architects as the nineteenth century progressed. The Mosque of al-Rifa'i (fig. 3) exemplifies this trend, which Nasser Rabbat has called "historicizing in its inspirations and nationalistic in its aspirations."²⁹ This "return" to the medieval, however, was as indebted to Viollet-le-Duc's exhortation to his contemporary French architects to outdo Gothic builders as it was to the spectacle of the newly "medievalized," restored Cairo of the late nineteenth century.

Of course while I describe this narrative, I am also reproducing it. Let me qualify this impression. Historiography is one mode of representation, while the practice of building is another, parallel representation. In nineteenth-century Khedival Egypt, the rejection of Ottoman forms and norms in favor of a return to a medievalizing style was by no means universal; although historiography may have militated against it, continuing value was placed on Ottoman forms as markers of legitimacy, authority, and prestige. Under Muhammad 'Ali, despite the burgeoning popularity of Neo-Mamluk buildings, a Rumi style was preferred for the new mosque of the viceroy on the citadel. Nasser Rabbat has shown that while a neo-Mamluk-style mosque designed by Pascal Coste was initiated there, the eventual edifice, which dominates the skyline of Cairo to this day (fig. 4), bore the hallmarks of an archaizing Rumi style, rejecting even many of the architectural innovations, known as "Ottoman Baroque," then in vogue in Istanbul.³⁰ Here was the Ottoman language

of power at its most iconic—Rumi style and building type, multiple minarets, and siting on the most salient topographical point, affording sweeping views of Cairo and visible to every Cairene. With his mosque on the citadel, the now-autonomous former governor claimed for his capital what had been denied to it as a province.³¹ This choice starkly illustrates the ambivalence towards Ottoman architecture: it was judged stagnant and decadent while being prized as a marker of prestige and dynastic legitimacy.

The nineteenth-century discourse on Arab art maintained its influence on its non-European audience beyond the turn of the century and the events following the First World War that so transformed the Middle East, dissolving the Ottoman Empire and reassembling its former provinces into new republics, some under colonial rule.³² The narrative rehearsed by Prisse d'Avennes and others derives its force from its strong tripartite form. It is a device that is as familiar as it is potent: the period of decline requires a malevolent force, and Ottoman rule then figures as the necessary villain that extinguishes Arab genius—but not forever, because this narrative always ends with the (possible) redemption of Arab genius, the regeneration of pure medieval grandeur, and the overthrow of the oppressive, obscurantist, depraved, anti-modern “Turk.” Needless to say, such a narrative casts the French invader in a heroic light as the agent of history who conjures into action the Arab spirit, dormant under “foreign” rule. Declaring the preceding Ottoman centuries depraved consigns them to a cultural vacuum that must be superseded by new ways of thinking and doing, turning them into a barren desert that national modernity must then reclaim.

This essential plot of history, with its redemptive ending that was in fact the beginning of the modern era yet to be written for the non-Western realm, held immense appeal for thinkers and leaders in the late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ottoman provinces. The tripartite narrative of original purity and vigor, medieval maturity and genius, and oppression and decline, to be followed by national awakening and renewed greatness under the sign of the modern, was rehearsed over and over again by Arab nationalists. An additional factor in the development of the discourse on visual culture was the *Nahda* (*al-Nahda*), an Arabic-language-based intellectual movement of the late nineteenth century in the Levant that asserted the importance of the cultural heritage of the region and forged a new, modern Arabic lan-

guage, as opposed to Ottoman, the dominant literary language of the imperial center in Istanbul.³³ In the early twentieth century, Arab nationalist writers such as Sati' al-Husri rewrote the third episode of this narrative as the tale of the opposition of imperialism and nationalism, with the Ottoman state, “the Turk,” cast in the role of the imperialist oppressor, doubly vilified by the superimposition of the Orientalist stereotype of corrupt Oriental despot. This view implies that the art and architecture produced in this social context of decline was necessarily derivative, of dubious authenticity, and inferior in quality; such art and architecture were therefore often ignored in surveys of the built history of the region.

SYRIA CIRCA 1930: CONSTRUCTING THE NATIONAL

To examine the early-twentieth-century historiography of Ottoman architecture in Arab lands, I consider the scholarship on the history of urbanism produced by French and Arab scholars in the new nation-state of Syria. After the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War, its territories were carved up into modern nation-states, including the republics of Turkey, Egypt, and Syria. Nation-states endowed with new concepts of citizenship replaced the provinces of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire. Syria was subjected to a novel colonial form, the Mandate, whereby France tutored the younger nation in statehood.³⁴ Under this tutelage, Syria reorganized the legal infrastructure of patrimony inherited from the Ottomans and developed new institutions to manage the heritage of the nation-state alone, rather than the entire empire. This assertion of the “nationality” of the patrimony, coupled with the erasure of Ottoman presence and contribution to the history of the region, is the dominant trend of the interwar period and beyond.

The aftermath of the First World War saw an intense production of knowledge about the past in the context of the rise of the nation-state.³⁵ Modern modes of knowledge, representation, and display, including history writing, museum exhibitions, and urban planning, were introduced along with new techniques for research such as archaeology, aerial photography, and cadastral surveys. While the modernizing Ottoman Empire of the late nineteenth century had deployed comparable technologies to study the visible past, in

the 1920s and 1930s these practices were intensified and their scope was redirected to the terrain of the nation-state.³⁶

This historiographic activity was profoundly influenced by some of the main topoi of nineteenth-century Orientalism, many of which had become ensconced and naturalized by the 1920s. I will discuss the main tenets of this historiography through the work of two intellectuals, Jean Sauvaget and Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, each associated with a key cultural institution in Syria under French Mandate—Sauvaget with the French Institute for Arab Studies and Kurd 'Ali with the Arab Academy.

Soon after the creation of an administrative infrastructure for Syria under the Mandate, the French Foreign Ministry directly funded a research institute for Arab studies in Damascus, part of a network of overseas research centers, highly prestigious institutions that supported (and continue to support) advanced research and teaching about the history of the countries of their location. Opened in 1922 as the *École des arts décoratifs arabes*, later named the *Institut français d'études arabes de Damas* (IFEAD), it is currently one of the branches of the *Institut français du Proche-Orient*.³⁷ IFEAD was the site where research was supported, fieldwork launched, and discoveries published. It also produced a voluminous archive of research reports that document this episode of the quest for a *savoir colonial*.³⁸ Among the scholars who won stipends as *pensionnaires* at IFEAD, the most influential was undoubtedly Jean Sauvaget (1901–50), who shaped the study of the region's urbanism. In addition to his specialized monographs, Sauvaget forged a conceptual framework for the study of the Arab lands, and particularly of Syria.³⁹

Damascene intellectuals had founded the Arab Academy (*al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī*) in 1918, during the short-lived Arab Kingdom of Faysal.⁴⁰ During French rule, the Academy, with its library and museum, came under the Syrian Ministry of Public Instruction.⁴¹ The institution is now known as *Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya bi-Dimashq*, and is separated from the library and museum. The Arab Academy considered itself the guardian and innovator of Arabic belles-lettres and sought to revive the medieval greatness of the Arabic language by publishing editions of classical texts. Its scholarly journal, *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq*, and books by its members all participated in this intellectual project. One of the founders of the Arab Academy, Muhammad Kurd 'Ali (1876–1953),

was a major intellectual figure of the interwar period and beyond;⁴² he engaged in published debates with the Western scholars who had taken Syria as their field of study⁴³ and penned a remarkable book, *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām* (The Topography of Syria).⁴⁴

European research on the built environment in Syria in the 1920s and 1930s differed from the research on Egypt in the nineteenth century. Rather than the Beaux-Arts-inspired emphasis on the art of the *dessinateur*—the line drawings and the monumental volumes of the *Description* and *L'art arabe*—twentieth-century French research drew on the newer scientific techniques of aerial photography and urban and cadastral surveys on the one hand, and Arabic philology, paleography, and epigraphy on the other. Rather than tracing the evolution of architectural styles as had the Western experts in nineteenth-century Egypt, Sauvaget investigated the urban development of the eastern Mediterranean shore. While the nineteenth-century Orientalists had focused more on the medieval Islamic sections of Cairo than on its Roman layer to the south, Sauvaget along with René Dussaud, Henri Lammens, and Henri Seyrig sought to uncover the Greco-Roman grid of antique cities such as Damascus, Aleppo, Lattakia, and Bosra beneath their present state. Thus by the nature of the material terrain he assigned to himself, Sauvaget was more likely to see the relationship between the antique and Islamic periods as one of continual reuse rather than of neat historical rupture, as in Egypt.

Moreover, Sauvaget used categories that were products of the twentieth century, such as “Syrian cities” and “Arab cities,” even when he discussed time periods during which the regions he studied had been part of the Ayyubid, Seljuk, Mamluk, or Ottoman states. His history of Aleppo from its foundation to the nineteenth century defines it as “une grande ville Syrienne,” employing the neologism “Syria” as a transhistorical marker.⁴⁵ The category “Arab,” which for the nineteenth-century Orientalists had been an ambiguous ethnic term that could refer to heterogeneous populations in far-flung geographical areas (cf. Viollet-le-Duc's definition cited above), had by the 1920s, through the influence of Arab nationalist thought, come to be taken literally by both European and Arab writers. The rise of Arab nationalist writing is well documented, yet its often symbiotic relationship with the colonial discourse it ostensibly opposed has less frequently been noted. The role of French Mandatory authorities in encouraging the develop-

ment of Arab nationalism in Syria, to the detriment of any remaining Ottoman sentiment, was critical in the construction of this nationalist discourse. Institutions such as IFEAD were explicitly charged with creating and disseminating the historical, linguistic, and ethnographic knowledge that would fuel nationalist thought for Syrian intellectuals. Stated starkly by a French government official, both the study of French culture by Syrians and scholarly study of Syria by the French were to influence the rise of Arab nationalism in Damascus:

The Syrians are the future leaders of the entire Arab movement, and French high culture exercises a clarifying effect on their spirit...Syrians, trained in both cultures, must [then] train their own disciples...*One must teach them to think in Arabic the categories that we have taught them to think in French.*⁴⁶

This is not to deny the agency of Arab thinkers in forging a twentieth-century national identity in opposition to Ottoman imperialism and French colonial rule: in this particular case, the colonial and the anticolonial agendas converged in their understanding of the ethnic-national category “Arab.” Increasingly in the work of writers like George Antonius and Sati‘ al-Husri, the category “Arab” was imbued with a unified political, even racial, meaning in the framework of nationalism. The nascent ideology of the Arab Renaissance Party (*al-Ba‘th*) crafted a secular nationalism with fascist overtones. Secularism adhered to nationalist ideology, and this largely obtained in the work of Arab nationalists. Nevertheless, Islam hovered as a key marker of “Arabness,” co-opted into nationalist discourse as a religion inextricably linked to the Arabic language and Arab mores, which had originated in the epicenter of the Arab Revolt, the Hijaz. This outlook reopened the question of periodization and the relationship of the Arab present with the antique past. In many iterations of twentieth-century Arab nationalist thought, the present was articulated as the inheritor of the antique past: the Pharaonic period in Egypt, the Mesopotamian civilizations in Iraq, and the Phoenician era for Lebanon and Tunisia. Revivals of antique styles were often sponsored for public monuments and fine arts but were mostly short-lived beyond the 1970s.

Another legacy of the nineteenth-century discourse was the primacy of the medieval. The work of Sauvaget, especially, consecrated the medieval as the high point of Syrian-Arab history, through numerous studies of Ayyubid monuments and translations of medi-

eval chronicles. The “medieval” of Syria—consisting mostly of the Umayyad period, when Damascus was the imperial capital, and the Ayyubid dynasty that had left a rich architectural legacy within the borders of the new republic—was chronologically slightly anterior to the “medieval” of Egypt.⁴⁷

The centrality of the medieval period was also taken for granted in Arab nationalist thought, where it often became the only period of Arab history to be acknowledged.⁴⁸ Pride in the greatness of medieval Arab genius was empowering to fledgling nationalists, who perceived the Arabs of the twentieth century as the direct descendants, biological and cultural, of those inhabitants of Baghdad who had forged a great civilization in the ninth century. Nationalist thought disregarded or minimized any heterogeneity that existed in medieval or modern society—a heterogeneity that the Orientalists had freely acknowledged without valorizing.

Along with the naturalization of the category “Arab” as a national designation and the consecration of the medieval period as the high point of Arab history came the acceptance of the Orientalist paradigm of Ottoman decline, which was equally embraced by the French *arabisants* and the Arab nationalists. This obtains in Sauvaget’s work, in a remarkable turn of Eurocentrism. Sauvaget equated political and administrative stability with social harmony, the construction of public buildings, and the regularity of urban planning, what he called “l’unité morale” of a city. As such, the Greco-Roman city, with its unified orthogonal plan and civic buildings, was an ideal type with moral superiority. Unity of form rather than fragmentation and communal consensus rather than individual action were the building blocks of the “moral unity” of a city.⁴⁹ Consequently, his history of Syrian cities demonstrated the slow and inexorable degeneration of this ideal type, which reached its nadir in the Ottoman period.

Sauvaget’s 1941 study of Aleppo, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d’une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, is an attempt at a total history of a city, from its origin to the recent past. Sauvaget had chosen a city that boasted a glorious medieval period but that had also been thoroughly reshaped by the Ottomans, who erected its most striking features—the largest covered bazaar in the world and monumental caravanserais with richly decorated facades. And yet, famously, Sauvaget derided the Ottoman architecture of Aleppo as nothing but a “trompe-l’œil,” “a sumptuous facade behind which there are only ruins.”⁵⁰ It is

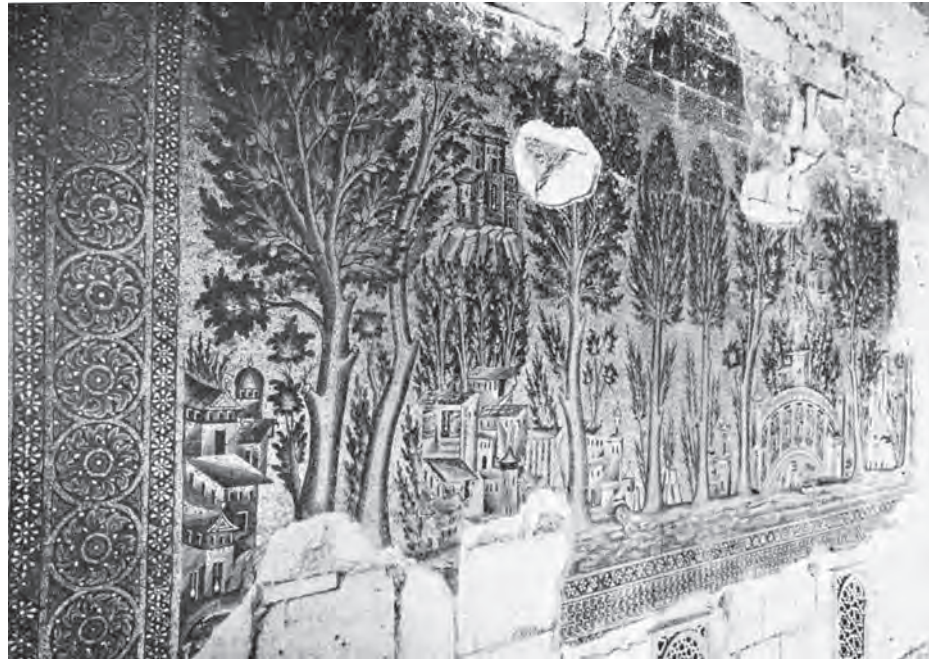


Fig. 5. One of the earliest published photographs of the Barada panel, Great Mosque of Damascus. (After K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940], 1:pl. 54b)

worth noting the continuity of the metaphor of surfaces misleadingly concealing an empty core to describe the inferiority of Islamic architecture (cf. Viollet-le-Duc's opposition of clothing and body cited above).⁵¹

For Sauvaget, Ottoman decline was most apparent in the lack of civic consciousness and planning. He forcefully argued against the notion of a broader urban plan governing any discrete acts of patronage. To him, the great urban complexes of the sixteenth century were merely the haphazard result of expansion driven by the ambition and greed of individual patrons rather than communal consensus. He attributed the homogeneous appearance of the central monumental corridor to a fortunate coincidence, "fallacious" in that it produced an impression of planning while it was in fact the result of haphazard growth.⁵² André Raymond's critique of Sauvaget addressed the historiographical and political context of Sauvaget's emphasis on Ottoman decline.⁵³ In the case of the urban development of Ottoman Aleppo, while master plans that would indicate a broader urban organization do not survive, Sauvaget's own research on the architectural remains indicates a concerted, deliberate transformation of the city rather than a random accumulation of individualistic, self-serving patronage campaigns. At the heart of Sauvaget's work is a deep

contradiction: while his research directly confronted and documented the fact that the topography of Syria's cities was basically Ottoman (in legal structure and social organization as well as construction period and style), his narrative could not acknowledge the Ottoman period as primary but rather rejected it in the strongest possible terms. A pernicious aspect of Sauvaget's view of the urban history of Aleppo, and of Islamic urbanism generally, is his categorical denial of any type of urban planning and his assertion of the lack of civic consciousness in the Islamic city, which to him was indicated by the absence of what he would consider civic institutions. Individual greed and authoritarian (read: nondemocratic, antirepublican) rule encroached on the orderly, orthogonal antique blocks and obscured them with diagonal passages and parasite constructions. Thus Sauvaget's diachronic study of Aleppo, by tracking the development of urban space, constitutes a moral parable that demonstrates the ultimate superiority of the European cultural ideal. Sauvaget's depiction characterizes Islamic civilization, in contrast to Western urban planning, as intuitive rather than rational, with an implied hierarchical construction of Western society as rational and thereby superior. In short, Sauvaget created a framework for the study of Muslim cities along the Mediter-

anean littoral that centered on a narrative of irreversible decline, from the rational grid plan of classical antiquity to the slow degeneration into the irrational diagonals, meandering alleys, and culs-de-sac of the Muslim present.

As knowledge about the visible past of Syria began to coalesce into a national narrative, Syrian writers who were staunchly opposed to colonial rule reproduced some of the narrative plots devised by Sauvaget. In this time and place, local intellectual endeavor often dovetailed with colonial practices and institutions. The Ottoman period, which constituted the recent past of the region, was as reviled by the nationalists as it was by the Western experts. Regarding the manner in which the Ottoman past had been studied—or studiously ignored—in the context of nation-states formerly part of the empire, Rifa‘at Abou-El-Haj argued that the Arabic-language scholarship on the Ottoman era perceived the rise of the nation-state as legitimate and inevitable. Thus, Arab nationalist scholarship “provided an ideological justification for the territorial divisions which the colonial [i.e., post-Ottoman] powers carried out and for forging a new identity for the local elites.”⁵⁴

Muhammad Kurd ‘Ali was a member of such an elite. His six-volume *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām* (1925–28) was clearly modeled on both the great medieval *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrizi and the nineteenth-century *Khīṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyya* of ‘Ali Mubarak of Egypt. It also referenced and quoted the rich trove of medieval and early modern histories written by Damascene and Aleppine ulema. Kurd ‘Ali’s *Topography* follows its models in its subject matter and structure as well as in its lack of visual elements—what can perhaps be called the aniconic nature of Arabic discourse on the city.⁵⁵ It literally redefined the territory of the modern nation as distinct from the territory of the Ottoman Empire, comparing the cultural life of Syria in the Ottoman period and under the nation-state. The imperialist Ottoman state denied the cultural development of Syria, carting off local antiquities to embellish museums and homes in Istanbul, as Timur had done previously:

For forty-six years we had asked the Turkish [note: not Ottoman] government to establish a small museum in Damascus, but they did not do this because they liked the best of everything to be in Istanbul, and they wanted the rest of the countries to be villages for their imperialism, until there was an Arab government in Syria and it opened a museum...⁵⁶

Kurd ‘Ali argued repeatedly that his Sham was historically, linguistically, and artistically distinct from the rest of the Ottoman Empire. He denounced the archaeological excavations of the nineteenth century, conducted under Ottoman supervision:

The Ottoman government allowed these excavations so it would share the riches and take them to museums in Istanbul. Their excuse was that the best thing scientifically was to assemble all the antiquities (*āthār*) in one museum, rather than distributing them in various places. But they ignored the fact that this is not right for a land [i.e., Syria] that has a historical unity and cannot be comprised in a land such as the Ottoman Empire, which includes under its flag different peoples and diverse civilizations.⁵⁷

Thus Kurd ‘Ali highlighted the historical unity of the Syrian territory, which made it incompatible with multiethnic states like the Ottoman Empire. He also advocated a transhistorical unity of Syrians across the centuries, noting a common aesthetic tendency among Syrians in all periods of history:

It is clear that the Syrian (*Shāmī*) in every period of his history prefers that which is plain/simple (*sādhij*); this is clear in his technology and his religious philosophy, in art a mixture between plain and beautiful...⁵⁸

Like the Orientalists, Kurd ‘Ali’s view of Syria’s history disproportionately emphasized the medieval period: “Damascus was the capital of the Umayyads and a center of Arab civilization...”⁵⁹ is a statement deeply imbued with the medievalism that had by now become naturalized in the Arabic as well as the Western discourse. Thus while Kurd ‘Ali engaged in fierce debates with the Orientalists of his generation, particularly Henri Lammens, his writing co-opted and naturalized many of their basic concepts on the Syrian state and the Arab nation.

As in the case of Egypt, the crafting of a discourse on the built environment of Syria was accompanied by representation, and particularly exhibitions. Many of the elements discussed above were made visible in the Exposition coloniale of 1931, held in Vincennes (Paris).⁶⁰ Moreover, similar to the process in Egypt, urban archaeology and conservation, primarily in the new capital city of Damascus, targeted medieval monuments: notably, the Umayyad mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus were discovered and restored in 1928–29 (fig. 5). Eustache de Lorey, the director of the École des arts décoratifs arabes, while conduct-

ing structural repairs at the Great Mosque following its devastating fire of 1893, had uncovered a mosaic panel on the wall of the Western portico of the courtyard, spared by a layer of plaster. The discovery of what became known as the “Barada panel” was reported in scholarly journals and newspapers locally and in the West and recognized as momentous for the history of world art.⁶¹ Instantly celebrated, these mosaics enabled historians to cast Damascus, the new capital of Syria, as the birthplace of Islamic art and architecture.

The greatness of the Arab-Islamic history of Syria was thought to reside in its medieval glory rather than its recent Ottoman layer. Indeed, Ottomans were deemed poor custodians of the great sites of Arab genius—after all, they had plastered over the Umayyad mosaics, and the devastating fire at the Great Mosque had taken place on their watch.⁶² What is completely absent in this discourse is mention of the long and expensive process of restoration of the Great Mosque of Damascus by Sultan Abdülhamid II and the connection of Damascus to Medina through the Hijaz Railway.⁶³ Mimicking their European counterparts, Arab writers of the twentieth century saw Rumi-style architecture in the Arab world as derivative and inauthentic. They dismissed great Ottoman-period monuments in their territory (probably built by local artisans) as “foreign” and stifling to Arab genius. Studies of Ottoman architecture in the provinces by authors from the Turkish Republic have tended to claim certain buildings as Turkish; conversely, local historians have been all too willing to give up these buildings as foreign and inauthentic, or to reclaim some of their details as representing enduring national traits. Broadly, two views dominate scholarship: on the one hand, that of the “Arabic-speaking provinces” of the Ottoman empire as a culturally recalcitrant region that rebuffs new influences and retreats into a medieval past; on the other, the view of an enduring national tradition, discernible but stifled under foreign Ottoman rule, that ultimately rejects the imperialist oppressor. The omnipresent *ablaq* motif—the striped polychrome masonry that appears on Mamluk and some Ottoman monuments in the Levant—was singled out as a ubiquitous example of the survival of local forms, indexical of the resilience of national artistic style despite the imposition of Rumi architecture. Such an approach precludes the possibility that Ottoman builders might have intentionally incorporated local forms, materials, and techniques as part of an Ottoman way of building, as I have argued elsewhere.⁶⁴

The Orientalist notion of post-medieval decline was appropriated outright. The Ottoman state was indicted as the culprit for this decline through its oppression and exploitation of the Arab nation. Domination by the Ottoman state was now understood as the domination of the Arab nation by the Turkish nation, and the Turks were now assimilated to the premodern Ottoman polity. Similar to the Orientalist narrative in Egypt, the Arab nationalist narrative demanded the vilification of the Turks (substituted for “Ottomans” in the historiography) or their excision from any positive role in history. The traumatic transformations of the nineteenth century, the power struggles inherent in any imperial situation, became reduced to the unbearable and unnatural injustice of one nation (Turks) dominating the other (Arabs). The figure of Jamal Pasha al-Saffah (“the Bloodletter”)—the nefarious governor of Damascus during the First World War who was responsible for summarily hanging Damascene patriots/nationalists—personified the imperial relationship, becoming a type of shorthand for depicting a reductive nationalist binary of oppressive, vile Turks versus resisting, heroic Arabs.⁶⁵ However, this type of depiction performs a fundamental legitimizing role for the neologisms of the Middle East’s twentieth-century geography, such as Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. A serious reflection on these issues by Arab and Western intellectuals is at present underway, but the currency of nationalist historiography, rehearsed through television serials and popular novels, continues to be dominant.⁶⁶

The notion of an Ottoman decline in the former Arab provinces is counterfactual on many accounts and is paradigmatically insufficient to explain the many changes that took place in the nineteenth century. The late Ottoman period had seen the rise of local elite families within the Ottoman official structure—families that included Sati‘ al-Husri’s—rather than the stark domination of one ethnic group by another. Abou-El-Haj argued that the local elites who were part of the Ottoman administration later staffed the governments of Mandatory states; they urgently needed to erase their now-discredited Ottoman connections and did so by embracing a pre-Ottoman Arab past.⁶⁷ Moreover, in terms of the built environment, by the early twentieth century, most of the public monuments of the Mediterranean Islamic cities were Ottoman-built. The nineteenth-century modernization of the Ottoman state was visible everywhere in the Arab countries; some of the most modern and vibrant urban

spaces of Damascus, such as the Suq al-Hamidiyya and Marja Square, were due to Ottoman patronage during the period described as one of cultural poverty.⁶⁸ It is significant that an urban historian such as Sauvaget never discussed the modern spaces of Syrian cities, even though his headquarters in Damascus—the French Institute, housed at the ‘Azm Palace—was adjacent to the Suq al-Hamidiyya, and despite the fact that he visited the modern apartment buildings and clubs in the modern Ottoman ‘Aziziyya neighborhood of Aleppo (planned in 1900).⁶⁹

The ideologies of nationalism and the new ways of reading urban space dictated other perceptions to Syrians and Westerners of the 1920s and 1930s. While Sauvaget’s influence on the urban history of the Middle East has been immense, during the Mandate IFEAD supported the work of others less prominent. French ethnographers and geographers took as their field of study not the medieval but rather the contemporary period of Syria’s history: Albert de Boucheman studied the desert commercial city of Sukhna, Jacques Weulersse (1905–46) wrote about the peasants of the Alawite mountains, and Robert Montagne (1893–1954) focused on nomads.⁷⁰ Significantly however, the legacy of Ottoman modernization largely escaped these scholars as well. Even while they scanned the contemporary landscape of Syria, they emphasized the rural, the extra-urban, and the nonmodern.

The elision of the modern in this discourse represents a deafening silence, an absence so consistent and so striking that it was certainly constructed. The modern of the Ottomans became impossible to perceive, or at least impossible to voice. Surveys of the architectural history of Syria thus treated the Ottoman period either counterfactually and uncritically as a period of substandard artistic production or, more often, as a literal blank space, their narratives ending with Selim’s conquest of 1517. The elision of the Ottoman period in these histories often produced a gap of four hundred years. A casualty of the decline paradigm in the nationalist discourse is the awareness of the very modernity of the Ottoman state, in which its Arab inhabitants, alongside many groups, were active and creative participants. What is at stake is a rejection of the modernity of these societies—for this modernity would be Ottoman—that prompts instead an emphasis on medieval greatness, with its resultant decline. The implications of this elision, paradoxically, fulfilled both colonial and nationalist ends: the French became the champions of modernity where

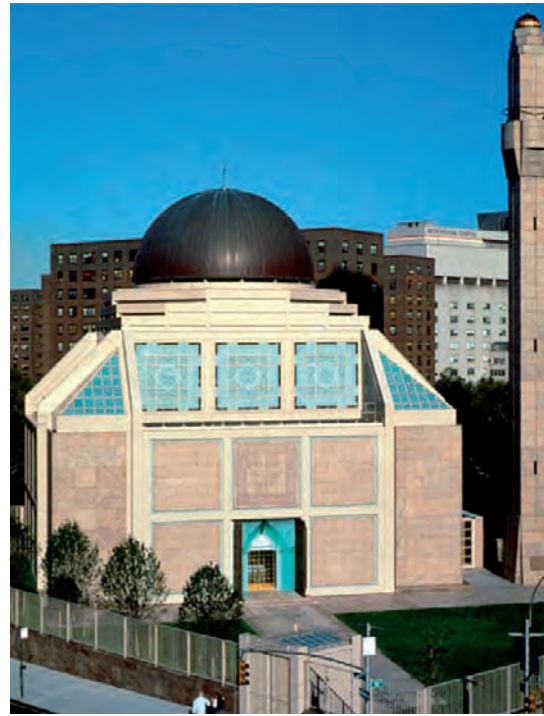


Fig. 6. Islamic Cultural Center of New York, 1986–91, architect Skidmore, Owings and Merrill LLP. (Photo: courtesy of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture)

premodern backwardness had reigned; and the Arab nationalists became the standard-bearers of a secular-modernist renewal where a nefarious obscurantism incapable of innovation had stifled national aspirations and talents. Strangely, the claim to modernity by Arab nationalist discourse required that the earlier modernity of the Ottoman nineteenth century in the Arab world be discredited or erased.

The recent surge of interest in premodern domestic urban architecture and the nostalgia for the “old courtyard house” in Syria is producing a discourse that ignores the historical context of this late Ottoman vernacular urban architecture and therefore does not see any link to the Ottoman polity. The courtyard house represents a timeless “before,” prior to modernity.⁷¹ As Christa Salamandra demonstrates, many Damascene families who trace their genealogy to the *a‘yān* (notables) of the nineteenth century seize upon the old courtyard house as a prestigious architecture that legitimizes notable status in the context of a post-independence state where they are excluded from rule. What remains unsaid is the fact that the archi-

ture that still indexes social prestige and cultural authority is an Ottoman form, a product of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman social, economic, and artistic realities—those very realities reviled in the nationalist discourse.

To this day Ottoman architecture in the Arab world is an uneasy historiographic category. Since the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state and its legacy, architectural or otherwise, has been contested, erased, revived, and reviled in the former Arab provinces. In the historiography of the visible past of these regions, the Ottoman period occupies an ambiguous position at the intersection of European Orientalist narratives of Arab civilization and medieval greatness, nationalist narratives of the rebirth of the Arab nation, and Islamist narratives of Islamic civilization. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ottoman architecture was both reviled as imported and inauthentic and prized as a marker of imperial prestige and Islamic legitimacy.

In recent years, Muslim communities in the West who build mosques often produce buildings that have a dominant hemispherical dome and a soaring minaret (fig. 6). The dome and the minaret are thought by these communities to be crucial, timeless markers of Islam.⁷² We could argue, instead, that this format is far closer to the standardized Rumi Ottoman mosque than to the hypostyle or four-iwan plans of other dynasties. Should we read this as the return of the repressed, or as the continual dominance of the Ottoman visual ideal?

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NOTES

1. My conception of Ottoman architecture as an imperial project is outlined in Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–15. It is also productive to conceive of Ottoman architecture as a process of mediation between central and provincial administration: see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005); Çigdem Kafescioğlu, “In the Image of Rum’: Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus,” *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70–96.
2. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 470.
3. Sâti’ al-Husri, *al-‘Urûba awwalan!* (Beirut: Markaz Dirâsât al-Wahda al-‘Arabiyya, 1985 [orig. pub. 1955]). On al-Husri, an educator who began as an Ottoman bureaucrat and became the nationalist minister of education of Iraq, see William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati’ al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Mâhir al-Sharif, *Rihânât al-Nahda fi ‘l-fikr al-‘arabi* (Damascus: Dâr al-Madâ lil-Thaqâfa wa ‘l-Nashr, 2000).
4. André Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes à l’époque ottomane* (Paris: Sindbad, 1985); Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 470–78; H. Watenpaugh, *Aleppo*; Kafescioğlu, “Image”; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt’s Adjustment of Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).
5. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 153–86; Irene A. Bierman, “Franchising Ottoman Istanbul: The Case of Ottoman Crete,” in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage*, ed. Nur Akin et al. (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 1999), 199–204.
6. For an overview of Ottoman-period Arabic texts on the city see H. Watenpaugh, *Aleppo*, chap. 6; Michael Cooperson, “Baghdad in Rhetoric and Narrative,” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 99–113. There is also a local historiography in the Arab provinces in Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, and other languages. For Ottoman texts see Kafescioğlu, “Image”; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 222–24, 228–30.
7. For an analysis of why al-Maqrizi’s work continues to remain canonical and how modern historians have engaged with it see Nasser Rabbat, “The Medieval Link: Maqrizi’s *Khîṭaṭ* and Modern Narratives of Cairo,” in *Making Cairo Medieval*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 29–47.
8. Henry Laurens, *Aux sources de l’orientalisme: La bibliothèque orientale de Barthélemy d’Herbelot* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1978), and his *Les origines intellectuelles de l’expédition d’Égypte: L’orientalisme islamisant en France (1698–1798)* (Istanbul: Isis, 1987). On Ottoman-period texts see H. Watenpaugh, “A French Humanist in the Islamic City: The Chevalier d’Arvieux (1635–1702), Merchant and Consul in Aleppo,” *Thresholds: The Critical Journal of Visual Culture* 27 (2004): 18–22.
9. David Prochaska, “Art of Colonialism, Colonialism of Art: The Description of l’Égypte,” *L’esprit Créateur* 34 (1994): 69–91; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
10. AlSayyad et al., *Making Cairo Medieval*, 2; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
11. Irene A. Bierman, “Disciplining the Eye: Perceiving Medieval Cairo,” in AlSayyad et al., *Making Cairo Medieval*, 12–13.
12. Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe* (Paris: Veuve A. Morel, 1877), 1.
13. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, introduction to Jules Bourgoïn, *Les arts arabes* (Paris: Veuve A. Morel, 1873), cited and discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 67.
14. See Bierman, “Disciplining the Eye,” 13–14 and notes, for a discussion of the terms of French discourse used to characterize the visual productions of non-Arabs and non-Muslims.

15. K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959). See Rabbat, "Medieval Link," 35–37; *Muqarnas* 8 (1991), a special issue on the legacy of Creswell.
16. Bierman, "Disciplining the Eye." On the modern architecture of Cairo see most recently Mercedes Volait, *Architectes et architectures de l'Égypte moderne (1830–1950)* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005), and Jean-Luc Arnaud, *Le Caire: Mise en place d'une ville moderne, 1867–1907* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1998).
17. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 96–118.
18. Charles Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867).
19. The minutes of the *Comité's* meetings are published. For analysis see Reid, *Whose Pharaohs*; Alaa Al-Habashi, "Athar to Monuments: The Intervention of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001); Irene A. Bierman, "Urban Memory and the Preservation of Monuments," in *Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Monuments in Egypt*, ed. Jere L. Bacharach (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1995), 1–12.
20. Prisse d'Avennes spent the years 1827 to 1843 and 1858 to 1860 in Egypt. He was distinguished by his fieldwork, erudition, and fluency in Arabic. In addition to writing monographs on the architecture of Egypt, he edited scholarly journals. His archive has been deposited at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, and at the Institut Villien in his hometown of Avesnes-sur-Helpe. See the introduction by George T. Scanlon in E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Islamic Art in Cairo: From the 7th to the 18th centuries* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), vii–x; the introduction by Clara Schmidt in E. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire: Atlas* (Paris: Aventurine, 2001); André Monclus and Jean Vuillemin, "Prisse d'Avennes, Châlons 1822," *Arts et Métiers Magazine* (Nov. 2002).
21. Pharaonic monuments are studied in É. Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1878–79). Prisse d'Avennes's Egyptological studies were of the first order; he felt his work supplemented that of Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832), *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1835–45). He also donated ancient Egyptian objects to the Louvre. The continuous reprints of his Egyptological and Islamic studies attest to the importance of his legacy, especially his drawings, in both fields.
22. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*. Later a volume of excerpts from *L'art arabe* was also published: É. Prisse d'Avennes, *La décoration arabe* (Paris: J. Savoy, 1885). There are numerous partial reprints in French and English.
23. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Discourses on Architecture*, trans. Henry van Brunt (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1875), 457–58; cited and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 67.
24. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, 48. A similar tripartite narrative of Arab art is presented in the catalogue by Charles Edmond of the 1867 Paris exposition, discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu's contribution to this volume, "The Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture."
25. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, 1. When Prisse acknowledged some artistic merit in an Ottoman building, as in the Sinan-ıyya Mosque in Bulaq (1571), he attributed it to the fact that it borrows a Byzantine form: *L'art arabe*, 128. He devoted a chapter to the argument that Arab art follows the same tripartite trajectory in Arab areas other than Egypt, even though Egypt is where Arab art is at its best: *ibid.*, chap. 12, "Origine, développement et décadence de l'architecture arabe," 232–54.
26. Edmond, *L'Égypte*, 11, 203ff. See Bierman, "Disciplining the Eye," 14–17; and Necipoğlu's discussion of Edmond's text in "Creation of a National Genius."
27. Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997–98): 30–75.
28. Prisse d'Avennes, in *L'art arabe*, 57, notes that while some Mamluks had been pursuing independence from Istanbul in the eighteenth century, the Napoleonic conquest provided the decisive motor of change. Edmond shared this positive view of Muhammad 'Ali, who was his employer and the patron of the 1867 exposition: see *L'Égypte*, 205ff. Neither author mentions the fact that Muhammad 'Ali, born in Albania, was a "foreigner" to Egypt, just as were the reviled Ottoman dynasts in Istanbul.
29. Max Herz, *La mosquée el-Rifa'i au Caire* (Milan [?]: H. Allegretti [?], 1912 [?]); Nasser Rabbat, "The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt," in *The Education of the Architect*, ed. Martha Pollak (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 363–86; Mohammad al-Asad, "The Mosque of al-Rifa'i in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 108–24.
30. Rabbat, "Neo-Mamluk Style," 368–73.
31. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 519. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu for her comments on this section.
32. However, their influence on their intended European audience of designers and architects waned with the advent of high Modernism and its disdain for the surface ornament that Orientalist discourse highlighted in Islamic visual culture: see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 61–65.
33. There is an immense literature on the Nahda: see Sharif, *Rihānāt*. Jens Hanssen shows how the writing of the Nahdawis contributed to the production of space in late Ottoman Beirut: see *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); see also Inès-Leyla Dakhli, *Entre élans révolutionnaires et prise de pouvoir: Une génération intellectuelle dans la Syrie et le Liban contemporains (1908–1940)* (Paris: Karthala, forthcoming 2007).
34. The historical literature on Syria under French rule has grown, particularly since the opening of the Mandate archives at the Ministère des affaires étrangères in Nantes in 1993 and the greater accessibility of the National Archives in Damascus: see Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Nadine Méouchy, ed., *France, Syrie et Liban 1918–1946: Les ambiguïtés et les dynamiques de la relation mandataire* (Damascus: Institut français d'études arabes de Damas, 2002); Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds., *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
35. On the links between history-writing and the nationalist enter-

- prise see Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); on this process in Syria under the Mandate see François-Xavier Trégan, "Approche des saviors de l'Institut français de Damas: À la recherche d'un temps mandataire," in Méouchy and Sluglett, *British and French Mandates*, 235–47, and H. Watenpaugh, "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," in Méouchy and Sluglett, *British and French Mandates*, 185–202.
36. For issues of late-nineteenth-century Ottoman archaeology in what was to become Lebanon see Jens Hanssen, "Imperial Discourses and an Ottoman Excavation in Lebanon," in *Baalbeck: Image and Monument 1898–1998*, ed. Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler, and Angelika Neuwirth (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 157–72.
 37. Renaud Avez, *L'Institut français de Damas au Palais Azem (1922–1946): À travers les archives* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1993); Trégan, "Approche."
 38. Archives of IFEAD, Damascus; Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Nantes (henceforth MAE-Nantes), especially Fonds Beyrouth, 2e versement, Instruction Publique series.
 39. Exemplified in his book: Jean Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman: Éléments de bibliographie* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1943). For a broader discussion of Sauvaget's methods of urban history see H. Watenpaugh, *Aleppo*, chap. 1.
 40. État de Syrie, *L'Académie arabe: Édité à l'occasion de l'Exposition coloniale et des Pays d'Outre-Mer, Damascus, 1931*, in MAE-Nantes, Fonds Beyrouth, 2e versement, Instruction Publique 84. Studies on the Arab Academy include Henri Laoust and Sami Dahan, "L'œuvre de l'académie arabe de Damas 1921–1950," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 13 (1949–51): 162–219; Muhammad Rashad Hamzawi, *L'Académie arabe de Damas et le problème de la modernisation de la langue arabe* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1965); 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ilā al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Balāgh, 2003).
 41. Arrêtés (official decrees by the High Commissioner) of May 1926 and May 1928. MAE-Nantes, Fonds Beyrouth, 2e versement, Instruction Publique 62.
 42. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī: Mu'assis al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī (Damascus: Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya bi-Dimashq, 1977); S. Seikaly, "Damascene Intellectual Life in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century: Muhammad Kurd Ali and al-Muqtabas," in *Intellectual Life in the Arab East 1890–1939*, ed. M. Buheiry (Beirut, 1981), 125–53.
 43. Joseph H. Escovitz, "Orientalists and Orientalism in the Writings of Muhammad Kurd 'Alī," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (henceforth *IJMES*) 15, 1 (1983): 95–109.
 44. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6 vols. (Damascus, Maṭba'at al-Taraqī, 1925–28).
 45. Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941); Charif Kiwan, "Les traductions d'une dénomination nationale: La Syrie," in Éric Guichard and Gérard Noiriel, eds., *Construction des nationalités et immigration dans la France contemporaine* (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1997).
 46. MAE-Nantes, Fonds Beyrouth, 2e versement, Instruction Publique 128 Bis: Minutes of the meeting of the Comité de rapprochement of the Ministère des affaires étrangères, 12 March 1928 (emphasis mine).
 47. Also worth noting is the fact that the Islamic medieval style that attracted the nineteenth-century Orientalists prominently featured ornament and dovetailed with the interest during that century in ornament and industrial design (see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*). By contrast, the Islamic medieval style that proved attractive in the twentieth century was the more sober architecture of the Ayyubids. Possibly the simple, proportionate forms of Ayyubid buildings and their emphasis on volumes were more in keeping with the formalist affinities of modernist architecture.
 48. For one of the earliest articulations of this periodization in Syria see Keith D. Watenpaugh, "Cleansing the Cosmopolitan City: Historicism, Journalism and the Arab Nation in the Post-Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean," *Social History* 30, 1 (2005): 1–24.
 49. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 108, 162–63.
 50. *Ibid.*, 239.
 51. See Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, for a discussion of the relationship of Orientalism to ornament in Islamic architecture.
 52. "... Engagés sans aucun plan d'ensemble et sans intervention officielle des autorités, nés du hasard des spéculations individuelles... ces travaux se complétèrent les uns les autres d'une manière si heureuse qu'ils donnèrent finalement à "la Cité" l'apparence, purement fallacieuse, d'un ensemble monumental homogène... Le secours de la critique archéologique est indispensable pour lui rendre son vrai caractère: celui d'une juxtaposition de constructions disparates, dont les dates respectives s'échelonnent sur près de 350 ans": Sauvaget, *Alep*, 214 (emphasis mine). For an overview of the scholarly critique of Sauvaget's work see H. Watenpaugh, *Aleppo*, chap. 1.
 53. Raymond has pointed out repeatedly that Sauvaget's conclusions about the Ottoman period contradicted his own evidence: see André Raymond, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque ottomane (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 31 (1979): 113–32, and idem, "Islamic City, Arab City: Oriental Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1994): 3–18.
 54. Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Social Uses of the Past: Recent Arab Historiography of Ottoman Rule," *IJMES* 14 (1982), 187.
 55. Rabbat, "Medieval Link"; Nezar AlSayyad, "'Ali Mubarak's Egypt: Between the Testimony of 'Alamuddin and the Imaginary of the *Khiṭaṭ*," in AlSayyad, *Making Cairo Medieval*, 49–66. Nasser Rabbat has called this the "unaesthetic quality" of Arabic texts: see his "Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 155–76, and his "Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52 (1998): 30–37.
 56. Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 6:170. For comparison of Selim and Timur see 6:169.
 57. *Ibid.*, 6:173.
 58. *Ibid.*, 6:174.
 59. *Ibid.*, 6:176.
 60. François-Xavier Trégan, "Appréhensions et méthodes dans un système mandataire: Le cas de la participation des états

- du Levant à l'Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, 1931," in Méouchy and Sluglett, *British and French Mandates*, 91–103.
61. Among the earliest publications are Eustache de Lorey and Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem, "Les mosaïques de la mosquée des Omayyades à Damas," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 30 (1929): 111–39, and Martin A. Briggs, "Newly Discovered Syrian Mosaics," *Burlington Magazine* 58, 337 (1931): 180–81, 183.
 62. The condemnation of the Ottomans was not absolute in the nineteenth century, when conservative Syrian scholars viewed Sultan Abdülhamid II as a great Muslim ruler (see Abou-El-Haj, "Social Uses," 185), but this discourse had become marginalized by the 1920s. For rare counterexamples by Saudi and Moroccan scholars, see *ibid.*, 190–91. The rehabilitation of the Ottomans is a product of Islamist thought. It faintly appears in the work of Hasan al-Banna in the 1940s but did not become dominant until the late 1970s and is only now openly discussed in Arabic and Turkish historiography: see K. Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 158–59.
 63. Eustache de Lorey contemptuously judged the Ottoman restoration of the Great Mosque of Damascus as substandard.
 64. For a more detailed discussion see H. Watenpaugh, *Aleppo*, 176–82.
 65. For a typical discussion of al-Saffah see Adham Āl Jundī, *Tārīkh al-thawrāt al-Sūriyya fī 'ahd al-intidāb al-faransī* (Damascus, 1960); for an analysis of the historiography of this figure, see Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*, 136ff.
 66. Television serials in 1990s Syria often depicted the country's recent history, including a memorable characterization of a vicious Jamal Pasha: see Robert Blecher, "When Television is Mandatory: Syrian Television Drama in the 1990s," in Méouchy, *France, Syrie et Liban*, 169–79; Salam Kawakibi, "Le rôle de la télévision dans la relecture de l'histoire," *Maghreb/Machrek* 158 (Oct.–Dec. 1997), 47–55.
 67. Abou-El-Haj, "Social Uses," 187–88.
 68. Jean-Luc Arnaud, *Damas: Urbanisme et architecture, 1860–1925* (Paris: Sindbad, 2006); Stefan Weber, "Der Marğa-Platz in Damaskus: Die Entstehung eines modernen Stadtzentrums unter den Osmanen als Ausdruck strukturellen Wandels (1808–1918)," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 10 (1998): 291–344, pls. 77–88.
 69. It is possible to follow Sauvaget's fieldwork in Syria through the archive of the French Institute and his yearly reports to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: see, for example, MAE-Nantes, Fonds Beyrouth, 2e versement, Instruction Publique, 138, 128 Bis, 129, among others. Sauvaget, who was fluent in Arabic, certainly engaged with Syrian society, read the local press, and collaborated with Syrian intellectuals; he was well aware of the contemporary Arab scene.
 70. See Albert de Boucheman, *Une petite cité caravanière: Suhré* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1937); Jacques Weulersse, *Le pays des Alalouites* (Tours: Arrault, 1940), among other works on the peasantry; Robert Montagne, *La civilisation du désert: Nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique* (Paris: Hachette, 1947). For an analysis of these works see Trégan, "Approche"; Jean Métral, "Robert Montagne et les études ethnographiques françaises dans la Syrie sous Mandat," in Méouchy and Sluglett, *British and French Mandates*, 217–34.
 71. Christa Salamandra, *A New Old Damascus: Authenticity and Distinction in Urban Syria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Heghnar Watenpaugh, "Knowledge, Heritage, Representation: The Commercialization of the Courtyard House in Aleppo," in *États et sociétés de l'Orient arabe en quête d'avenir, 1945–2005*, ed. Gérard D. Khoury and Nadine Méouchy (Paris: Geuthner, 2007).
 72. Omar Khalidi, "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America," in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 317–34.

ART HISTORY AND THE NATION: ARTHUR UPHAM POPE AND THE DISCOURSE ON “PERSIAN ART” IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Knowledge about the artistic culture of a place and the people who created that culture, particularly when inscribed in a book, is always an approximation. Objects and architecture are understood through rituals of praxis and inhabitation, through social and political realities, and through the aspirations of individual artists and patrons. Descriptions, be they textual or visual, are nonetheless powerful conveyors of meaning that reveal information not only about their subjects but also about their authors. A vital example of the complexity inherent in the representations of Iranian culture is the subject of “Persian art” as disseminated in the early years of the twentieth century through exhibition catalogues and survey texts.

Books on the art and architecture of Iran, which was called Persia by Western nations until 1935, were produced primarily in Europe and the United States and were based on archaeological data as well as material objects popular on the art market of the time. Already in the nineteenth century such objects had been displayed in national pavilions in European world fairs and were documented in accompanying catalogues and pamphlets.¹ Thanks to important archaeological explorations of the early twentieth century, the history of Iran was characterized by scholars as an ancient and influential one, whose artifacts were worthy of study and admiration. (The Islamic history of Iran, unlike that of other regions in the Middle East at this time, was conceived as part of a continuous story of an indigenous “people” who had experienced the onslaught of multiple cultures, from the Arabs to the Mongols, and yet somehow retained their unique aesthetic and cultural sensibility.) Through this characterization, Persian art, with a history of more than 2,500 years, was represented as a monolithic if not immaculate whole.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the discourse on Persian art was situated simultaneously in the academies and museums of Europe and America

and in the Iranian Parliament, sites that were intricately connected to each other. Thus it is necessary to analyze together the political, the economic, and, perhaps most important, the aesthetic meaning of Persian art in both Western and Iranian contexts. I discuss these complex relationships through a study of select projects sponsored by the nationalist Society for National Heritage, an institution established for the preservation of the Iranian heritage. In particular, the focus of this paper will be on two important academic and cultural events, both underwritten by the Society, that took place in London in 1931—namely, the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House and the Second International Congress for Persian Art and Archeology. These events were followed by publication in 1938–39 of *A Survey of Persian Art*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman.² All three interrelated projects were central to the development and dissemination of what could be considered the canons of not only Iranian but also Islamic art and architecture.³

THE NEW HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Pahlavi dynasty was established in Iran by a commander of the Qajar Cossack Brigade, Riza Khan. Following a strategic coup d'état in 1921, in which he became minister of war, he was appointed in 1923 to the post of prime minister. By 1925 the Qajar dynasty ruled in name alone, and Riza Khan was crowned the Shah of Iran and took the family name Pahlavi (a term designating the Middle Persian language of the Sasanian rulers of Iran). With the advent of this “traditionalist, nationalist, and modernist” ruler,⁴ a new political agenda for Iran was set into motion. The artistic and architectural heritage of the country was deemed a worthy indicator of the rich history and great civilization embodied by the nation and became



Fig. 1. Vignette for the Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-i āsār-i milli*), Tehran, D-759. Ink on paper. Ernst Herzfeld papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Ernst Herzfeld, 1946.

a subject of investigation by Iranian intellectuals and the foreign scholars they invited to Iran. Through their interpretations, antiquity was “discovered” to cohere with the ideals of the new nation.⁵ The antiquity of Iran’s roots had already been established by European historians and archaeologists; what remained was to marshal that information in a rhetoric that would serve the nationalist goals of self-legitimacy and racial identification.

The Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-i āsār-i milli*) was formed in 1922 to “enhance public interest in ancient knowledge and crafts and to preserve antiquities and handicrafts and their ancient techniques.”⁶ According to such nationalists as the education minister Muhammad Furughi and the noted statesman ‘Abd al-Husayn Khan Teymourtash, who were among the founders of the society, revival of the historical past was the key to envisioning Iran’s future. In a 1927 lecture, ‘Ali Hannibal, the founder of Tehran’s Museum of Ethnography, captured the sentiments of these men: “[The formation of the society] coincides with another important event, namely the beginning

of one of the historic moments for Iran...” (by which he meant the dawn of the Pahlavi empire).⁷ The mobilizing of history as a source of national identity is a common trope in the rhetoric of nation building; in the case of Iran, the language of mobilization was formulated not only internally but also in the academies of Europe and the United States.

In 1925 the society had invited the German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld to Iran to produce a survey of architectural and archaeological sites deemed worthy of preservation.⁸ The logo he designed for the society (fig. 1) is a telling example of the role of architectural history in the formation of this cultural institution. The sketch shows a scrolling lotus, the leaves of which enclose the facades of the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis (left) and the Sasanian arch Taq-i Kisra at Ctesiphon (right). Within the bud rising from the center is the form of the Seljuk Gunbad-i Qabus. For him, all three monuments marked the apogee of Persian architecture. The approbation of the cultural heritage of Iran by eminent scholars such as Herzfeld was of profound interest to the nationalists who had

founded the society because of its potential as an ideological tool. In Iran—unlike Turkey, which was similarly dependent on Western philosophical and political models—these judgments of value were applied in order to mask the totalitarian policies and dynastic ambitions of the new Pahlavi regime. Even the concept expressed by the word "Iran" was borrowed from European literature, with little regard to several centuries of its usage in the Persian language itself.⁹

The foremost promoter of Persian art and architecture in Iran, Europe, and the United States was Arthur Upham Pope. He received a BA (1904) and an MA (1906) from Brown University, after which he taught in the philosophy department at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1911 until 1918. Although he became the advisory curator of Muhammadan Art at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1919, Pope's interest in Oriental carpets had begun in his boyhood.¹⁰ At Berkeley Pope taught a range of courses from "Problems of Philosophy" to "Advanced Aesthetics," a seminar that touched upon contemporary interests of art history and philosophy through "applications of aesthetic principles to recent tendencies in art"—a subject that would influence his later writing on Persian art history.¹¹ In 1925, at the invitation of the Society for National Heritage, he visited Iran for the first time, to deliver a lecture at the Ministry of Culture; during this trip he impressed many high officials, including the shah, by his enthusiasm for and knowledge of Persian art.

In a stirring speech given in 1925 to the Society of National Heritage in Tehran, Pope pointed to the artistic culture of Iran as a testimony to the greatness of an ancient civilization deserving of the world's attention and admiration.¹² He deemed the art of Persia instrumental in developments not only in Turkish and Indian art but also in the art of Europe and China from as early as the fifth century BC. According to Pope, after Islam arrived in the region, Persian architects traveled throughout Western Asia,

...building mosques and colleges for the Seljuqs in Asia Minor, and later for the Ottoman Turks, building glorious buildings of every sort at Samarqand and Bokhara that still astonish all who behold them, and contributing their portion of skill and imagination to buildings in Syria and Egypt.¹³

The characteristics of Persian art were formed through contrast with the cultures of other regional entities, in particular the Semitic Arabs and the "barbaric" Turks, for, in Pope's words,

[There are] hardly any of the arts that are now called Turkish but what were in considerable measure of Persian origin. And in many ways Persian art reached the shores of Europe, there to teach new methods and new arts, to lend elegance, grace and decorative charm to those already established.¹⁴

The racial and political foundations of these characterizations could be found in contemporary literature in Iran, in which the national image was constructed, both by local ideologues and by foreign scholars, through comparison with neighboring Arab countries (under European mandates) and with the newly formed Turkish Republic.¹⁵

The superior achievements of "the nation" were gained through the excellence and perseverance of what Pope called "the Persian spirit," which combined within it mystical truths and aesthetic ideals. Nonetheless, as Pope saw it, the greatness of Persian culture ultimately came about not only through the innate talent of the indigenous people but also through the patronage of great rulers, from Cyrus to Shah 'Abbas. The goal of all civilizations, culminating in the present, was thus to link the political with the aesthetic in creating great art. Pope's audience included Riza Khan, who, recognizing the propagandist potential of this rhetoric, took up the American's challenge to invest heavily in cultural heritage. Pope's words resonated with the leader and his officials, who were trying to redefine Iranian statehood after the decline of the Qajar monarchy.¹⁶ Their actions were similar to those in the newly established state of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal, with its European-style judicial system and nationalist ambitions, which also sought legitimacy in the distant past.

The possession of an ancient cultural heritage would provide Iran with political capital both within the nation and in the West—especially in Britain, which had supported Riza Khan's 1921 coup d'état.¹⁷ Nationalist rhetoric employed history and love of the homeland (*Īrānzmān*) to fabricate a homogenous concept of the country, which in reality consisted of diverse ethnic and religious populations. History was conceived as a continuum of great achievements in art and culture (if not always in military accomplishments), which served well to bond the disparate pasts and the fractured present of the nation.¹⁸

As recent scholars have shown, much of the rhetoric on the history of Iran was a product of Western scholarship deeply permeated with European concerns of race and colonialism. When Iranian intel-

lectuals “encountered their ‘history’...it tended to be mediated through Western historians, while their own, largely oral, traditions were dismissed as fable and at best as literary artifacts, skillfully written but of little historical value.”¹⁹ Thus the aggrandizing of Iranian history was achieved through works of European Orientalist literature and the local scholarship that translated and reconceptualized it.²⁰ For this aggrandizement, archaeologists such as Ernst Herzfeld, architects such as André Godard, and scholars such as Pope were enlisted by the officers of the Society of National Heritage to discover and document Iranian history; at a time when education and many professions in Iran were being reformed along Western models, European and American expertise was deemed superior. As an Iranian official wrote in a 1928 letter to Pope,

[The Iranians] appreciate a great deal what you are doing to popularize Persian art in America and in Europe. We can only congratulate you for the books you intend to publish and I believe every Persian will be enthusiastic about learning from authoritative leaders in the knowledge of art, ‘What the World Owes to Persia,’ a fact which Persians themselves do not know.²¹

In other words, it was French, German, and American men who were to provide the information needed in order that Iranians might know themselves.

The enthusiasm for the arts of Iran, as expressed by Pope, was a passion shared by many scholars and collectors. Since the nineteenth century, pottery, textiles, and carpets from Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and India had been sold at Western auctions and studied in relation to graphic design and industrial production. Persia was considered “the principal source of artistic creativity in the Muslim world,”²² with the result that its arts were collected with great enthusiasm throughout Europe (and to a lesser degree the United States). However, during the period between the two world wars, the value of the historical artifacts of Persia was represented in Iran through nationalist dogma. The tensions between international scholarship, museum and private collecting, and Iranian self-definition were tamed through careful intellectual negotiation and the prospect of shared profit, both commercial and ideological.

In 1926 Pope was made the Special Commissioner for Persia and was invited by the Iranian government to design the Persian pavilion for the Sesquicentennial International Exposition, held the same year in Philadelphia.²³ Built by the Philadelphia architect Carl

Ziegler, the pavilion (fig. 2) was a large-scale replica of the Safavid Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan. The space allotted to Persian artifacts was too small to house the numerous objects pledged by dealers and collectors, prompting Pope to organize a subsequent exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, also in Philadelphia, where important carpets, textiles, and manuscripts were displayed. Major donors to this exhibition included the dealers Dikran Kelekian and Georges Demotte, who lent objects from their galleries, as well as the New York socialite Louisine Havemeyer, the wife of a prominent sugar refinery magnate.²⁴ These collectors and dealer-curators were the primary arbiters of judgment on Persian art; their involvement highlights the commercial aspects that stoked the enthusiasm for the subject beyond the diplomatic and aesthetic aspirations of the Sesquicentennial and Pennsylvania Museum exhibitions.

In conjunction with the International Exposition, Pope also organized the First International Congress for Persian Art and Archaeology, originally named the International Conference on Oriental Art. Among participants were prominent historians of Islamic and Persian art of the time, including Ernst Kühnel, Gaston Migeon, Ernst Diez, and Laurence Binyon. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the renowned scholar of Indian art and the first keeper of Indian art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, thenceforth would continue to be a great supporter of Pope’s projects.²⁵ The success of the conference and exhibition was noted, and plans were soon underway for an extravagant and comprehensive British exhibition of Persian art, to be organized by Laurence Binyon, the keeper of prints at the British Museum, and Sir Thomas Arnold, the Orientalist scholar and ex-High Commissioner of Iraq. The host would be the Royal Academy of Art, and the exhibition would be held at the Burlington House in London.

Pope’s transformation from philosophy professor to art historian is a curious one. In an interview in 1940, he explained his grave dissatisfaction, both intellectual and economic, with academic life, noting that it was much more lucrative to act as a “consultant” to people wanting to collect Persian art.²⁶ Pope called himself a “purveyor” of Persian art and was quite open about his role as liaison between collectors in the United States and dealers in Europe and Iran. As is shown by his correspondence, housed at the New York Public Library, Pope purchased objects and consequently sold them to institutions such as the Fogg Museum,



Fig. 2. The Persia Building, a large-scale model of the Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan. Designed by Arthur Upham Pope and Carl Feidler and exhibited at the Sesquicentennial International Exposition in Philadelphia, 1926. (After Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 119, reproduced with permission)

the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Pennsylvania Museum—often, he records, at a profit of ten percent.²⁷

In 1927 Pope broached the idea of founding an institution, and by 1930 the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology was inaugurated in New York.²⁸ The founding charter, apparently endorsed by the Iranian government, stated that the purpose of the Institute was

to encourage and extend an appreciation of Persian art in its various forms by promoting research and assisting scholars, organizing and assisting archaeological expeditions and excavations, organizing and assisting exhibitions of Persian art and congresses, both national and international, publishing books and other material, and assisting in the conservation of ancient Persian monuments.²⁹

The officers of the institute were the intellectual and social luminaries of their time. The diplomat Franklin Mott Gunther (the U.S. minister to Egypt in 1928) was president of the organization, and the scholar of Persian history A. V. Williams Jackson was honorary president; the Persian Minister was honorary first vice-president, and the director was Pope himself.³⁰ Also involved were local philanthropists and collectors such as Sam A. Lewisohn and the famed dealer and arbiter of taste Joseph Duveen. The institute would serve as headquarters for American participation in the 1931 exhibition at Burlington House, through a special committee organized for the purpose.³¹ In the establishment of the institute, commercial, political, and academic endeavors were coalesced in order to facilitate the dissemination of a comprehensive history of Persian art and architecture.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION AND CONGRESS OF PERSIAN ART

The second International Exhibition of Persian Art (fig. 3) was sponsored by the Royal Academy of Art and held in 1931 at the Burlington House Fine Arts Club, London. It followed other region-specific shows mounted there: of Flemish art in 1927, of Dutch art in 1929, and of Italian art in 1930.³² By succeeding these prestigious events, the exhibition placed Persian art on equal footing with the arts of Europe and drew attention to the emerging importance of the Iranian nation. Earlier, the Burlington House had housed an exhibition devoted to Persian ceramics in 1907; the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris had held an exhibition of “art persan,” consisting solely of paintings, in 1912; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, had in 1914 exhibited works on paper, both Persian and Indian, from the collection of Denman Ross. These events were followed in 1926 by the two major exhibitions in Philadelphia. None of these shows (nor, with one exception,³³ others devoted more broadly to the arts of the Islamic world) were as ambitious in scope or scale as the 1931 exhibition.³⁴

The distinction in categorization—whether art was labeled by national or ethnic categories such as “Persian” or “Turkish,” or by religious or historical designations such as “Muhammadan” or “Oriental”—reveals the simultaneous tension and complicity between colonial and nationalist agendas as they competed to define the Middle East.³⁵ Although the situation was different for each country, in Iran ethno-racial terminology (such as “Iranian” and “Aryan”) was utilized by nationalist historians and officials as a way to distinguish themselves from their neighbors (despite the fact that they often shared with these neighbors not only language but history) and also to distance themselves from terms such as “Islamic” or “Muslim,” which were sometimes equated with the Arabic-speaking Middle East.

In New York, as in London, 1931 was an important year for the advancement of Persian art in particular and Islamic art in general. Private galleries were among the foremost disseminators of this work: Heeramanek, for example, showed pre-Islamic Luristan bronzes, Demotte exhibited miniature paintings, and Kelekian displayed Persian and “Muhammadan” objects.³⁶ In addition, the Brooklyn Museum of Art held a large loan exhibition with a focus on the arts of pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran. The majority of manu-

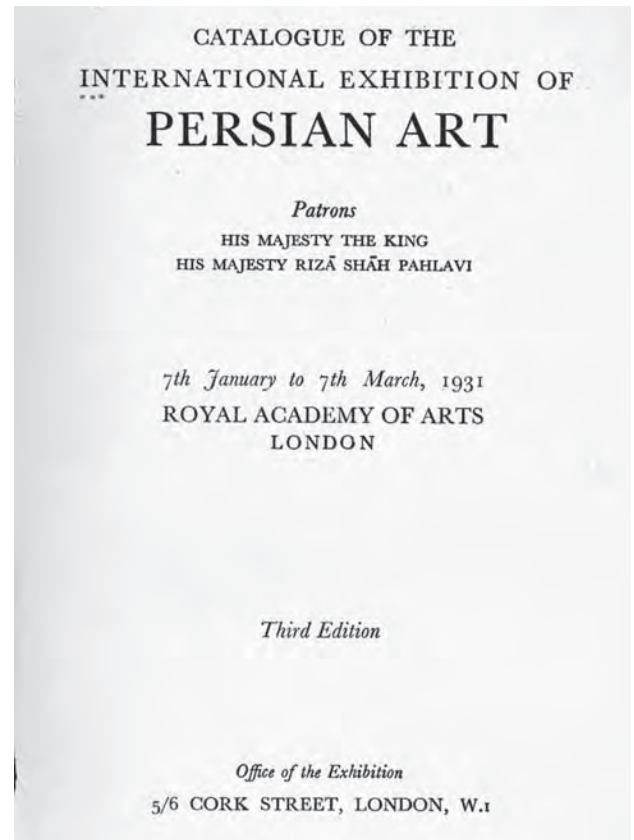


Fig. 3. Title page, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art (CIEPA)*.

scripts and objects shown were borrowed from private commercial collections, such as those of the gallery owners just mentioned.³⁷ In London itself, there was debate about establishing a national museum of Asiatic art and archaeology that would display Near Eastern and Islamic artifacts in British collections.³⁸ The art-historical milieu on both sides of the Atlantic was clearly responsive to the eventful show at Burlington House.

The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art may be understood as a conflation of two nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century forms of spectatorship—the world exhibition and the museum display. In Philadelphia five years earlier, Pope’s exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum had been mounted in conjunction with the Sesquicentennial exposition; in London the two separate types of display were combined into one, as were their seemingly different agendas. In one case the goal was to promote the treasures of the Iranian

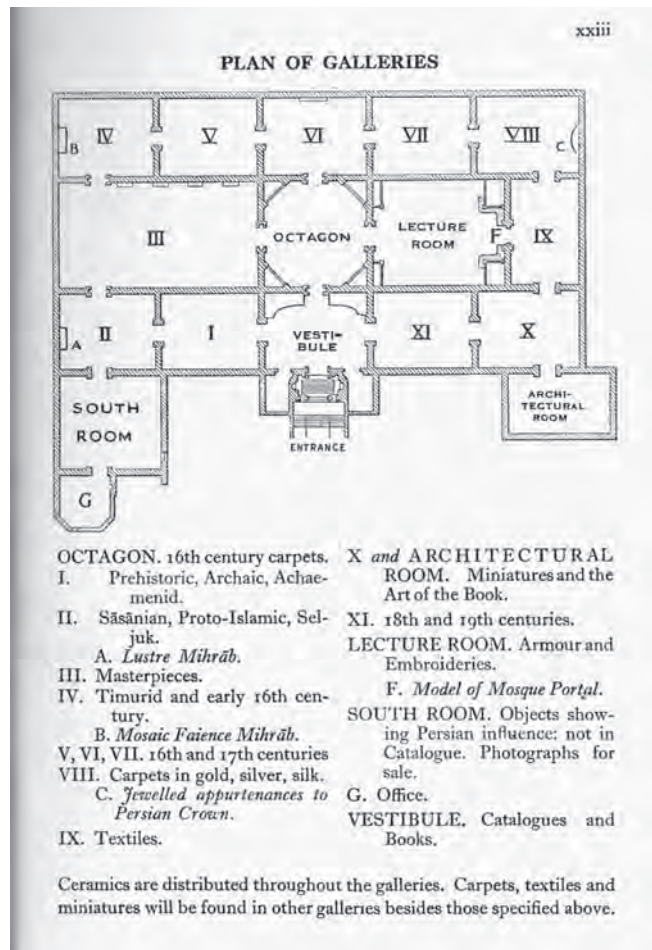


Fig. 4. Gallery plan of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After CIEPA, xxiii)

nation, in the other to display artifacts of cultural and artistic value; one referenced a specific political entity, the other the politics of aesthetic judgment situated within the canons of Western art.

The official patrons of the 1931 exhibition were Riza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and King George of Britain. Vice patrons included the crown prince of Sweden, the prince of Denmark, the British prime minister, and the Ismaʿili leader Muhammad Shah Aga Khan among other luminaries. The prominent scholars of Persian archaeology Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, the historian A. V. Williams Jackson, and art historians Roger Fry and Josef Strzygowski were among the honorary vice presidents. The chairman was Arnold Wilson, a former colonial administrator in Mesopotamia, but Pope himself was the director and organizer. Their vision was supported by the scholar

Laurence Binyon and the renowned collectors Alfred Chester Beatty (a mining magnate), Philip Sassoon, and Joseph Duveen.

As Wilson stated in the catalogue of the exhibition, the event required negotiations "in over thirty different countries, with some hundred different museums and libraries and over 300 private individuals, who... lent over 2,000 separate items, many of immense value, requiring elaborate arrangements for packing, transport and insurance."³⁹ The artifacts were acquired from private lenders as well as important museum collections from India to Spain. The entire cost of transporting and insuring exhibits from the United States was borne by Joseph Duveen, who had lent important pieces from his own collection.⁴⁰

The galleries of Burlington House (fig. 4) housed a dazzling display of power and wealth and were a



Fig. 5. Model of the portal of the Masjid-i Shah, Isfahan, built by Bath Cabinetmakers' Co. Ltd. and displayed in the Lecture Room of the second International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After *CIEPA*, advertising section, [27])

source of pride for the Iranian government of Riza Shah Pahlavi, which had underwritten the project. At the entrance vestibule were sold catalogues and books on Persian art, in addition to photographs of objects in the exhibition.⁴¹ The visitor could then proceed into a grand octagonal space at the center, where the main attractions were displayed, or take a left into the first gallery and follow a chronological tour culminating in art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The organizers' intention was to arrange the exhibits "in accordance with the historical development of Persian Art," although select spaces were reserved for "masterpieces."⁴² On the opposite flank of the Octagon was a lecture room containing a large wooden model of the portal and pool of the Masjid-i Shah (fig. 5). The choice of that monument, after which the 1926 Sesquicentennial Persian pavilion in Philadelphia had also been modeled, was both political and aesthetic: it was the first religious edifice opened to Western scholars—a fact that Pope viewed as his personal achieve-

ment—and it embodied many of the formal architectural and decorative qualities that he and others considered typical of Persian architecture.

On the north and west walls of the lecture room were hung fine specimens of armor, many of which were contributed by the King of England.⁴³ Similarly, jeweled swords and "four of the world's most famous carpets" were displayed in the Octagon,⁴⁴ which was flanked by Gallery III, exhibiting a variety of media from the Safavid period, considered by the organizers to be the most prestigious era in Islamic Persian history.⁴⁵ (I will return to this point, for it is indicative not only of the aesthetic judgments of the curators but also of the self-definition of the Iranian patrons of the exhibition.) In addition to carpets, ceramics and textiles were displayed throughout all the galleries, often irrespective of their chronological relevance. In the South Room were gathered objects from cultures supposedly influenced by Persian art—that is, China and Mughal India. Notably absent in this category were the arts of Seljuk or Ottoman Turkey that, according to the authors of the catalogues, were so dependent on Persian artistic influence.

The last gallery, XI, contained examples of art from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (fig. 6), "with a few objects of contemporary work," represented mainly by archaizing handicrafts. As the catalogue makes obvious, the main sponsor of the 1931 exhibition was the Shah of Iran, whose patronage would suggest that the exhibition represented the heritage of a new nation-state. The omission of work from its living artists is therefore curious, since they were the interpreters of its present as well as its future. Indeed, the Iranian government did lend major works of Qajar imperial portraiture as well as more recent oil paintings by master artists of the Pahlavi court, but these were not chosen for discussion in the English-language texts accompanying the exhibition.⁴⁶ Instead, the future of Persian art was "proved by the skill and beauty of carpets, doors, paintings and embroideries"⁴⁷ that aimed to replicate the distant, if glorious, past. Here, too, Persian art was characterized as a historical artifact, and modernity was reserved for Western art and history. Just as the name Persia, chosen by European and American scholars, ignored the reality of modern Iran, so too did the chosen artworks exclude any form of art that was not categorically revivalist.⁴⁸

In the investigation of why the artistic production of Iran was perceived as ending at the turn of the twentieth century and was represented by works that were



Fig. 6. Nineteenth-century oil painting shown in the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at the Burlington House, London, 1931* [London: Hudson and Kearns, 1931], 51)

backward-glancing, an obvious factor is the Orientalist and colonialist attitude toward the Middle East and other non-Western cultures that construed these cultures as traditional (that is, not modern) and timeless (that is, not part of a progressive history).⁴⁹ In Iran, the best-known court artist of the early part of the twentieth century was Muhammad Ghaffari (1852–1940), who in 1911 opened the first Academy of Fine Arts (*Madrassa-i Sanāyi'-i Mustazrafa*), in Tehran. Although Ghaffari and his peers had been sent to Europe to study Western techniques, their works were dismissed by European observers as mere curiosities or as derivative from superior Western models.⁵⁰

The Second International Congress on Persian Art, concurrent with the 1931 exhibition, epitomized the intellectual ambitions expressed in the exhibition briefs and catalogues. Under the direction of Pope and Sir Edward Denison Ross, the congress was presided over by Lawrence Dundas, Second Marquess of Zetland, a noted British politician. The members of the organizing committee were the preeminent scholars of Persian art and history, as well as intellectuals sympathetic to the promotion of these young disciplines. Papers at the congress ranged from detailed descriptions (e.g., "The Character of Seljuk Art with a Special Reference to Metal-work," by Ernst Kühnel)

and general surveys ("Early Persian Moslem Architecture," by K. A. C. Creswell) to comparative studies by historians of non-Persian art such as P. Pelliot ("The Influence of Persian Art on the Art of China"), T. J. Arne ("The Influence of Persian Art on Scandinavian Art Forms"), and, notably, Josef Strzygowski ("The Influence of Persian Art on European Architecture").

The presence of Strzygowski highlights two important issues underlying the rhetoric of Persian cultural identity espoused by the participants of the 1931 congress, namely, race and nationalism. Strzygowski was a professor at the prestigious University of Vienna and was renowned as the proponent of a racial theory that saw the roots of Aryan art history in the Near East. His influential works proposed crucial connections between the Orient, in particular Iran, and European architecture, which was also the topic of his lecture at Burlington House.⁵¹ This connection, as Annabel Wharton has noted, "was not a benign, academic enterprise but, rather, part of a larger cultural project of aestheticizing and legitimizing neocolonialism, racism and, ultimately, fascism."⁵² The idea of Iranian/Aryan cultural superiority espoused by Pope and others was grounded on racial theories such as Strzygowski's that legitimized the political charge of Persian art-historical discourse, although it should be noted that the manner in which these theories were framed and their political contexts differed for European scholars and Iranian nationalists.

Observers of the 1931 exhibition commented on the political necessity of the British government's patronizing the government of Riza Shah Pahlavi, since Iran, like Afghanistan, was "vital to Britain's defence of India...[increasing] British importance as the site of enormously rich British-controlled oil fields."⁵³ Added to the immediate British interests were those of a Western community striving to understand the new Pahlavi regime that, in their view, "illustrated the same paradox as the new Turkey," which had recently overthrown Ottoman rule in favor of Mustafa Kemal's republican ideals. Turkey and Iran were equated as political entities governed by charismatic and reformist leaders whose Western sympathies were best exploited through understanding their nations' historical and cultural past. An astute commentator for the *London Times* wrote,

The political defeat of Europe in Western Asia...has been followed by the victory of European organization and technique over the traditional Oriental routine, a victory signaled by the adoption of Western methods of

administration, by the introduction of new legal codes based upon Western models, and by a sudden secularization of the State and its institutions which would have been impossible twenty years ago.⁵⁴

As central as Iran was to European interests, the Pahlavi regime itself was in need of legitimacy and political support. Riza Khan continued the Qajar project of nation building by utilizing Western paradigms. In the nineteenth century Iranian intellectuals had been empathetic to the racial and nationalist theories of the French philosopher Ernst Renan and the diplomat Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau. Gobineau's view that Aryan supremacy was realized in the races of Europe and also linked to Iran was noted by Iranian ideologues, who translated his works into Persian,⁵⁵ and nationalists in the early twentieth century exploited the idea of Aryan-Iranian racial identity, forging dynastic links between the "original" Persians and the Pahlavi regime of Riza Khan.⁵⁶ For example, a 1924 history textbook written by Muhammad Zuka' al-Mulk Furughi (one of the founders of the Society for National Heritage and a supporter of Pope) built upon Firdawsi's eleventh-century epic to evince the superiority of "authentic" Iranian empires—the Sasanian and the Safavid—of which another indigenous dynasty, the Pahlavi, would be a natural successor. Furthering ethnic stereotypes, the historian 'Ali Ashtiyani in 1926 contrasted the warlike races of Turks and Bedouin Arabs with the refined Persians.⁵⁷

Regional politics and even language were often a cause of friction on the multiple frontiers of the newly defined nation. Although ethnic markers were used to distinguish Iranians from outsiders, local differences were subsumed under a single homogeneous, if fictive, Iranian identity. Tribal insurgency, in particular of the Bakhtiari and Qashqa'i tribes in the west, was a constant in Riza Khan's rule in the 1920s and 30s and was addressed with force as well as political propaganda.⁵⁸ Similarly, cities and provinces, such as those in Iranian Azerbaijan, were in competition for autonomous governance as well as national recognition.⁵⁹ These factors both belie and explain the constant reiteration of themes of timeless unity and seamless ethnography—especially by scholars involved in the publication and propagation of a new, nationalist, history of Persian art.

WRITING THE HISTORY OF PERSIAN ART

The International Exhibition of Persian Art was a social and cultural extravaganza in which groundbreaking discoveries of the previous twenty years, such as the famed Luristan bronzes, were displayed. According to a contemporary review in *Parnassus*, the magazine of the College Art Association,

The Persian Exhibition has transformed Burlington House into a delightful and undreamed fairyland...Thanks to its preeminently decorative interest, and its conservatism of style, Persian art is perfectly adapted to exhibitions of such ambitious scope as the present one...In general the decorative arts required the collaboration of several craftsmen and demanded rather the fresh development of accepted subject matter, than the invention of the new. Thus a *collective* art was produced. Let the objects at the exhibition be compared to the experimental work of modern Russia and it will be seen at once how remarkable a homogeneity the Persians attained.⁶⁰

In his memoirs Pope remembered the event thus:

Over 225,000 people crowded into the Burlington House Galleries in the eight short weeks that the exhibition was on...Special trains came up from the Five Towns bringing several hundred potters to admire the works of their colleagues many centuries dead; to take new pride in their work, and with true British practicality, to translate their inspirations in new ceramic qualities. There were special excursions from the schools and all the great of the land were there. Winston Churchill peering at a miniature; Ramsey Macdonald with a look of weary exaltation exclaiming over a carpet; H. G. Wells looking as if he were having a holiday at the beach...⁶¹

Persian art was considered exemplary for Western artists, whether they were British potters or Russian modernists finding truths in its collective and cooperative nature. Contemporary artists held "the Orient" in general to be a rich source of inspiration for European and American art,⁶² which perhaps explains why the critic and artist Roger Fry wrote the lead article in *Persian Art*, one of the books accompanying the catalogue (fig. 7).⁶³ *Persian Art* was intended as an intellectual guide to the exhibition and gives important clues about how the objects on display were meant to be understood.⁶⁴ Fry's goal, as he pointed out in his opening paragraph, was to "elucidate those nebulous mental and emotional reactions which the word 'Persian,' when applied to any object of art, evokes within us."⁶⁵



Fig. 7. Frontispiece and title page, *Persian Art*.

Fry's emphasis was on the formal qualities of Persian art, such as the "freely moving and intensely vital rhythms" of pottery (p. 32) or the "important position of linearity" in the general aesthetic sensibility of Persian artists. Fry was a founding member of the Bloomsbury Group, which included the writers Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster, and was a proponent of a formalist aesthetic theory that defined art as a purely visual and aesthetic (vs. semantic) experience.⁶⁶ Fellow Bloomsburian Clive Bell had earlier expressed this view as follows:

What quality is shared by all works that stir our aesthetic emotions? What quality is common to S. Sophia and the windows at Chartres, Mexican sculpture, a Persian bowl, Chinese carpets, Giotto's frescoes at Padua, the masterpieces of Poussin, of Cezanne, and of Henri Matisse? Only one answer seems possible—significant form. Form is the one quality common to all works of visual art.⁶⁷

Of the works mentioned by Bell, the Persian bowl and the Chinese carpet would provide the purest formal pleasure, since they offered no means of intellectual engagement; their beauty emanated from their form alone.⁶⁸ To many artists, critics, and art historians of the early twentieth century, this sort of universalism provided access to the appreciation—if not the understanding—of other forms of art.⁶⁹ Although Bell's arguments were made in the context of post-Impres-

sionist art in Europe, the arts of Iran, albeit distant in time and place, were amended to this discourse on Western modernism.

In the brief section of *Persian Art* entitled "Modern Times," Fry refers only to nineteenth-century Qajar art, which he views as an inferior continuation of sixteenth-century works. He ends his essay with the hope that "the Persian genius which has survived so many apparently overwhelming disasters may in future years find the way to revive its [i.e., Persia's] ancient splendour and recover its position as one of the great cultural centers of the civilized world."⁷⁰ The subject of a "modern" Iranian art is not even broached; the underlying assumption is that modern art belongs in the salons and ateliers of Europe and perhaps America, and contemporary Persian art should therefore aspire for a recovery and imitation of the past.⁷¹

Also available at the Burlington House bookshop during the 1931 exhibition was Arthur Upham Pope's *An Introduction to Persian Art since the Seventh Century A.D.* Like the exhibition catalogue, it was published through the patronage of the shah and his minister Teymourtash.⁷² Its aim, like that of the briefer *Persian Art*, was to "assist the observation of the objects" in a manner that strove for balance between contemporary "doctrinaire" scholarship and the "romantic effusions of the late Victorians."⁷³ Here Persian art is understood in terms of its decorative (rather than

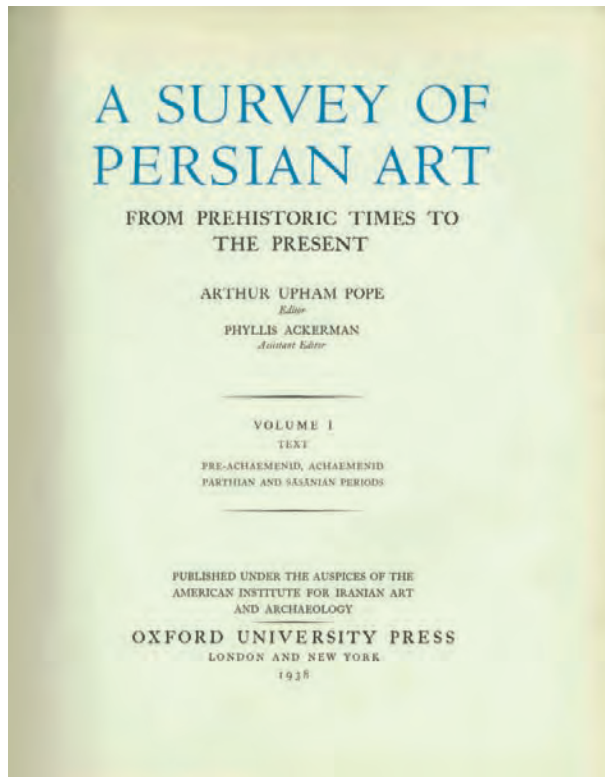


Fig. 8. Title page, *A Survey of Persian Art*.

representational) form, which “may characterize and reveal ultimate values and give just expression to the basal and universal forms of the mind itself.” Such universalism was a theme that would recur in subsequent publications on the subject by Pope as well as his collaborators on *A Survey of Persian Art*.

An Introduction to Persian Art opens with a historical outline, based on recent archaeological discoveries, of more than 5,000 years of Persian art and culture. In a complex maneuver, Pope simultaneously asserts the racial (Aryan) specificity of the Iranians and dismisses race and language as determinants of cultural identity. Despite numerous invasions from Turks and Mongols, he maintains, the Persians were able to sustain their artistic vigor and creative genius. The “Turks,” starting with the Parthians, whom he characterizes as of mixed ethnicity, are particularly singled out as sources of constant incursions that “disturbed as well as often renewed” the cultural and political life of Persia. The section on the Seljuks is noteworthy in that it highlights racial and political tensions not so

much of the eleventh century as of the early twentieth.⁷⁴ These “sturdy monarchs,” although “lacking in the graces of civilization...nevertheless brought with them a quality of courage, of energy and of sincerity that Persia, at the moment, greatly needed.”⁷⁵ The Seljuks are portrayed as a barbaric race that “came upon literature and the arts as a thrilling discovery” learned from the great Persian authors and artists at their courts. Beyond his oversimplified and somewhat anachronistic division of “Turk” and “Persian” in the eleventh century, Pope formulates the polarization of ethnic and racial types in order to assert the superiority of all things Iranian.

Information about Iran was not limited to these “scholarly” texts but was also disseminated by public events held in conjunction with the 1931 exhibition. A series of lectures at the British Academy and the Victoria and Albert Museum focused on Persian pottery, carpets, textiles, and book illustration—objects of interest in the art market.⁷⁶ The aim of the lectures was twofold: on the one hand to assert the continuity of Persian culture as a monolithic entity that defied historical circumstance, and on the other to find connections with artistic traditions of the Christian world and East Asia. The combined effect of these assertions was to situate Iranian civilization firmly within world civilizations, both historically and artistically.

Originally planned to coincide with the 1931 exhibition and congress was the publication of a grand work entitled *A Survey of Persian Art*, to be edited by Pope and Phyllis Ackerman,⁷⁷ with essays that would augment earlier research by providing thorough documentation and analysis of the artistic heritage of Iran.⁷⁸ This goal was not realized until 1938 and 1939, however, when six volumes (rather than the three originally envisioned) containing 2,817 pages and 3,500 photographs, were published (fig. 8). *A Survey of Persian Art* was nonetheless closely related to the earlier events, a spatial and temporal display realized in the form of a book.⁷⁹ If the preceding exhibition and congress were spectacles of early-twentieth-century urbanity and the art market, the *Survey* concretized their aesthetic concerns in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Unsurprisingly, the sponsor and underwriter of the monumental work was again Riza Shah Pahlavi, joined by his ministers and the Society for National Heritage (fig. 9).⁸⁰ Other sponsors included diplomats and a large representation of New York’s elite, such as Havemeyer and Lewisohn, who were early supporters of Pope.⁸¹

The *Survey* aimed "to be comprehensive, systematic, consistent, and organized."⁸² The table of contents of the first volume (published in 1938) echoes in some ways the gallery guide of the 1931 International Exhibition; it comprises introductory essays on the significance, prehistory, history, and geography of Persian art, followed by chronological discussion of arts from prehistory to the Sasanian period. The second volume (published in 1939) includes chapters on architecture of the Islamic period, ceramic arts, and calligraphy and epigraphy,⁸³ while the third (also published in 1939) has chapters devoted to painting and the arts of the book, textile arts, carpets, metalwork, minor arts (such as enamel, furniture, and jewelry), ornament, and, at the end, music and music theory. The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes contain extensive photographic documentation illustrating the first three volumes. As Meyer Schapiro, the prominent young art historian at Columbia University, wrote in a review, the aim of the *Survey* was to satisfy the "interests of all who might be concerned with Persian art—the collector, the museum official, the traveler, the aesthetic critic, the designer, and the historians of art, religion, and culture in general."⁸⁴ One could, in other words, divide the books into corresponding contemporary concerns that informed the emerging "canon" of Persian art, namely, archaeology, art history, and connoisseurship.

Beyond its relationship to the previous exhibitions, congresses, and introductory texts, the *Survey* collated archaeological and architectural data collected since the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸⁵ The Pahlavi government in particular was moved by the Society for National Heritage and Pope's exhortations to open up the country to academic research. As Pope acknowledged in his notes, the *Survey* would not have been possible without this support; it was a testimony to the aspirations of the regime to appear to nationalists and the international community alike as progressive and sensitive to Iran's cultural treasures. Mosques and shrines were no longer the exclusive dominion of the pious; religious edifices were ordered to admit Western scholars, such as Pope and his assistant Eric Schroeder. Survey drawings and extensive photography documented the architectural legacy from the earliest Zoroastrian fire temples to the grand mosques of the Safavid period.

Once again, history was mobilized to define racial boundaries and prophesy the emergent power of an indigenous Iranian nation, forged through Pahlavi



Fig. 9. Dedicatory page, *A Survey of Persian Art*.

ambitions. The chapter "An Outline of the History of Persia," by the French historian René Grousset, director of the Cernuschi Museum in Paris, lays down a vast chronological swath in which regional history consists of "Iranian" dynasties such as the Sasanians and Saffarids and outside invaders such as the disparate "Turkish" dynasties, starting with the Ghaznavids from the east. According to Grousset, the Seljuk Turks "entered Islamic history as barbarian invaders, but proved to be the saviours of the Islamic empire and the regenerators of Persia."⁸⁶ Similar characterization is accorded the "Turkish" Timurids, who ushered in the classical period of Persian art and history, akin to the Italian Renaissance in Europe. Although Grousset professes grudging admiration for "the Turks" (despite the limiting factor of their feudalism), he considers them separate from "the Persians," as though assimilation or adaptation were not even possibilities. Rather, he maintains throughout the essay a persistent notion of racial and ethnic purity.

As Grousset would have it, only with the advent of

the Shiite Safavid dynasty in 1501 did a truly “national dynasty” come into being, after four hundred years of Turkish and Mongol rule: “Restored in nationality and in territorial integrity and victorious over the Turks of Turkistān on the east, Persia now undertook to throw her strength against the Ottoman Turks on the west.”⁸⁷ For Grousset, the Safavid period is the undoubted epitome of Persian artistic and historical greatness, an ideologically driven view reinforced by the art-historical evidence presented in later chapters of the *Survey* as well as in the 1931 exhibition and its publications. Safavid preeminence, Grousset maintains, can only be matched by that of the great Pahlavi dynasty, an empire “more than two thousand years old”; the preceding Qajar dynasty is largely ignored. The ennobling of the Sasanian, Safavid, and Pahlavi eras was without doubt in keeping with contemporary politics, which sought legitimacy for the new kingdom of Riza Khan; the new Shahanshah would follow in the footsteps of Cyrus the Great and Shah ‘Abbas.

In his introductory essay to the *Survey*, titled “The Significance of Persian Art,” Pope stresses the artistic genius of the inhabitants of the Iranian plateau, such that “Art seems to have been the most fundamental and characteristic activity of the Iranian peoples, the most adequate record of their life, their valuable contribution to world civilization...”⁸⁸ Yet according to Pope this characteristic activity was primarily the decoration of surfaces, best exemplified in the arts of pottery and carpet weaving. In this introduction, as in the publications accompanying the 1931 exhibition, the significance of Iran is argued through a complex amalgam of historical reasoning and nation-building rhetoric. The longevity of Persian civilization (seen as a monolithic, singular entity) is considered a genuine achievement, on a par with those of Greece and China, and one that affected the arts of Europe, Mesopotamia, and South Asia; even neighboring Turkey is accepted as being part of the region influenced by Iran.

The time has arrived, Pope maintains, for Iran’s contributions to world art to be recognized. Its artists are characterized as a nation of poets who have withstood the vagaries of time and multiple invasions, from the Arabs to the Mongols. The culture of Iran is distinguished from that of Islam, taken over at its advent by “barbarians fired by a strange combination of pious zeal and a lust for plunder.”⁸⁹ Nonetheless, in the final section of the introduction, subtitled

“The Relation of Art and Religion in Īrān,” Pope asserts that “religion and art were inextricably interwoven” in the consciousness of the early Persian, not as a form of orthodoxy but as transcendent emotion whereby beauty and truth were in communication. It was through mystical visions and the search for abstraction that the Sufi (mystical) spirit of the nation was revealed.⁹⁰ That Pope’s introduction is deeply concerned with religio-aesthetic experience is not surprising, given his education in aesthetics as well as the art historians from whom he drew inspiration, such as Coomaraswamy and Binyon.

A section titled “Architecture of the Islamic Period” begins the second volume of the *Survey* and consists of a historical outline followed by chapters on architectural ornament, mural painting, city plans, tents and pavilions, and gardens. The introduction, written by Pope, begins with a historical outline followed by a discussion of materials such as stone, brick, and wood and a brief consideration of plan and structure. This formalist beginning notwithstanding, a segment of the introduction is devoted to the ritual and cultural significance of the mosque as a unique and “democratic” Islamic institution. Whether such emphasis stems from respect for the sensibilities of the Iranian patrons or from the considerable time Pope spent documenting and studying mosque buildings, this is perhaps the most thoughtful, if sometimes obsequious, part of the introduction. The next part, “Cultural Factors,” addresses the aesthetic character of Persian art, since, according to Pope, “...it is beauty that is the ultimate aim and criterion of architecture...To expound, explain, and evaluate architecture as fine art: this is the ultimate aim of architectural history.”⁹¹ The cultural superiority of the Persians relative to primitive Arab society is reiterated: in the early years of Islamic influence, Pope asserts, “The Arabs had nothing to offer artistically or architecturally.”⁹² Although the final pages of this introduction are devoted to brief characterizations of the four chronological periods of Islamic architecture—namely, the Seljuk, Mongol, Timurid, and Safavid—Pope argues for the continuity of Sasanian motifs in all artistic production following the Arab conquests. Even the seventh-century Great Mosque of Kufa, in Iraq, is characterized as indebted to Persian architecture, since such a building would have been too extravagant for the “primitive and austere Bedouins who had emerged from an ‘almost perfect architectural vacuum’ to conquer the civilized world.”⁹³ Thus

despite universalist claims, the manner in which the architecture of the Islamic period is defined is through national and ethnic criteria.

How does Pope make the universal experience of art cohere with the specifics of national identity—an obvious goal, given the primary sponsor of the book? The abstraction of universalism facilitates the consumption of art works from “other cultures” through a decontextualization that renders peripheral at best their value within the native culture. However, such universalist abstraction also functions well in a rhetoric of political ideology that seeks to co-opt ahistorical and broad themes for the nationalist myth. Thus in a seemingly paradoxical construct, Pope states that although all art is universal, it is defined by its particularities. He writes,

The identity of a culture is not necessarily correlative with any racial or linguistic unity, or any continuity of political institutions, or even with fixed geographical limits. Indeed, all these principles of identity are now suspect.⁹⁴

These sentiments cogently express the essence of modernity as understood by intellectuals and artists of the early twentieth century. As Binyon stated in a 1933–34 lecture series at Harvard, published as *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art*,

At the present moment we in the West experience, and in experiencing resent, a consciousness of frustration. We have mastered and harnessed the forces of nature for our own uses, but something, after all our efforts, eludes us. We have divided life into separate compartments, each presided over by a science with an imposing name; but the wholeness of life has somehow been obscured. What we seem to have lost is the art of living. I am inviting you to contemplate the creative achievements of another hemisphere, not only as an object of agreeable distraction, but also as something which may possibly suggest to us not unfruitful ideas on life and the art of living.⁹⁵

A Survey of Persian Art was ultimately a document of its own times. Although it is easy to discount its research as out of date and dismiss its tone as Orientalist, the *Survey* is of historic value beyond its documentation of the art and architecture of Iran. The years between the world wars were wrought with pain and uncertainty; great tragedies and freedoms were around the corner. The *Survey* and the 1931 exhibition and congress allow us insight into the aesthetic, economic, and political

realities faced by the early-twentieth-century historians, collectors, and, perhaps, even makers of the art of Iran. They are a testimony of the ambitions of a young nation and of a savvy scholar turned purveyor.

Pope's representation of Persian art responded to the aesthetic and art-historical climate of the period and to the political needs of his Iranian, European, and American sponsors. The abundance of artifacts arriving in the markets of Paris, London, and New York, in addition to the publication of museum collections, provided these diverse communities with great resources with which to construct a dynamic discourse on Persian art history. But as other essays in this volume demonstrate, this situation was not unique to Iran. Publications by Strzygowski, Diez, Arsevan, and Aslanapa similarly interpreted Turkish art and history in a manner coinciding with nationalist ideals. One might even propose that a reason for the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society in 1932, a year after the Exhibition and Congress of Persian Art, was the growing international attention given to Iranian art and history.⁹⁶ Interregional competition and cooperation were certainly in effect, as exemplified by the 1932 tour of the poet-intellectual Rabindranath Tagore, who visited Iran in order to witness the enactment of Riza Shah's progressive ideals and to report on the achievements of India's western neighbor.⁹⁷ Such “conversations” deserve further scrutiny, since they provide yet another means by which to study the formation and dissemination of Iranian nationalist historiography.

The influence of publications and lectures by scholars of Persian art in the 1930s was evidenced in Iran by architectural projects sponsored by the Society for National Heritage. New buildings incorporated historical references that echoed recent archaeological and art-historical preoccupations and that, in their selective representation of the past, reflected the rhetoric espoused by the nationalist ideologues. The work of the French architect André Godard exemplifies such reinventions of history. One of his commissions was a tomb for the eleventh-century poet Firdawsi, author of the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), the “Persian national epic,” which extolled the heroic empires of pre-Islamic Iran.⁹⁸ Although its construction was mired in political and economic ineptitude, the freestanding building (fig. 10) was completed in 1934; it was in the form of a cube and featured engaged columns with Sasanian-style capitals. On an otherwise blank facade, verses from the *Shāhnāma* were inscribed, reit-



Fig. 10. Tomb of Firdawsi, ca. 1934, designed by André Godard. Photograph by Talinn Grigor, 2000. (Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)



Fig. 11. Iran Bastan Museum, 1938, designed by André Godard. Photograph by Talinn Grigor, 2000. (Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

erating the greatness not only of Firdawsi but of Persian history itself. Four years later, around the time of the completion of *A Survey of Persian Art*, Godard designed the National Museum of Iran (*Mūzih-i Īrān Bāstān*) (fig. 11) and was appointed its first director. This building is a simple rectangle punctuated by a gigantic parabolic arch that acts as a central entry portal; its reference to the mythic arch Taq-i Kisra at Ctesiphon appropriately reflected the role of the National Museum as a repository of Iranian archaeology and art history.

The formal references to Achaemenid, Sasanian, and Islamic prototypes in both of Godard's commissions point to the ambivalence and flexibility inherent in the construction of a nationalist architecture. They also highlight the manner in which Iranian architectural history, as defined by Pope and his scholarly colleagues, was utilized as a source and an inspiration for new and modern stylistic idioms.⁹⁹

A self-conscious engagement with modernity defines the discourse that informed the production of a vital and complex history of art and architecture of Iran in the early years of the twentieth century. The diverse sites where this discourse was formulated, from Tehran to New York and London, reinforced its vitality. Museum, parliament, art market, and survey text were all involved in the development and dissemination of Iranian art and architectural history in the 1930s and beyond. The resultant canonical "Persian" art history has continued to shape historiography, not only in Iran but also in the wider Islamic world.

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NOTES

1. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). This book is an important initial inquiry into the politics of colonialism and its relationship to exhibitions like world's fairs; nonetheless, the author claims (9) that the reason for Iran's later participation in the fairs was that Iran was not as geographically close to Europe and did not "have a history of continuous contact with the West," which is incorrect. She continues (36), "Westerners did not express as keen an interest in Iran as in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, however, most likely because of Iran's lesser effect on European history."
2. Later revisions continued until 1968, but these are not the focus of this paper.
3. The connections between nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century exhibitions, their catalogues, and subsequent surveys of architecture are a broader interest of mine, here explored through a case study that sheds important light on the intricate negotiations that informed these discourses.
4. This characterization of Riza Khan, comprising all three aspects of his governance, is by Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Longman, 2003), 41.
5. This was also an idea germinated during the Qajar period: in 1910 there were calls, albeit inadequately answered, by the culture ministry for the preservation of national monuments: see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Land, Culture, and Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 100.
6. Statement of the Society for National Heritage (henceforth SNH), 1922, quoted in Kamyar Abdi, "Nationalism, Politics and the Development of Archaeology in Iran," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (Jan. 2001): 56. Talinn Grigor builds on Abdi's research in her article, "Recultivating 'Good Taste': The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage," *Iranian Studies* 37, 1 (Mar. 2004): 18–45.
7. Cited in Grigor, "Recultivating," 36.
8. SNH, *Fihrist-i mukhtaṣar-i āṣār va abniyā-yi tārikhi-yi Īrān* (1925), cited in Grigor, "Recultivating," 30.
9. This point is clearly made by Kashani-Sabet, who cites the example of two academic textbooks from the Pahlavi period. The author of the 1933 textbook explains the terminology of "Iran," but as Kashani-Sabet notes, "Unsurprisingly, it began with the alleged European definition of the term": see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness: The Evolving Polemic of Iranian Nationalism," in *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 173.
10. Jay Gluck and Noël Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope & Phyllis Ackerman* (Ashiya: SoPA, 1996), 44–45.
11. *University of California Bulletin: Announcement of Courses, 1917–1918* (July 1917): 211.
12. Arthur Upham Pope, "The Past and Future of Persian Art," reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 93.
13. *Ibid.*, 97.
14. *Ibid.*, 94.
15. Kashani-Sabet and others have written extensively on the construction of Pahlavi nationhood: see Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*; Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996); M. Vaziri, *Iran as Imagined Nation: The Construction of National Identity* (New York: Paragon, 1993).
16. For a general history of the modern Middle East, including Iran, see, e.g., the introduction to Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson, eds., *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993). See also the work of Nikki Keddie, Houshang Chehabi, and others.
17. For a brief summary of Riza Khan's reign see Ahmad Ashraf, "Reza Pahlavi," in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East & North Africa*, 2nd ed., ed. Philip Mattar (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 755.
18. A seminal source on the "invention" of tradition is E. Hobs-

- bawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); for modern Turkey see the work of Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat R. Kasaba, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).
19. Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Longman, 2003), 1.
 20. Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness," 174.
 21. Letter from H. H. Prince Firouz, Tehran, to Pope, 28 March 1928, in Pope's papers at the New York Public Library, reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 298.
 22. Stephen Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 8.
 23. Celebrating the 150th anniversary of American Independence.
 24. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina mentions Pope's involvement in the exhibition in her article "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 69–89.
 25. See Coomaraswamy's response, in *Art Bulletin* 23, 2 (June 1941): 173, to Meyer Schapiro's negative review of *A Survey of Persian Art*, in *Art Bulletin* 23, 1 (Mar. 1941): 82–86.
 26. "'Well, of course,' he said, 'my interest in those days was the study of aesthetics and that is closely related to my present field. But the reason I left teaching is because college teaching is dangerous.' The professor warmed up to that subject and spoke with quick, explosive sentences. 'A young man comes out of college now with his Ph.D. and he has ideas, he has imagination. What happens? His mind is absolutely bogged down with detail. I suppose it's somewhat different now, of course, but I had 23 classes to teach at Brown. Never at Brown or California did I have time to write. I spent six hours in preparation for each lecture, which is bad enough, and the constant going over and over it made me ill. So in 1917 I came to New York and found that people would pay for expert advice in Persian art. One month I collected \$18,000 in fees and consequently gave up teaching. There was no comparison in financial returns and I had time to write and study in my own field.'" From an interview with John Tebbel, "Champion of Persia as 'Rhode Island as Johnnycake,'" *Providence Sunday Journal* (May 5, 1940): sect. 6, 2; reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 72.
 27. Arthur Upham Pope papers, 1921–1951, New York Public Library, Humanities—Manuscripts and Archives.
 28. Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 145. The name would soon be changed to the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology.
 29. *Ibid.*, 147. The Institute remained in New York until 1965, when it was moved to Shiraz. It functioned for another fourteen years, until the end of the Pahlavi regime in 1979. For a summary description, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–), s.v. "Asia Institute"; also available electronically: www.iranica.com
 30. Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 146–47.
 31. The Institute would subsequently be the site from which numerous archaeological and architectural surveys were launched; their documentation is published in *A Survey of Persian Art*.
 32. See issues of the affiliated publication, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*—(Apr. 1927): 212–13; (Nov. 1930): 250; and (Jan. 1933): 49—in which these three exhibitions are reviewed and described.
 33. The 1910 exhibition of Islamic Art in Munich, entitled "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst," was at least equally ambitious, but it was not devoted exclusively to Persian art. For brief summaries of the exhibition in London see Barry Wood, "'A Great Symphony of Pure Form': The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 113–30, and B. W. Robinson, "The Burlington House Exhibition of 1931: A Milestone in Islamic Art History," in Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 147–55.
 34. Interestingly, although exhibitions of this time were variously labeled Arab, Persian, or some variant of "Muslim," it was primarily Turkish art that was represented in World's Fairs, which were patronized by the Ottoman and, later, the republican governments of Turkey.
 35. It is notable that most of the exhibitions of Islamic art (the exhibition in Munich in 1910 being an exception) were in France. In a separate essay I hope to explore the distinctions made between "national/ethnic," e.g., Persian or Arab, art and "religious/historical" art, termed, e.g., "Muhammedan" or "Musulman." The data below are collected from the appendix of Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 201–3.
- The first exhibition devoted specifically to Persian art was held at the South Kensington Museum, London, in 1876; it was followed by an exhibition of Persian and Arab art at Burlington House in 1885; one of faience from "Persia and the Nearer East" at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1907; an "Exposition d'Art Persan" at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1912; one of Persian and Indian manuscripts, drawings, and paintings from the Ross Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1914; and the International Exhibition of Persian Art in Philadelphia in 1926. (Vernoit also lists an exhibition that included Persian, Chinese, and Japanese art, held in Paris in 1925.)
- Interspersed with these were other exhibitions of "Islamic art," starting with the 1893 "Exposition d'Art Musulman," at the Palais de l'Industrie, Paris, followed by "Exposition des Arts Musulmans" at the Pavillion de Marsan, Paris, in 1903; "Exposition d'Art Musulman" in Algiers in 1905; "Exposition de Tissues et de Miniatures d'Orient" at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1907; "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst" in Munich in 1910; a loan exhibition of early Oriental rugs at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in 1910; "Exposition des Arts Marocains" at the Pavillion des Marsan, Paris, in 1917; "Exposition des Arts Musulmans" in Alexandria in 1925; an exhibition of Oriental miniatures and manuscripts in Gothenberg and Copenhagen in 1928–29; "The Fourteenth Loan Exhibition: Mohammedan Decorative Arts," at the Institute of Arts, Detroit, in 1930, and a loan exhibition of "Polonaise" carpets at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, also in 1930.
- Exhibitions in 1931 alone included the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House; "Exposition Coloniale" in Paris; and a loan exhibition of ceramic art of the Near East at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- At the same time, museums were establishing their own

- collections, the chronology of which is also included in Ver-
noit's appendix.
36. A. Eastman, "Current Exhibitions of Asiatic Art," *Parnassus* 3, 3 (Mar. 1931): 38–42.
 37. A. Eastman, "The Exhibition of Persian Art at the Brooklyn Museum," *Parnassus* 3, 4 (Apr. 1931): 33–35. The title of the essay does not correspond with the subject of the essay, which starts, "The exhibition of *Islamic* art at the Brooklyn Museum ranges in date from the Hittite and Assyrian epochs, through the reign of the great patron of the arts in Persia, Shah Abbas in the 16th and 17th centuries" (italics mine). Clearly the exhibition was limited neither to Islamic nor to Persian art.
 38. "Editorial: An Asiatic Museum?" *Burlington Magazine* 336, 58 (Mar. 1931): 111.
 39. A. T. Wilson, "Introductory Note," *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art* (henceforth *CIEPA*) (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1931), xiii. The exhibition of private and public collections was then, as now, a way of augmenting the desirability of the objects displayed. As already observed by Pope in 1917, the market for Persian art was vibrant and lucrative. The issue of collecting Persian art has been explored by David Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 112–36, and idem, "Disorderly Conduct?: F. R. Martin and the Bahram Mirza Album," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 32–57.
 40. For a comprehensive biography of Joseph Duveen see Mer-
yle Secrest, *Duveen: A Life in Art*, (New York: Knopf, 2004).
 41. The advertisements included in the pamphlets, catalogues, and other material published in conjunction with the exhibition provide important clues to the market forces driving much of the speculative collection of art in the early twentieth century. Parallel resources are contemporary magazines such as the London-based *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* and *Parnassus*, published in New York by the College Art Association. The notices in *Parnassus* of the 1931 exhibition cited in this essay appear in a section of the publication called "Art Market," in which current sales and commercial gallery shows were announced and advertised.
 42. R. Blomfield, A. U. Pope, L. Ashton, "Arrangement of Galleries," *CIEPA*, xvi.
 43. Less appreciated today, armor was collected with great fervor in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and private collections featured large displays. Thus it is not surprising to see pride of place given to Persian armor throughout the 1931 exhibition. My thanks to Anne Higonnet for bringing this point to my attention (personal communication, April, 2006); as she noted, the history of these collections and the assessment of their significance have yet to be written.
 44. Among the four carpets was the mate to the famous "Ardabil" carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it was then owned by Joseph Duveen, whose Northwest Persian carpet was also displayed in the Octagon.
 45. There were twice as many objects from the Safavid period as from any other. Gallery III, for instance, contained the "great Milan Hunting Carpet lent by the Italian government"; on the floor was the "great silk carpet from the closely guarded tomb chamber of Shah 'Abbas II" at the shrine of Fatima al-Ma'suma at Qum: see *CIEPA*, xvii.
 46. Fortunately these are published in *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition at Burlington House* (London, 1931), which accompanied the main catalogue.
 47. *CIEPA*, "Arrangement of Galleries," xix.
 48. Elisions such as this greatly affected the future study of Islamic art and architecture; scholars even today struggle to include anything "non-Western" in the canon of modernism.
 49. Starting with Edward Said, a number of scholars have noted these binary divisions through which Western civilization, posited as culturally and politically superior, is pitted against the colonized "non-West": see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).
 50. Important overviews are provided in the collection of essays found in Layla S. Diba, *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998). More recent thematic essays by Maryam Ekhtiar et al. in the "Timeline of Art History" on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art also expand this narrowly studied field:
www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm
www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/irmd/hd_irmd.htm
 51. On January 9, 1931, Strzygowski spoke at the eighth session of the congress, chaired by Pope. For a program of the congress proceedings see Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 200–202.
 52. Annabel Wharton, "The Scholarly Frame," in idem, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12. See also Suzanne Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism: The Case of Josef Strzygowski," *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 106–30, and S. Kite, "South Opposed to East and North: Adrian Stokes and Josef Strzygowski," *Art History* 26, 4 (Sept. 2003): 505–32.
 53. "Persia in Piccadilly," *Times* (London), 12 Jan. 1931, 20.
 54. "The Persian Exhibition," *Times* (London), 5 Jan. 1931, 13.
 55. For a comprehensive overview of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalism in Iran see Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness."
 56. Also co-opted into the nationalist rhetoric were language, geography, and history.
 57. *Zukā' al-Mulk Furūghī, Tārīkh-i mukhtaṣar-i Īrān* (1924) and 'Alī Aṣhtiānī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Āsiyā va Īrān* (1926), both cited in Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*, 206.
 58. The revolts of the Bakhtiari and Qashqa'i tribes were forcibly suppressed, and three Bakhtiari khans were executed in 1934 alone: Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921*, 50. Grass, a 1925 documentary film and monograph by C. Merian Cooper and E. B. Schoedsack (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925) provides a poignant prelude to these reprisals, charting the spring migrations of a Bakhtiari tribe. I am grateful to Luis Vasquez for this citation.
 59. Tabriz, Ardabil, and the province of Azerbaijan exemplify tensions between cities and provinces; for a concise history of the struggles for autonomy there see Houshang E. Chehabi, "Ardabil Becomes a Province: Center-Periphery Relations in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 235–53.
 60. M. S. Villard, "The International Exhibition of Persian Art in London," *Parnassus* 3, 2 (Feb. 1931): 30. It should be noted

- that this reviewer was also Pope's assistant, with the job of proofreading the manuscript of his *An Introduction to Persian Art since the Seventh Century A.D.* (London: Peter Davies, 1930).
61. Excerpted from Arthur Upham Pope's unfinished autobiography, "Nine Lives," begun in 1956: reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 188.
 62. Such artists, too numerous to tabulate, include Frederick Church (1826–1900) in the United States, William Morris (1834–96) in Britain, and Henri Matisse (1869–1954) in France.
 63. E. Denison Ross et al., *Persian Art* (London: Luzac and Company, 1930). A number of other books, all published at about the same time, were made available for sale during the exhibition; they included E. Denison Ross, *The Persians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (London: Benn, 1930), and Maurice Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930). These were reviewed in the context of the 1931 exhibition in *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 58, 334 (Jan. 1931): 51–53.
 64. E. Denison Ross's "Historical Introduction" was followed by Fry's essay, "Persian Art." Other chapters, in order, were "Early Persian Art," "Architecture," "Painting," "Pottery and Glass," "Textile Art," "Carpets," and "Metal-work," all by different authors.
 65. Roger Fry, "Persian Art," in Ross et al., *Persian Art*, 25. Fry's essay is divided into chronological sections starting with Achaemenid art.
 66. The Aesthetic Movement had been prevalent in both the United Kingdom and America in the nineteenth century. A prime American architectural example is Olana, the house built by the artist Frederick E. Church in upstate New York. In a letter by written by Church to J. F. Weir on June 8, 1871 (Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Washington, DC), he describes his use of "Persian" motifs, based solely on his own fantasy: "... a Feudal Castle which I am building—under the modest name of a dwelling house—absorbs all of my time and attention. I am obliged to watch it so closely—for having undertaken to get my architecture from Persia where I have never been—nor any of my friends either—I am obliged to imagine Persian architecture—then embody it on paper and explain it to a lot of mechanics whose ideal of architecture is wrapped up in felicitous recollections of a successful brick school house or meeting house or jail. Still—I enjoy thus being afloat on a vast ocean paddling along in a dreamy belief that I shall reach the desired port in due time." (I am grateful to Evelyn D. Trebilcock, Curator at Olana, for this citation.)
 67. Clive Bell, "Post-Impressionism and Aesthetics," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, 118 (Jan. 1913): 227. In the following year Bell also wrote a piece on Persian painting in which he discussed attributions and styles of Timurid art: idem, "Persian Miniatures," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 25, 135 (May 1914): 110–13, 116–17.
 68. I am grateful to Susan Laxton for conversations about early-twentieth-century aesthetics and the central role played by Fry and Bell in the history of modern art.
 69. For a discussion of the reception of Persian painting from a complementary perspective see Priscilla Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson, and the Reception of Persian Manuscript Illustration," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (Autumn 2001): 114–28.
 70. Fry, "Persian Art," 36.
 71. Even as Persian art (and "Oriental" art in general) served as inspiration for the European avant-garde.
 72. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*.
 73. Instead, Pope strove to speak of Persian art "as the Persians themselves have spoken of it," although there is little to suggest how that might be. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, viii.
 74. The relationship of Iran with the newly formed Turkish Republic was being conceptualized at this time; as other papers in this volume point out, the Turkish Republic was itself appropriating the Seljuks as part of its nationalist historiography.
 75. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, 11. The obverse of this belief in cultural essence is "the myth of the migrant artist" by which scholars of the early twentieth century argued that all things Islamic (from Arab to Turkish) were produced by traveling Persian artists.
 76. For a list of lectures, see *CIEPA*, iv–v. In addition, speakers at the Second International Congress presented papers and chaired sessions (see n. 51, above). Although Aryan ideologies were disseminated in this forum, the significance of Persian art through its contributions to Christian art and its influence on the arts of China and Europe were also discussed.
 77. In 1935 Riza Khan had formally required that the international community refer to Iran by its native name. According to Pope, he and Ackerman decided to retain "Persia," partly because the decree had not been announced until the majority of the book was set in type; in addition, since it had been advertised from as early as 1930, changing its title might have been viewed as injudicious. Perhaps more crucially, however, "Persia" was retained for its evocation of an ancient (versus a modern) civilization. The legacy of this bias continues unquestioned: numerous scholarly texts and museum catalogs from as late as 2005 use "Persian" when they are in fact referring to the cultural and political region of Iran. Although one could argue for a "Persianate culture"—that is, one dependent on the Persian language—say, in the sixteenth century, that culture would extend to Turkey and South Asia, in addition to Central Asia.
 78. According to the proposals for the 1931 exhibition and Pope's fundraising for both projects, publication of the *Survey* was meant to take place in conjunction with the exhibition. The project was conceived in 1926 along with the exhibition and congress and was advertised in announcements of the exhibition and in the catalogue itself.
 79. The relevance of Persian culture, including its art, is recognized in *Survey* footnotes, which cite its appreciation by such contemporary literary and artistic figures as H. G. Wells and John Singer Sargent.
 80. The dedication may have been modeled on that in K. A. C. Creswell's two-volume opus, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932–40), which reads, "To His Majesty, King Fuad I King of Egypt, whose enlightened encouragement has given a new life to the arts in Egypt and whose generous support is assured for all intellectual and scientific research." The project, as Creswell described it, would catalog "one of

- the greatest and most interesting branches of Muslim architecture, which will make known in all parts of the world the glorious achievements, as well as the history and evolution, of modern architecture in Egypt." (Quoted in R. W. Hamilton, "Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, 1879–1974" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 60 [1974]: 464.)
81. These were prominent public figures, with campus buildings of Columbia University named after them or members of their families. The list also includes Joseph Duveen of Milbank. For a parallel development of the interest in Byzantine art in New York circles see Robert Nelson, "Private Pleasures Made Public: The Beginnings of the Bliss Collection," in A. Kirin, ed., *Sacred Art, Secular Context* (Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, 2005), 39–51.
 82. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938–39), x.
 83. In the section on Islamic architecture, a short subchapter by Eric Schroeder (Pope, *Survey*, 2:981–1046) is devoted to the Seljuk period. Schroeder primarily concentrates, however, on the monuments of the Samanids, Ghaznavids, and Iranian Seljuks, all of whom he considers nomadic, albeit enlightened, barbarians.
 84. Meyer Schapiro's review of the *Survey* (see n. 25, above) is an insightful if searing assessment of the entire project. In contrast to Schapiro's dissatisfaction with the lack of academic rigor and scholarly depth in the *Survey* is the reaction of a different reviewer in the London *Observer*: "...this survey does for Persia what has never before been attempted for any place or period...This long, seven-thousand-year story is not one for specialists or art-lovers only. No one who values the world of achievement and culture can afford to be ignorant of the history of survival of intangible things. Nowhere else in the world can the survival values of one people be so clearly studied. Persia alone of the ancient empires has handed down to us values...subtler aspects of life. Fabulous in art, mystic in outlook, subtle in thought, the Persian has contributed to the enrichment of life. The Western world would be wise not to forget Persia and the Persian gifts." Stanley Casson, *Observer* (London), 13 Aug. 1939, 5, and 20 Aug. 1939, 5, reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 307–8.
 85. Recent contributions of Sarre and Herzfeld, for example, were represented along with earlier works.
 86. René Grousset, "An Outline of the History of Persia," in Pope, *Survey*, 1:88.
 87. *Ibid.*, 101.
 88. Pope, *Survey*, 1:1. Pope had already brought up this point in *Introduction to Persian Art*, which was sold at the London exhibition.
 89. Pope, *Survey*, 1:18.
 90. Pope, *Survey*, 1:40–41. The conception of Sufism as separate from Islam persists to this day due, for example, to Louis Massignon, who was a collaborator on the *Survey*. After establishing the "abstractness" of Persian art as a non-Western paradigm, Pope argues for its non-representational and subjective qualities, in which human emotions are given precedence. Even architecture, as the most formal of visual arts, is included. According to Pope, "The informing principles are the same as those that give aesthetic significance to a Tempio bronze, a Sung landscape, or a Timurid miniature." Pope, *Survey*, 1:28. (Note the similarity of Pope's examples to those mentioned by Clive Bell in his 1913 essay, cited in n. 67, above.)
 91. Pope, *Survey*, 2:905.
 92. *Ibid.*, 910.
 93. *Ibid.*, 914, quoting Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932–40), 1:35–36.
 94. Pope, *Survey*, 1:9.
 95. Laurence Binyon, *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 4.
 96. On the Turkish Historical Society see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 243.
 97. Rabindranath Tagore, *Journey to Persia and Iraq, 1932* (Kolkata: Visva-Bharati Pub. Dept., 2003).
 98. For an extensive discussion of this monument's construction and the ideologies that surrounded it see Talinn Grigor, *Cultivat(ing) Modernities*, especially chap. 3, on the Firdawsi tomb, 145–227.
 99. This "burden of representation" is a point that Sandy Isenstadt and I raise in the introduction to *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming 2008).

FORMALISM AND THE ACADEMIC FOUNDATION OF TURKISH ART IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The modern conception of the history of Anatolia (or “Lands of Rum”) during the four centuries between the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 is constructed on a simple sequence of three dynastic periods—Seljuk, Beylik, and Ottoman. Providing a rudimentary navigational chart for periodization, this tripartite sequence in fact allows only limited visibility of the complex social, political, and cultural vistas of the extended period during which the Turkish and Muslim settlement of Anatolia took place. The generalized definition and application of medieval dynastic terms are fraught with confusion. Thus, “Seljuk” is frequently used as a catchall term referring to the historical and cultural legacy of the post-Manzikert period within the borders of modern Turkey. It can subsume, in the name of terminological convenience, such early Turkish (or Turkmen) dynasties as the Saltuqids, the Mengujekids, the Danishmendids, the Artuqids, and the Armanshahs, among others. The confusion arises mainly from the fact that the label “Seljuk” is identified dynastically with the Seljuk sultanate of central Anatolia but chronogeographically with the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and the entire configuration of Muslim Turkish dynasties spread across much of the country. Moreover, the term “Seljuk,” in its blanket application to the land of Anatolia during the medieval era, simply excludes non-Turkic or non-Muslim cultures and polities, both of the Byzantines—based also in Nicaea and Trebizond—and of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia.

With the breakup of the Seljuk sultanate at the turn of the fourteenth century and the rise of a new constellation of Muslim Turkic dynasties (*beyliks*), an even more complicated political phase emerged in Anatolia. The period between approximately 1300 and 1500 is covered by the umbrella term “Beylik,” which, like its sibling term “Seljuk,” imposes a generalized view of this complexity while impeding finer distinctions and differentiations to be drawn among the various

beyliks. More importantly, the collective application of the terms “Seljuk” and “Beylik” and their effective limitation by the modern borders of Turkey have encouraged an introverted and monocultural perspective on the history of this period. Medieval Anatolia is conceived of as an island disconnected from the rest of the region, so that the complex dynamics of the process of settlement, which lasted well into the fifteenth century, are disregarded. The indiscriminate applications of the terms “Seljuk” and “Beylik” thus amount to a deliberate compression of the contours of a particularly undulating history. In other words, in the conventional and wholesale deployment of these labels, little room is made either for distinctions between discrete societies and polities or for non-Anatolian, non-Turkish, and non-Islamic relationships and continuities.

This is all the more true in the case of art and architectural historiography, where the strain of simplification is coupled with the rigidity of a formalist methodology that has dominated scholarship in Turkey, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century. With its emphasis on morphology and typology, this formalist methodology has defined the limited set of terms with which the architecture of the medieval period has been conceptualized. The workings of a formalist method of inquiry can be readily gleaned from the scores of monographs, typically devoted either to a single building type, such as the madrasa, or to the medieval architectural heritage of a single town or dynasty. While undeniably useful in their capacity as handbooks, these studies nevertheless perpetuate an uncontested and frozen vision of architecture that, except for the establishment of dates and names, is largely divorced from the historical context and is presented in a strictly hierarchical and categorical framework. Although the historical context is not entirely ignored, it is commonly relegated to a discrete introductory chapter and submitted as a separate narrative disconnected from the discussion of buildings. In the

city and dynasty monographs, the architecture is sorted and studied on the basis of typology and according to a preestablished hierarchy of buildings in which mosques are almost always discussed first, followed by madrasas, tombs, baths, fountains, and domestic architecture. This hierarchical pigeonholing exemplifies the extent to which the formalist methodology predetermines the rationale for and organization of the presentation of buildings. Similarly, monographs dedicated to a single building type are structured according to morphology so that, for example, madrasas with open courtyards are separated from those with closed courtyards. In this approach, building plans have acquired paramount epistemic importance and constitute the primary unit of description and comparison, with a view toward establishing a constructed typology. Formalism in this instance, it could be argued, promotes the pristine two-dimensional plan over the gritty three-dimensional building.

Part of the appeal of this formalist methodology for the historiography of medieval architecture in Anatolia no doubt lies in its manageability. With the categories of analysis largely determined prior to the investigation itself, the task of sorting and classifying buildings is automatically achieved and extricated from the irregularities of historical context. Without the challenge of reconciling buildings with their complicated social-political histories, the complexity of architectural practices is simplified and contained along formal lines. Such simplification allows buildings to be easily absorbed into another simplified category—the medieval period defined by the hazy labels of “Seljuk” and “Beylik”—and in turn to be readily identified within a national matrix. Whether qualified with such compound adjectives as “Anatolian-Turkish” or “Turkish-Islamic” or simply identified as “Turkish,” the striking of the national keynote replaces the dissonances arising from a complicated historical context. Furthermore, the Turkishness of the architecture is linked, implicitly or explicitly, to its formal characteristics, and is inscribed into the idea of a continuous and self-aware Turkish architectural tradition that originates in Central Asia and anticipates final fulfillment under the Ottomans. Condensed to less than the sum of their parts, buildings subjected to a strict formal analysis are fractured to generate a set of forms, or “building blocks,” that are envisioned to support a geographic and chronological continuum of national architecture.¹

The establishment of a particular formalist meth-

odology of art and architectural history in twentieth-century Turkish academia has a number of intellectual undercurrents. Among the most influential of these is a movement generated within the Vienna School of Art History, to which should be attributed the missionary incorporation of “Turkish art” as a subfield in a universal art history. This essay seeks to investigate the ideological and methodological principles that formed the academic conceptualization of Turkish Art (a conceptualization designated throughout this article by capitalization of the *a* in “art”) by the Viennese scholars Josef Strzygowski, Heinrich Glück, and Ernst Diez and the direct contributions of these scholars to the teaching of the subject in the universities of Istanbul (Faculty of Literature) and Ankara (Faculty of Language, History, and Geography). The causality of formalism and its ideological extensions are, of course, limited neither to these individuals, who established an art-historical umbilical cord between Austria and Turkey, nor to the particular university departments and faculties in which their legacy was sustained. A thorough undertaking of the study of Turkish Art in twentieth-century Turkey cannot ignore the “home-grown” school of formalist art history, led especially by Celâl Esad Arseven in the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, and its influence on the intellectual formation of artists and architects who in turn lent their voices to the academic discourse on the subject.² Equally essential to a more complete picture of the subject is the role played by the French scholar Albert Gabriel, whose remarkable documentation of the medieval architecture of Anatolia continues to serve as a critical cornerstone.³ The limited scope of this essay, therefore, is envisioned to shed light on one particular aspect of a much larger topic by means of a case study on the workings of a methodologically driven vision of Turkish Art in the first half of the twentieth century.

OUT OF VIENNA: STRZYGOWSKI'S FORMALISM AND THE CASE FOR TURKISH ART

The entrenchment of formalism in modern Turkish architectural historiography and its explicit or implicit intertwinement with nationalist sentiment can be traced back to the establishment of Turkish Art as a rightful field of art-historical investigation in the early decades of the twentieth century. The earliest publication to sport such a title was the essay *Türkische Kunst*, by the Austrian art historian Hein-

rich Glück (1889–1930), issued in 1917 to inaugurate the founding of the Hungarian Institute in Istanbul.⁴ Glück's explicit aim was to endorse the very notion of a Turkish Art as the sign of a national and racial spirit extending from what were taken to be the earliest traces of Turkic material culture across the Eurasian lands to the major works of classical Ottoman art and architecture—to answer in the positive the raw question, “Gibt es denn eine türkische Kunst?” (Is there indeed a Turkish Art?).⁵ The point of departure in this dramatic journey (accomplished, needless to say, by means of extreme abridgement) was the ornamental character of metal and textile arts, which were held to be innate to the artistic production of nomadic peoples such as the Turks. Accordingly, Glück maintained that the Turks, as they migrated to the central Islamic lands, brought their “racial characteristic” (*Ras-seneigenart*)⁶ to ninth-century Abbasid Samarra and Tulunid Cairo, where it materialized in the decorative character of stucco wall revetments. In subsequent centuries, Glück furthermore contended, the integrity of the Turkish artistic heritage manifested itself in an inclination toward architectural monumentality embodied by forms such as domes and portals, which may have been borrowed from other traditions but were combined and disseminated according to a Turkish national spirit. This proposition was illustrated by examples from Mamluk Egypt, Seljuk Anatolia, Timurid Central Asia, and the Ottoman capitals. Nevertheless, since the formal essence of Turkish Art was seen to inhere most fundamentally in metalwork and textile arts, Glück closed his essay by crediting the flowering of these two media in the Islamic lands to the arrival of Turks. Written against the backdrop of the First World War, to which Glück dolefully alluded at the end, this essay formed the first stand-alone narrative of Turkish Art as a sovereign and significant participant in a universal history of art. The simplification of its framework of inquiry—untroubled by the historical complexities and variables surrounding the movement of Turkic peoples from Asia to Constantinople and beyond—carried the hallmarks of a case made for a national art along formalist lines.

Glück's mission to uphold Turkish Art as a necessary and discrete field of art-historical research was born directly out of an academic movement in Vienna spearheaded by his mentor, Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), who made a seminally controversial career out of rallying against the Rome-centrism of art-historical discourse in the European academies. Appointed to

a chair in the prestigious Institut für Kunstgeschichte at the University of Vienna in 1909, Strzygowski, an enormously prolific author, exerted his professional influence to assert that the essential foundations of late antique and medieval European art extended beyond the Mediterranean basin to the Eurasian landmass. With the publication of *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken and frühchristlichen Kunst* (Orient or Rome: Contributions to the History of Late Antique and Early Christian Art) in 1901, Strzygowski took aim at what he perceived, not entirely incorrectly, to be a biased and exclusivist account of late antique art that limited itself to a narrow conceptualization of the Greco-Roman tradition.⁷ He championed instead the critical testament of the “Orient” (extending eastward from Anatolia and Egypt) in the foundations of early Christian and medieval European art and, in doing so, sought to undermine the classical bias of the humanistic disciplines. His anticlassical perspective persuaded him of the importance of expanding the geography of art history beyond Europe to encompass much of Asia, a task to which he devoted himself with remarkable zeal. His apparent readiness to sacrifice depth for the sake of breadth was the product as much of his personal intellectual ambitions as it was of a particular combination of methodology and ideology, the impact of which can still be felt today.⁸

Subscribing to a strictly formalistic art history concerned primarily with morphological continuities and transformations assessed in a comparative framework, Strzygowski harbored, furthermore, a deep-seated suspicion of the relevance of texts and contexts. Seeking to displace by artifact and ornament what he perceived to be the domination of the text, he remained indifferent and even hostile to the idea of admitting historical context into what he frequently termed *vergleichende Kunstforschung* (comparative art research) or *vergleichende Kunstwissenschaft* (comparative art science) as opposed to the traditional *Kunstgeschichte* (art history). He declared that “...Archaeology must give up its false methods, the philological and historical, based on texts or the chance survival of individual monuments, and the philosophical and aesthetic, which evade the fact of evolution. The history of art must...concentrate upon the work of art and its values, absolute and evolutionary, and so find a path of its own.”⁹ The path that Strzygowski chose to forge in art history was guided by his uncompromising adherence to these methodological principles, which he continuously emphasized even as he sought to dem-

onstrate the critical importance of Oriental art for understanding the origins and character of Western art. In doing so, he ventured into vast tracts of Asian art then outside of the purview of European scholarship. In this regard, Strzygowski is rightfully credited with effectively challenging the Eurocentric vision of art historians in the early twentieth century. However, his radical geographic expansion of the field of art-historical research also served an ideological agenda: to advocate the artistic and cultural primacy of Northern or Aryan peoples, which he aimed to illuminate from the vantage point of the East. Not surprisingly, in the years leading up to and including the Second World War, Strzygowski's ideological rhetoric assumed an increasingly racist tone, pitched to proclaim the superiority of an Aryan artistic legacy.¹⁰

In 1917, the same year as Glück's inaugural essay on Turkish Art appeared in print, Strzygowski published *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens* (Altai-Iran and the Migration of Nations: Ornament-Historical Investigations on the Entrance of Migrating and Northern Nations into the Hothouses of Spiritual Life).¹¹ The central mission of this book was to bolster Strzygowski's expanded geography of art by substantiating the creative energies of a Northern or Aryan art through the evidence of the southward movement of nomadic peoples from the northern regions of Inner Asia. The title reference to Altai and Iran designates, respectively, the upper and lower limits of a middle region that Strzygowski loosely defined between the geographic (and cultural) polarities of North and South.¹² Positing the phenomenon of *Völkerwanderung* as the primary mechanism of artistic dissemination from North to South, *Altai-Iran* assigned the pivotal role of transmitter to two nomadic "races"—the ancient Turks (*Alt-türker*) of the "Altaic sphere" and the Scythians of the "Aryan sphere"—who negotiated this middle region. For the most part the book steered clear of historical contextualization as Strzygowski—untrained in the relevant languages, apparently indifferent to historical details, and inevitably unfamiliar with the more remote regions in question—engineered a grand narrative of artifact and ornament. He undertook the task of demonstrating the evolution of ornamental forms that he envisioned to have migrated from a nebulous North across vast tracts of land, under the aegis of nomadic peoples such as Turks and, before them, Scythians,

who effected their entrance into the cultures of the South (especially Mesopotamia and Egypt), the "Hothouses of Spiritual Life." This loaded subtitle to *Altai-Iran* has an unmistakable biological tinge, the concept of *Treibhäuser* (hothouses or greenhouses) signifying the germination of forms from the creative North implanted in the lands of the fertile South.

Strzygowski conceived of his foray into "ancient Turkish art" (*alttürkische Kunst*) as breaking new ground in research and asserted that art history could no longer make do without it.¹³ The section of *Altai-Iran* titled "Die Türkvölker und der altaische Kreis" (Turkic Peoples and the Altaic Sphere) begins with sweeping statements and ponderous questions about the artistic culture of nomadic Turks.¹⁴ Without any obvious concern for chronology, Strzygowski launched his account of this ill-defined subject with a discussion of textile arts (illustrated by instances of carpets depicted in Buddhist wall paintings) and metalwork (focusing on the famously enigmatic Nagyszentmiklós Hoard, discovered in Romania in 1799, which included objects with Turkic runic inscriptions). These he singled out as media native to nomadic Turks prior to their absorption by the sedentary cultures of Islam in the Near East. The section then proceeded to introduce various ornamental motifs of surface decoration, culminating in an analysis of the stucco decoration of the ninth-century mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, which Strzygowski upheld as an integral example of Turkic nomadic ornamental art transplanted to Egypt. In the concluding chapter to *Altai-Iran*, Strzygowski returned to the subject of the role of Turks in the grand North-South dialogue and asserted that Turks exerted their distinctive influence on the "evolution of art" (*Kunstentwicklung*) so long as they "remained true" to their nomadic nature, which he identified geographically with their "pasture lands and hunting grounds."¹⁵ Interpreting the stucco decoration of Tulunid Cairo and Abbasid Samarra as the unadulterated expression of nomadic ornament, Strzygowski proclaimed Seljuk and Ottoman art to represent a later stage, in which the nomadic essence of Turks had already been assimilated by the *Treibhäuser* of the South, so that Seljuks and Ottomans essentially became "carriers" (*Träger*) of Islamic art forms they had picked up in Iran and Syria.

The arbitrary nature and unsubstantiated identification of the selection of works used to illustrate these topics indicates Strzygowski's inevitably patchy grasp of

the material in this enormous territory, which, in 1917, remained largely uncharted. However, working with predetermined categories of medium and ornament type, Strzygowski's formalistic methodology allowed him to circumvent the thorny questions of historical connection and cultural relevance. In this framework, almost no painting, object, or building was considered in its entirety; instead, Strzygowski extracted ornamental motifs or compositional elements to provide a distilled vision of forms that he manipulated as signposts on the migratory path of the nomadic Turks between Inner Asia and Egypt. Thus, for example, he extracted Ibn Tulun's stucco decoration from its architectural framework and provided only schematic drawings of the designs. The logic of Strzygowski's approach was summarized by Ernst Diez (1878–1961) in a partially critical assessment of his former teacher's legacy:

For a comparative investigation, a wide and profound knowledge of detail in the different areas of Asiatic art was not necessary, because here the important thing was mainly the comparison of types and the identification of formal similarities or dissimilarities. The comparative science of art (*vergleichende Kunstwissenschaft*) alone could show what kind of artistic archetypes humankind produced, what was the ultimate signification of these creations, and which untransgressable borders were put in front of the various human collectivities.¹⁶

Ignoring the sum total of any given work of art in its proper historical and geographic context, Strzygowski instead constructed a paradigm of nomadic art by associating individual parts fragmented and isolated from otherwise discrete and complete works according to a preconceived notion of artistic transfer from North to South.

This strategy of sacrificing the whole for the parts goes to the heart of Strzygowski's intertwining of ideology and methodology. Although the grand aims and scope of his studies fabricated a facade of vast proportions, closer consideration reveals a reductive conceptualization that permeated and guided his thought. Behind Strzygowski's inclination toward the geographic expansion of art-historical investigation is a simplistic configuration of cardinal points that he deployed to signify eternal disparity and opposition. Thus, the North stood for the Aryan homeland and the South comprised the *Treibhäuser* of China, India, and the Near East. The tensions and contrasts between North and South are played out in the East (the heartlands of Asia) and the West (Europe). The

rhetoical weight of these primary ordinates can be felt throughout Strzygowski's scholarship—most notably in the title of *Altai-Iran*—where they clearly served to ingrain a geographically and ideologically polarized view of regions, cultures, and, ultimately, humanity. This polarizing strategy of epistemic simplification remained a guiding principle in his formalistic methodology, which he systemized and advocated with great perseverance. Strzygowski's preferred designation for his methodology, *vergleichende Kunstforschung*, is sufficient to express both his emphasis on comparison as the primary tool of analysis and his conspicuous ignoring of contextual investigation, indicated by the substitution of the ahistorical concept *Kunstforschung* for the traditional *Kunstgeschichte*.

In 1922, Strzygowski published *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung*, for which he wrote a lengthy introduction, outlining the particulars of his methodology.¹⁷ Here he distilled his brand of *Forschung* (i.e., *Kunstforschung*) and contrasted it with “historical thinking” (*geschichtliche Denken*), which he declared to be bound by time. He advocated research unhindered by historical thinking so as to allow the essence (*Wesen*) of things to be recognized “within the framework of comparative observation based on scientific parameters (*Fachwerte*).” In this way, he contended, research would “enter into close connection with the present and inject new life into the petrifications of history.” He condemned the historical-philological approach of most scholars for their reliance on a deductive methodology, as opposed to the inductive methodology that he upheld.¹⁸ Strzygowski's introduction was followed by essays on various topics of non-Western art, written by his students—among whom were Glück and Diez—and intended to demonstrate the application of this inductive methodology. The title of the book, *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung*, provides the thematic order that Strzygowski promoted as the organizing principle of analysis and writing. Accordingly, *Kunde* comprised the introduction of the artworks and their basic identifiers: artist, provenance, and period. This was seen as groundwork for the more critical analysis of *Wesen* (essence or nature) and *Entwicklung* (evolution or development). Under the concept *Wesen*, Strzygowski distinguished the formal qualities of artworks that are intrinsic and thus constitute their “essence.” The analysis of *Wesen* consisted of five parts in ascending order of significance: *Rohstoff und Werk* (raw material and craft), *Gegenstand* (subject), *Gestalt* (shape), *Form* (form, or the synthesis of *Gestalt*), and *Inhalt* (content). The identification of

Wesen was conceived as the basis for understanding the process of “evolution” (*Entwicklung*), by which Strzygowski meant the global movement and transformation of art forms. *Entwicklung*, the ultimate objective of *Kunstforschung*, comprised three sequential parts: *Beharrung* (persistence or origination), *Wille* (intention or force), and *Bewegung* (movement or dissemination).

Strzygowski’s commitment to a blatantly ahistorical and severely formalistic methodology provided the theoretical and systemic license by which he dissolved artworks in an attempt to detect their “essence” and subsequently recomposed them into a narrative of “evolution” with global signification. Not unlike the geostrategic formula of “divide and conquer,” Strzygowski’s methodology clearly developed in tandem with his ideology. Anticlassical, anti-imperial, and antihumanistic, this ideology was enabled to a large degree by detaching art from its historical context and constructing a vision of culture that was fragmented and reconstituted in order to serve the narrow and divisive objectives of nationalism and racism. His privileging of the idea of “evolution” served to lend credence to the notion of Aryan art, which he had already asserted in *Altai-Iran* by foregrounding the fact of nomadic movement and tracing the “essence” of nomads’ ornament from North to South. The highlighting of Turkic and Scythian art in this endeavor thus provided a convenient channel of dissemination from a nebulously remote North to a familiar South, in order to redress what Strzygowski perceived to be a disparity in the relative importance accorded to these polarities. Strzygowski pronounced his ideological agenda for *Altai-Iran* to be the continuation of the struggle (*Kampf*) he had begun with two previous works—*Orient oder Rom* and “Hellas in des Orients Umarmung” (Hellas in the Embrace of the Orient)¹⁹—which he hoped would ultimately support Germans’ stake in the global arena of culture by initiating research into Indo-Germanic art.²⁰ It must be said that such high-flying projections were hardly exceptional within early-twentieth-century Austro-German art history, which was generally permeated with considerations that linked art to the characteristics of place and people described in absolute and essentialist terms.²¹

INTO ISTANBUL AND ANKARA: THE PRESENTATION OF STRZYGOWSKI’S METHODOLOGY IN TURKEY

Notwithstanding its ultimate aim to promote Germanic and Aryan accomplishments in the sphere of art, Strzygowski’s affirmation and manipulation of *alttürkische Kunst* as a valid and necessary category of *Kunstforschung* extended beyond the pages of *Altai-Iran* to influence the development in Turkey of twentieth-century discourse on Turkish Art. Strzygowski’s emphasis on and justification for essentializing the art of discrete *Völker* (nations or peoples), and his affirmation of the very existence of a Turkish Art, naturally resonated in Turkey after the establishment of the Republic in 1923. Invited to contribute to the third volume of the newly launched journal, *Türkiyât Mecmuası*, published by the Turcology Institute of Istanbul University, Strzygowski returned in 1926–27 to the subject he had first launched in *Altai-Iran*. His article, translated into Turkish and titled “Türkler ve Orta Asya San’atı Meselesi” (Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art), is a drawn-out and amplified version of the ideas he had put forth in *Altai-Iran*, with an explicit nod to the early Republican audience of *Türkiyât Mecmuası*.²² Having systemized his methodology since the publication of *Altai-Iran* in 1917, he now presented his ideas on Turkish Art within the strict framework of *Kunde*, *Wesen* (and its five subcategories), and *Entwicklung*. Accordingly, and as the title of the article implies, his perspective privileged the notion of origination and movement to promote the idea of an essential Turkish character in the arts that he attributed to Turks. The stated objective of the article was to demonstrate ultimately the connection of “Turkishness” with Central Asia.²³ Strzygowski expressed his disagreement with the view that Turkish Art began only with the Seljuks and came into being solely with the contribution of non-Turkic peoples. He contended that the “origin of Turkish art—where the characteristics constituting its actual strength are most apparent—extends to a distant past, and that the actual essence of Turkish Art was unchanged by Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, or Byzantium.”²⁴

Strzygowski began the section on *Kunde* (*Abideler*) with artworks of the Ottomans and continued backwards in time to introduce those of the Seljuks (comprising the Great Seljuks and their successors), the Tulunids, and the Turkic peoples of Inner Asia.²⁵ These he categorized as “Turkish monuments docu-

mented with inscriptions.” He then proceeded to discuss “Turkish monuments not documented with inscriptions,” under which category he included artworks of the Huns and the Avars, finally arriving at the “great gaps” (*büyük boşluklar*), by which he meant “the plains of upper Asia and southern Siberia,” the homeland of the Turks, where “no artwork accepted as belonging to the Turks has been found.”²⁶ For filling these gaps he offered the evidence of the familiar twosome of textile and metal arts:

In order to investigate the artworks of Turks in their homeland, we do not attach much importance to stone or brick architecture; rather, we consider important the raw materials they worked while they were a shepherding people, that is, the wool they obtained from their animals and the metals they encountered in the mountains they inhabited.²⁷

These ideas follow directly from *Altai-Iran*. For the appreciation of the “essence” of Seljuk and Ottoman art, however, Strzygowski now adopted a more equivocal position than the one he had defended in *Altai-Iran*. Instead of dismissing the Seljuks and Ottomans as merely the “carriers” (*Träger*) of art forms picked up in Iran and Syria, he now conceded that “the Turks were the agents of certain art forms they brought from the East.”²⁸ This seemingly softer stance speaks to the difference in the ideological slants of *Altai-Iran* and this article: while the former sought to distinguish categorically between the cultures of the North and the South and made use of ancient Turkish Art mainly to validate this distinction, Strzygowski must have recognized that giving such short shrift to medieval and later Turkish Art would not have gone down well with the particular audience of the article in *Türkiyât Mecmuası*. Even less palatable would have been the viewpoint he had expressed in 1902, in “Hellas in des Orients Umarmung,” about the “rape of Greek art by Turks.”²⁹ Thus he tempered his rhetoric somewhat for *Türkiyât Mecmuası*; yet, while appearing to maintain the notion of an art that is essentially and enduringly Turkish, he also left the door open to the idea of possible influences from non-Turkic cultures as part and parcel of his perennial position regarding the force exerted on the North by the South. This rendered his discussion of the methodologically predetermined theme of the *Entwicklung* of Turkish Art especially woolly, inasmuch as he attempted to reconcile the categorical issue of origination (comprising such essentializing rubrics as climate, soil, and

race)³⁰ with that of movement, in which the ideas of encounter and influence were central.

This kind of intermittent confusion meant that Strzygowski’s article in *Türkiyât Mecmuası* gathered its momentum not from evidence-based argumentation and substantiation of his position but rather from recurrent invectives against the Eurocentric art-historical establishment (the “humanists,” whom he never missed an opportunity to oppose) for ignoring the testimony of textile and metal arts, combined with a fervent call for an ingathering of these materials by Turkish scholars in order to prove the very existence of a discrete Turkish Art with essential characteristics. He recommended the establishment of a “Turkish national museum,” preferably in Ankara, where it would be “under the political authority of Turks.” In order to define a central field of authenticated Turkish Art, this national museum would collect and have sole jurisdiction over not just Seljuk and Ottoman works but especially examples of tent and metal arts from the original homeland of the Turks in Inner Asia. Any other art forms would be judged on the basis of their relation to Turkish Art and accordingly categorized in appropriate sections. This idea was formulated not only to address the presumed cultural desiderata of the young Turkish Republic but also to bolster Strzygowski’s denouncement of the collecting and exhibiting policies of European museums. Indeed, he envisioned the Turkish national museum as a force to counter Europe.³¹

Such a museum was never founded in Ankara; the Hittite Museum (later renamed the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations), established in 1938, highlighted the Anatolian rather than the Central Asian identity of the new nation-state. Within the realm of state museums at least, the cultural politics of the Turkish Republic ultimately steered past this particular vision of Strzygowski’s to focus overwhelmingly on the consolidation of Anatolian archaeology, marginalizing medieval and later periods as “ethnographic” material. Nevertheless, thanks to its publication in Turkish, the article in *Türkiyât Mecmuası* made Strzygowski’s ideas eminently accessible in Turkey and lent a voice of authority to the academic expansion of the field of Turkish Art there.³²

Indeed, Turkish Art as a field continued to be shaped in great measure by students of Strzygowski who were appointed to teaching positions in Istanbul and Ankara in the 1940s and 1950s; the profound influence of their former teacher is evinced by such

publications as *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung*, in which his methodology is adopted to the letter.

Of all these students, it was Heinrich Glück who shadowed his teacher most closely: the correspondence between Glück's 1917 essay on Turkish Art and Strzygowski's discourse on the topic in *Altai-Iran*, published the same year, shows the degree to which Glück espoused Strzygowski's framework of analysis, especially with regard to the assumption of an essential Turkish artistic spirit exemplified in textile and metal arts. The joint reproduction of certain images as illustration of these themes undoubtedly indicates extensive collaboration between the two scholars, although this is not specifically acknowledged by either party. Glück's faithful adherence to Strzygowski's ideas was nevertheless highlighted by Diez, who pointed out the pressure exerted on Glück to reproduce his mentor's viewpoints while they were both teaching in the same institution.³³

That Strzygowski and Glück were mutually and similarly invested in the subject of Turkish Art in the 1920s is also suggested by the Glück's contribution to the same volume of *Türkiyât Mecmuası* for which Strzygowski had written. Titled "Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii" (The Status of Turkish Art in the World), Glück's article underlined the global status of Turkish Art and chastised European art historians for their introverted account of a linear and self-contained artistic development from ancient Greece to contemporary Europe.³⁴ Glück's arguments here accentuate and even exceed Strzygowski's position on the notion of Turkish Art with its own inherent characteristics; without leaving any room for ambiguity, they make a more assertive and portentous case for the continued existence of an autonomous national art evinced by the dissemination of certain forms. Unlike Strzygowski, Glück expressed no reservations about bringing Seljuk and Ottoman art wholesale into the fold of this national art. He not only rejected outright the possibility of significant influence from non-Turkish elements on Seljuk and Ottoman art but, seeking substantiation from the depths of history, also looked favorably upon the "new viewpoints" that suggested racial associations between the ancient Turks and the ancient cultures of the Hittites, Sumerians, and others. These might, it seemed to Glück, explain why Turkish Art eventually presented so many connections to non-Turkish traditions of the Near East and the Mediterranean: the global impact of the movement of Turks in the medieval and early modern periods, and the cultural-artistic manifesta-

tions of this movement, could be explained with reference to ancient parallels. Glück concluded that the various state formations of the Turks throughout history lent credence to the "new viewpoints" and supported the claim for a sovereign and superior Turkish Art of world status:

The arts that the Turks created with these empires have always been generated from the permanently national soil and have absolutely not been born of foreign elements. The Turks have made use of foreign elements only to derive nourishment for the ennoblement of their national art.³⁵

Disallowing the phenomenon of eclecticism to explain the character of Turkish art, Glück furthermore contended, "The development of the great Turkish art is the product of a great racial unity that molded foreign factors with its own spirit."³⁶

Glück's conceptualization of Turkish Art in this article followed the ideological direction established by Strzygowski but did not harbor the same hesitation about the Turkishness of Seljuk and Ottoman art. However, Glück's rhetoric, built on the ideologically compliant methodology of Strzygowski, was not always set to a steady pitch. Just a few years earlier, in 1923 (the same year he was promoted to the rank of professor in Vienna), he had published in Leipzig a booklet titled *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien* (The Art of the Seljuks in Asia Minor and Armenia), which presented a more flexible assessment of the character of Turkish Art.³⁷ Here Glück more readily acknowledged the diverse sources and agents of Seljuk architecture—an observation he nearly refused to allow himself in the article in *Türkiyât Mecmuası*—and defined Turkish Art largely in terms of its acquisition of "foreign elements" that it infused with a national spirit arising from the innate national strength (*volkliche Eigenkraft*) of the conquerors.³⁸ Glück's different inflection of the essence of Turkish Art in these two publications may perhaps be explained as an adjustment born of his own anticipation of the different expectations and dispositions of the two audiences, one in Weimar Germany, the other in early republican Turkey. As such, this adjustment recalls Strzygowski's more nuanced discussion of Seljuk and Ottoman art in *Türkiyât Mecmuası* as compared to his glib dismissal of the topic in *Altai-Iran*. This kind of adjustment of ideological focus in the definition of "Turkish" clearly rested on the application of Strzygowski's methodology, which was uncompromising in its essen-

tialism of form, indifferent to contextual interpretation, and, as a consequence, liberal in its audience-targeted subjectivity.

It is easy to imagine that Glück, had he not passed away in 1930 at the age of only forty, would have been the natural choice to carry Strzygowski's torch formally into Turkish universities. That task fell instead to Ernst Diez, who in 1943 was appointed to chair the new art history department at Istanbul University, and to Katharina Otto-Dorn (1908–99), who undertook the same responsibility at Ankara University in 1954.³⁹ While Diez and Otto-Dorn both stayed only briefly in their respective positions, they nevertheless set the course for the subsequent teaching of Turkish Art in Turkey. In Istanbul, Diez worked with his young Turkish assistant, Oktay Aslanapa (b. 1914), who had obtained his doctorate in art history from the University of Vienna in 1943 under Diez's own direction. Otto-Dorn and Diez—the latter soon followed by Aslanapa—broadly introduced to Turkish academia the methodological tradition of formalism that Strzygowski had rigorously enforced in Vienna. Although none of these scholars wholly replicated Strzygowski's conceptualization of art history, they remained largely within the formalistic parameters of the methodology that constituted their training.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, Diez's relationship to the scholarship of his teacher was not one of unquestioning assent. Diez and Strzygowski had held different opinions on the dating of the famously controversial Mshatta facade, about which discussion raged in the first decade of the twentieth century. Even in 1910, after Ernst Herzfeld had convincingly argued the case for an Umayyad dating, Strzygowski, true to his inflexible character, continued to insist on a pre-Islamic, fourth-to-sixth-century Sasanian dating, with which Diez remained in apparently awkward disagreement. Diez later voiced some of his reservations about his former mentor in an obituary of Strzygowski, which was published in both Turkish and German in the journal *Felsefe Arkivi*, issued by the department of philosophy at Istanbul University.⁴¹ In this obituary, Diez criticized Strzygowski for his intractable position on Mshatta and for "going too far" in his later years in his blind insistence on the importance of the North. Without explicitly addressing the issue of race that had so permeated Strzygowski's writings, Diez referred to his "romantic views and imaginary findings," which nevertheless "did not lessen the great services he rendered" in his long career⁴²—services that included Strzygowski's geographic expansion

of art history and the successful challenge he posed to the prevailing Eurocentric perspective of the discipline. Diez also explained that this expansion formed the backbone of Strzygowski's comparative methodology, which he outlined in a generally favorable light, praising its systematic conceptualization and positive influence on the work of the numerous art historians who adopted it.

Diez revisited Strzygowski's legacy in 1960, in a posthumously published essay mainly critiquing his mentor's ideas about Iranian art.⁴³ Although in this instance Diez was more blunt about the aggressive and inflexible disposition that characterized Strzygowski's professional life, he nevertheless stood by the logic of *vergleichende Kunstwissenschaft* and its allowance for intuitive analysis.⁴⁴ Thus, while the paths of the two scholars clearly diverged in a number of instances, Diez generally accepted the formalistic methodology instituted by the Strzygowski as objective and useful for charting the new territories of art history.

Diez's tenure in Istanbul between 1943 and 1948 was relatively brief and further shortened by his internment in Kırşehir in 1944–45, following Turkey's eleventh-hour declaration of war against Germany. Despite these wartime difficulties, he left one important token of his time in Turkey, in the form of a textbook on Turkish Art. Translated into Turkish by Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı* was issued in 1946 as the inaugural publication of the new history of art department of Istanbul University's Faculty of Letters.⁴⁵ It was subtitled *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (From the Beginning to the Present) and accordingly began with the earliest historical mentions of Turkic peoples, from seventh-century Chinese sources. This was followed by an elaboration of "the boundaries of the term Turkish art," in which Diez explained that Turkish Art can be divided into two—a folk art of the nomadic peoples and an art of the urban and sedentary "Turkish-Islamic state"—and that these branches coexisted but had no real rapport with each other.⁴⁶ After mentioning, à la Strzygowski, that the character of nomadic folk art could be gauged from textile and metal arts, Diez launched an extensive discussion of the latter category under the subheading "Evrazya Hayvan ve Filiz-kıvrım üslûbu" (Eurasian Animal and Vegetal-Scroll Style).⁴⁷ Here he referred extensively to the work of the Russian scholar Mikhail Rostovtzeff who, in 1929, had published a widely disseminated study of Scythian metalwork in which he coined the term "Eurasian animal style."⁴⁸ Adopting the perspective that the nomadic Turks also partici-

pated in the development and dissemination of this style, which is commonly attributed to the Scythians and Sarmatians, Diez proposed that some of the figures in the remarkable Scythian gold plaques discussed by Rostovtzeff exhibited Turkic physiognomies.⁴⁹ His elaboration of the subject of decorative styles reveals an essentialist and categorical outlook that associated certain formal characteristics of surface decoration with geographic-cultural inclinations. He held that nomadic cultures such as the Turkish clans of Asia preferred dynamic and open forms, while sedentary cultures favored static and closed forms.⁵⁰

Türk Sanatı exhibits some notable divergences from Strzygowski and Glück's conceptualization of Turkish Art, insofar as Diez largely steered clear of an explicitly race-conscious rhetoric and such notional pronouncements as the manifestation of a "Turkish spirit" in the arts. Rather, the raw ideology of Strzygowski and Glück appears to have been digested and the essentialist interpretation of forms taken for granted. The book is still governed by a formalistic methodology that becomes particularly apparent in the sections on the architecture of the Seljuks and the Ottomans. Beginning with a morphological breakdown of architectural elements (support systems, column capitals, arches, fenestration, superstructures, portals, and mihrabs),⁵¹ Diez continues with a chronological and typological presentation of Seljuk and Ottoman architecture before concluding with sections on sculpture, ceramics, painting, and calligraphy. In the sections on Seljuk architecture, he makes repeated mention of the employment of craftsmen of various backgrounds, painting a multicultural picture of the artistic scene in medieval Anatolia. He cites the appropriation of indigenous styles and techniques in Anatolia as the basis of the character of Turkish-Islamic art, which he declares to be entirely distinct from the nomadic folk arts exemplified by textiles and metalwork. However, his discussion of tomb architecture and portal decoration under the Seljuks occasionally qualifies this claim. Singling out the remarkable decorative monumentality of Seljuk portals, he likens their surface patterns to carpet decoration and suggests that the "centuries-old textile arts of Central Asian nomads have here risen to [the level of] a monumental art."⁵² He then supposes a probable kinship between the design of these portals and "entrances to ancient tents or nomadic palaces."⁵³ Although a good portion of the book comprises a descriptive account of Turkish art, such speculations illustrate Diez's taste for intuitive

reasoning within the formalistic parameters of Strzygowski, who similarly defended an inductive rather than a deductive interpretation of forms.

Diez left Istanbul University in 1948 but returned to Turkey one last time in 1959, on the occasion of the First International Congress of Turkish Art, held in Ankara. In many ways, the launching of this congress (which is organized every four years in a different city) marked the culmination of the objectives that Strzygowski and his students held for Turkish Art. The keynote address of the congress was delivered by Suut Kemal Yetkin (1903–80), the rector of Ankara University and a scholar of aesthetics and literature. Yetkin's opening words underline an awareness of the former disparagement of Turkish Art and convey an appreciation for the recent shift in art-historical discourse:

Until recently, Turkish art had been treated with much injustice; it was automatically believed that this art did not go beyond the boundaries of imitation, that it was devoid of all originality, that the Turks, brave soldiers, were always lacking in artistic capacity...At the time when foreign books and articles discussing our art in this cavalier manner were being published, we did not yet have institutes dedicated to Turkish art; the number of people working on the subject was much more limited than today; the responses of our writers to these attacks did not pass beyond the borders of our country. Yet there were a few friends of Turkish art in the West, such as Strzygowski and Glück, who, through their writings, tried hard to defend it.⁵⁴

By the time the First International Congress of Turkish Art was inaugurated, Strzygowski's mission to uphold the existence of a Turkish Art had been largely accomplished. Divested of its former racist objectives and its rhetoric accentuating Aryan accomplishments (which obviously did not serve the purposes of mid-twentieth-century Turkish nationalist sentiment), Strzygowski's methodology was instead transformed into a tool for delineating a national art and architecture that extended from the nomadic movements of ancient Turks in the steppes of Inner Asia to their settlement of medieval Anatolia. It was the adoption of the morphological and typological overdrive of Strzygowski's methodology that directed the energies of the first generation of Turkish art historians and set the course for an increasingly introverted and constricted representation of medieval architecture that confined itself to the borders of modern Turkey. However—and almost

paradoxically—as formalism dominated the approach to the study of art and architecture in twentieth-century Turkey, the idea of a global and all-inclusive Turkish Art came to permeate the thinking about and the teaching of the subject. The textbook *Türk Sanatı*, produced by Diez during the strenuous war years, proved in the long run to be a well-rooted sapling that, under Aslanapa's regular cultivation, grew to include the art and architecture of all manner of Turkic societies, from India to Egypt.⁵⁵ In the prevailing geographic expansionism of Turkish Art that followed the model of dissemination propagated by Strzygowski, medieval Anatolia—and especially its architecture—was treated as a strait through which a catalogue of forms and types entered a new geography and fused with it, yielding buildings and styles bracketed between an origin in the East and a culmination in Ottoman architecture—that is, buildings and styles asserted as a link in a long chain of national artistic expression. In providing the grammar of a grand narrative of Turkish art, this brand of formalism guaranteed for more than half a century the academic contraction of a complex architectural legacy and the concealment of its manifold horizons.

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NOTES

1. These general remarks about the adoption and implication of a formalist methodology are borne out by any number of articles or monographs. Crystallization of this methodology may be seen, for example, in one of the more accessible introductions to the architecture of the Beylik period: Oluş Arık, "Turkish Architecture in Asia Minor in the Period of the Turkish Emirates," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (Oxford, 1980), 111–36. Here, the indifference to contextual investigation is stated in the introduction (112): "...The architectural works of the period of the emirates [i.e., *beyliks*] can be studied without distinguishing among the emirates, by classifying the works according to their building techniques and by investigating typology and regional distribution. This is the most logical approach to the architecture of the period of the emirates." This statement is followed by three unequal sections based on building type: mosques, madrasas, and tombs. The section on mosques is further divided into seven subsections, each of which represents a certain morphological category, distinguished by the type of groundplan and domical superstructure. This simplified presentation of the architectural landscape relies on a set of formal common denominators, which are amplified to drown out the cacophony of a complicated historical con-

text and replace it with a nationalist keynote. The double emphasis on the adjective "Turkish" in the title of the essay preempts any ambiguity regarding the national identity of the subject matter and its assumed extension from Central Asia to Anatolia. Thus, the subsection "Single-Domed Cubic Mosques" begins with the observation that "this traditional type of building...was especially used in the *türbes* (mausolea) of Central Asia and Iran—cradle of pre-Anatolian Turkish culture..." (112). The article concludes with the remark, "All the architectural experiments of the period of the emirates in Anatolia were crystallized by the Ottomans into several outstanding features" (136).

2. See Gülru Necipoğlu's account in her article "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," in this volume.
3. On the work and legacy of Albert Gabriel, see Pierre Pinon et al., *Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Gezgin = Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur* (Istanbul, 2006).
4. Heinrich Glück, *Türkische Kunst*, Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel, vol. 1 (Budapest and Istanbul, 1917).
5. *Ibid.*, 3.
6. *Ibid.*, 7.
7. Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901).
8. For Strzygowski's career and complex legacy as well as the tensions with his colleague and academic nemesis in Vienna, Alois Riegl, see Suzanne L. Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism: The Case of Josef Strzygowski," *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 106–30; Margaret Olin, "Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski," in *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, ed. Penny Schine Gold and Benjamin C. Bax (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000), 151–70; Jaś Elsner, "The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901," *Art History* 25 (2002): 358–79. For an insightful study of the impact of Strzygowski on the historiography of Armenian architecture see Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven, 2001).
9. Josef Strzygowski, *Origins of Christian Church Art*, trans. O. M. Dalton et al. (Oxford, 1923), viii–ix.
10. Nevertheless, because of his abiding interest in the various artistic traditions of Asia, which he consistently validated in his scholarship in order to express the global impact of Northern/Aryan art, Strzygowski ultimately fell somewhat short of constructing an unadulterated vision of Aryan art and therefore stood perceptibly out of line with the strict racial conceptions of Nazi ideology: see Olin, "Art History and Ideology," 169.
11. Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: Ziergeschichte Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens* (Leipzig, 1917).
12. For the contemporary emphasis, by Strzygowski and others, on geography as a defining factor in artistic formation and evolution see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), 43–58, 68–73.
13. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran*, 153.
14. *Ibid.*, 153–87.
15. *Ibid.*, 299.

16. Ernst Diez, "Josef Strzygowski—Biografisches —7. März 1862 bis 7. Januar 1941," *Felsefe Arkivi* 2 (1947): 22. The Turkish translation of this article is on 1–12.
17. Josef Strzygowski, *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung: Eine Einführung* (Vienna, 1922), 5–91.
18. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
19. Josef Strzygowski, "Hellas in des Orients Umarmung," *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage* (18–19 Feb. 1902): 40–41.
20. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran*, ix.
21. Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*. In 1900, for example, Alois Riegl had used a comparison between ancient Near Eastern and Greek sculpture as a springboard to assert the cultural progressiveness of Indo-Germanic peoples: cited in Christopher S. Wood's introduction to *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*, ed. Christopher S. Wood (New York, 2000), 27.
22. Josef Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," *Türkiyât Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33): 1–80. On page 4 of the article, Strzygowski states that the information he presents is the result of research conducted in 1926–27. The third volume of *Türkiyât Mecmuası* was not published until 1935.
23. *Ibid.*, 4.
24. *Ibid.*, 5.
25. *Ibid.*, 4–17.
26. *Ibid.*, 12.
27. *Ibid.*, 13.
28. *Ibid.*, 17.
29. As cited in Olin, "Art History and Ideology," 165.
30. Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," 49–54.
31. *Ibid.*, 78–79.
32. Thus, for example, Strzygowski and Glück's assertions about Turkish Art received the stamp of approval of the eminent historian Fuad Köprülü in his landmark book *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Istanbul, 1918; 5th ed. Ankara, 1984), 194–95, n. 14.
33. Diez, "Josef Strzygowski," 17 (Turkish trans., 4).
34. Heinrich Glück, "Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii," *Türkiyât Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33): 119–28.
35. *Ibid.*, 127.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Heinrich Glück, *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien* (Leipzig, 1923). In the same handbook series, Bibliothek der Kunstgeschichte, ed. Hans Tietze, Glück had also published the booklet *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1922). These handbooks, offering succinct accounts of various periods of art in an accessible format, must have been widely disseminated beyond the academic circles.
38. *Ibid.*, 4.
39. On Katharina Otto-Dorn see Joachim Gierlich, "In Memoriam Katharina Otto-Dorn: A Life Dedicated to Turkish Islamic Art and Architecture," in M. Kiel, N. Landman, and H. Theunissen, eds., *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht, The Netherlands, August 23–28, 1999*, article no. 21, 1–14, published in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (2001): <http://www2.let.uu.nl/solis/anpt/EJOS/pdf4/21Gierlich.pdf>
40. Aslanapa recognized the contributions of the Vienna school in *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkârlar = Österreichische Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei* (Istanbul, 1993). The book provides biographies and in some instances bibliographies of Austrian art historians. Aslanapa's biography of Strzygowski presents the scholar in a generally favorable light, although it expresses slight reservation about the "perhaps excessive" importance Strzygowski attached to Armenian art: 35.
41. Diez, "Josef Strzygowski."
42. *Ibid.*, 21–22, Turkish trans., 9.
43. Ernst Diez, "Zur Kritik Strzygowskis," *Kunst des Orients* 4 (1963): 98–109.
44. *Ibid.*, 107–9.
45. Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar*, trans. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul, 1946).
46. *Ibid.*, 5.
47. *Ibid.*, 7–25.
48. Mikhail Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China* (Princeton, 1929).
49. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 13.
50. *Ibid.*, 25–27.
51. *Ibid.*, 41–60.
52. *Ibid.*, 95.
53. *Ibid.*, 98.
54. Suut Kemal Yetkin, "Discours d'ouverture du Professeur Ordinaris Suut Kemal Yetkin, Recteur de l'Université d'Ankara et Président du Ier Congrès International des Art Turcs," in *First International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara, 1961), 1.
55. In 1955 Aslanapa rehabilitated Diez's survey of Turkish Art and republished the work, adding corrections and elaborations but maintaining the basic outline of the first book: Oktay Aslanapa and Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul, 1955). In 1971, Aslanapa produced a new book in English that covered more ground: Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London, 1971). This in turn was published in Turkish with some additions and changes; also titled *Türk Sanatı*, it appeared in a number of editions in the 1980s and 1990s.

LOST IN TRANSLATION: ARCHITECTURE, TAXONOMY, AND THE EASTERN “TURKS”

As far as Anatolia is concerned, whatever the neologism one chooses to describe the cultural experience of the Muslim Turks in the region, whether transplantation, osmosis, diffusion, or acculturation, the most widespread and on-going process was one of translation.

Yorgos Dedes¹

No less than the emergent Turkic polities of medieval Anatolia, the Ghaznavid and Ghurid sultanates of Afghanistan and northern India and the Delhi sultanate that followed in their wake were—indeed, are—caught between multiple worlds. Generally identified as Turks regardless of their ethnic origins, the Persianized elites of Ghazna, Delhi, and other centers negotiated between the diverse cultures of a wider Islamic world to the west and those of their north Indian territories to the east (fig. 1). Comparisons between Turkic expansion into Anatolia and into India during the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries are common. In both cases the impact of these expansions has been evaluated along a continuum ranging from the diffusion of Persian as a court language to the cultural disjunctions arising from what has frequently been depicted as a “clash of civilizations.”²

For example, in an article entitled *The Islamic Frontier in the East*, published in 1974, the historian J. F. Richards compared the encounter between “two radically different civilizations, Islamic and Hindu/Buddhist,” with the encounter between Muslim and Christian civilizations, invoking Paul Wittek’s *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938) as a potential model for conceptualizing the eastern frontier of the Islamic world.³ To accompany his article, Richards provided a chronological table of confrontations between “Hindu” and “Muslim” armies, defining the religious identity of the aggressor in each case. Wittek may not have been the only historian of Anatolia that Richards had in mind, for the table is curiously reminiscent of one that Spyros Vryonis Jr. had provided in his *Decline of Medieval Hellenism* three years earlier, an alphabet of confron-

tation in which *P* stands for pillaged, *X* for sacked or destroyed, *E* for enslaved, *M* for massacred, and so forth.⁴ Both endeavors exemplify what Barbara Metcalf has dubbed the “vertical fallacy,” the deployment of taxonomies in which premodern identities are equated with sectarian affiliation, reducing complex processes of transcultural encounter to linear tabulations of historical events.⁵

In both regions, narratives of Turkic despoliation and the disjunction arising from it have often been articulated around architectural monuments. Despite continuities in workshop practices, the reuse of architectural elements in Rum Seljuk and early Ottoman mosques on the one hand, and in Ghurid and early Sultanate mosques on the other, has often been read as an appropriation that constituted a language of power and domination wielded by the conquering Turks.⁶ A common preference for a stone medium in Anatolia and India and the hegemony of the central Islamic lands in modern art-historical discourse have given rise to a widespread assumption that Rum Seljuk and early Sultanate monuments attempt (with varying degrees of success) to replicate the brick forms of Persianate architecture using regional idioms, media, and techniques. In other words, the process of negotiation referred to above is not only manifest in the medieval architecture of Anatolia and South Asia but also replicated in its inscription into colonial, nationalist, and postcolonial art histories.

The first brief descriptions of Ghaznavid architecture in Afghanistan were published in the early decades of the nineteenth century, appearing contemporaneously with the earliest studies on the Umayyad, Mamluk, and Nasrid architecture of the southern Mediterranean.⁷ This coincidence reflects the increased possibilities for first-hand observation of medieval Islamic monuments afforded by European colonial adventures in both regions. Although rarely noted, the inception of scholarship on Ghaznavid architecture is directly related to the opportunities and interest generated by the First

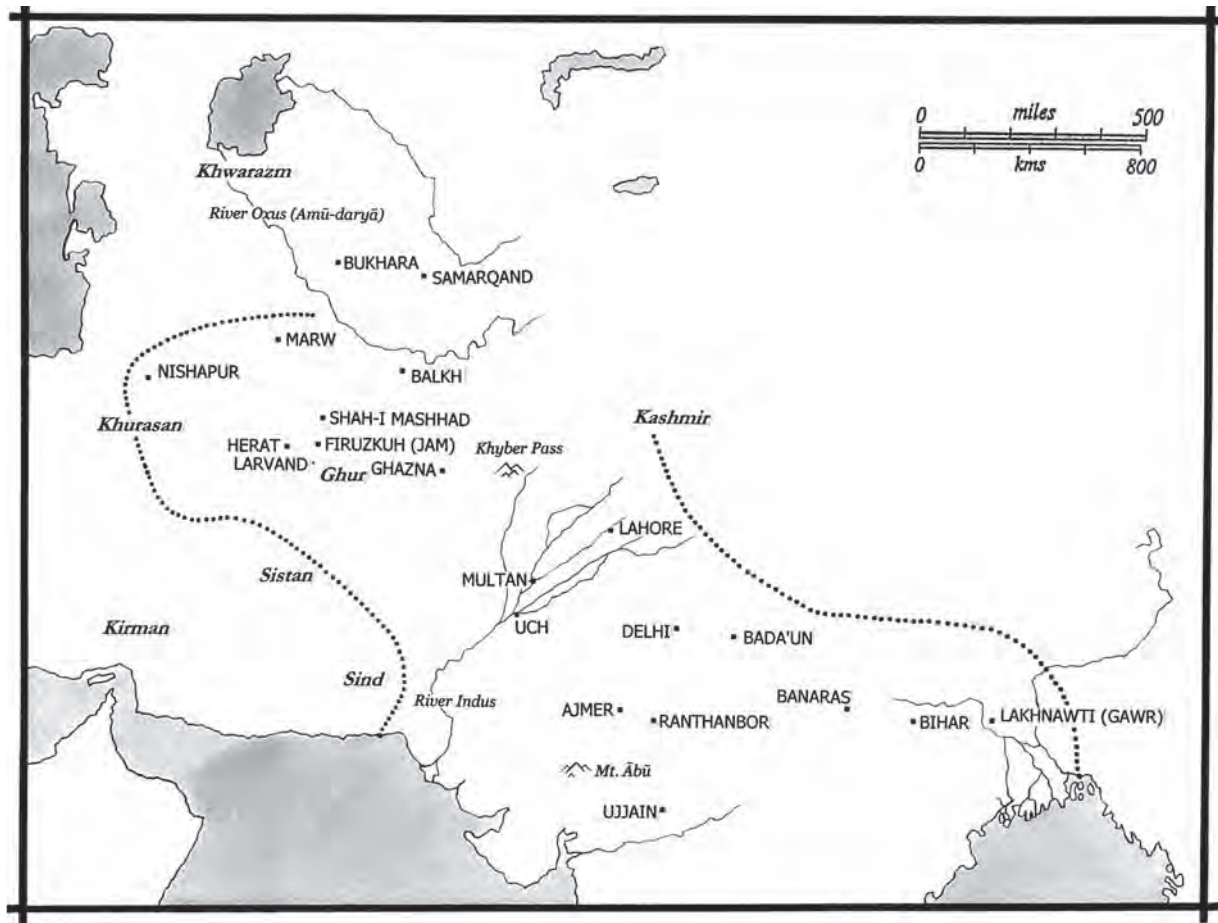


Fig. 1. Map showing the approximate extent of the Ghurid sultanate with the principal sites marked. (Drawn by Max Schneider)

Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42).⁸ The British invasion of Afghanistan spawned what appears to be the earliest study of Ghaznavid epigraphy, including the first published readings of the inscriptions on the celebrated minarets of Ghazna (fig. 2).⁹ This appeared in the wake of the controversial “Gates of Somnath” incident of 1842, in which the wooden doors from the tomb of the most (in)famous scion of the Ghaznavid dynasty, Sultan Mahmud b. Sebuktigin (r. 388–421/998–1030), were carried back to India at the behest of the governor-general, Lord Ellenborough (figs. 3–4). The looting of the tomb reflected contemporary belief that its doors had been seized by the Turks from the temple at Somnath in Gujarat when the site was raided by Ghaznavid armies in 1025, a belief that the presence of Arabic texts in Kufic script did little to mitigate.¹⁰

In a dispatch to the British general in charge of the forces in Afghanistan, Ellenborough wrote,

You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee his club, which hangs over it; and you will bring away the Gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the temple of Somnauth. These will be the just trophies of your successful march.¹¹

Although it could not be found in 1842, the *durbāsh*, or mace, of Mahmud, often described as an Oriental counterpart for Excalibur, was believed to be the instrument with which the sultan smashed the idol of Somnath during his attack on the temple.

The origins of belief in the existence and associations of gates and mace are unclear, but contemporary speeches given in the House of Commons suggest

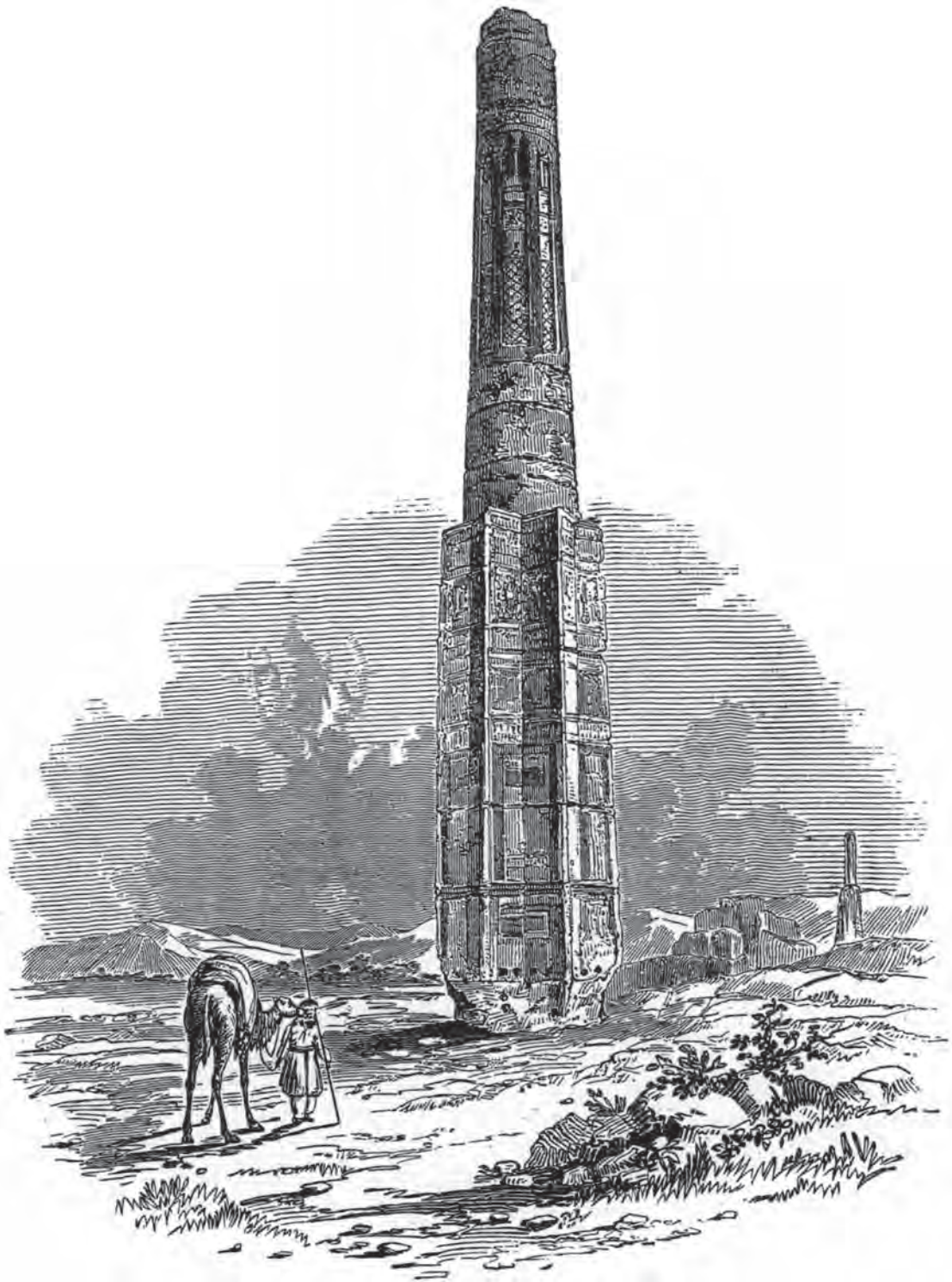


Fig. 2. The minaret of Mas'ud III at Ghazna. (After Godfrey T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan* [London, 1840], 127)

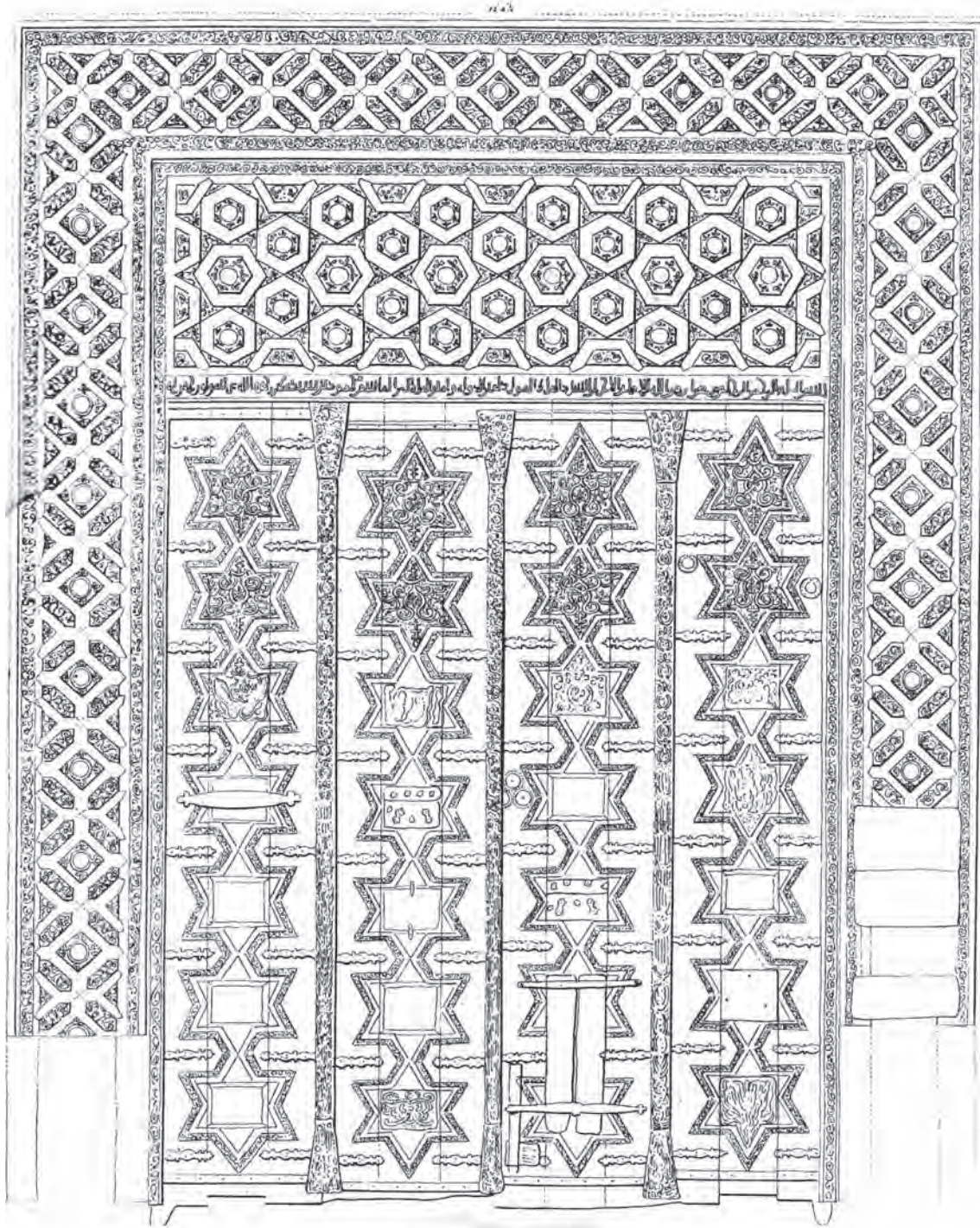


Fig. 3. The "Gates of Somnath," from a sketch published in 1843. (After Edward Sanders, C. Blood, John Studdart, and C. F. North, "Documents Relating to the Gates of Somnath; Forwarded to the Society by the Government of India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 12, 1 [1843], pl. 1)



Fig. 4. The tomb of Mahmud ibn Sebuktigin at Ghazna, with its gates still in place. (After James Rattray, *Scenery, Inhabitants and Costumes of Afghaunistan* [London, 1847–48], pl. 10. Courtesy of Yale Center of British Art, Paul Mellon Collection)

that the idiosyncratic episode was inspired by popular traditions regarding the tomb and its contents. In addition, the British may have been trying to outdo an old rival, the powerful Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh (d. 1839), who reportedly had demanded the gates from the deposed ruler of Afghanistan as the price of providing him with refuge a decade or so earlier.¹² Belief in the existence of the mace may also have been fueled by the burgeoning British scholarship on Indo-Persian texts in the decades before the First Anglo-Afghan War. Neither mace nor gates appear in any account of Mahmud’s raid on Somnath in the first three centuries after it occurred; the detail of Mahmud’s mace seems to have been first introduced in the sixteenth century by the Deccani historian Firishhta. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Firishhta’s

history had been published in an English translation that was widely read, and a definitive translation had appeared only a decade before the Somnath expedition took place.¹³ This translation is invoked in at least one account of Ghazna published at the time of the Anglo-Afghan War, and is likely to have been familiar to the scholarly looters of 1842.¹⁴

The objects looted from Ghazna were not simply trophies of notional British conquests, however. On the contrary, their identification as “Muslim” booty seized from India was central to the role afforded them within an elaborate spectacle, for Ellenborough planned a ritual presentation to the “Hindu” populace and their restoration to a temple that no longer existed. The Governor-General’s intentions were heralded in a proclamation issued in Hindi, Persian,

and English in which Ellenborough contrasted the miseries of “former times” with the colonial present, declaring that

The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over nations beyond the Indus.¹⁵

A Manichaean vision of precolonial history was thus mobilized around and materialized in medieval monuments, which consequently emerged as sites for the construction and (re)negotiation of a dyadic past. Especially after the Mutiny of 1857, this contrast between the arbitrary violence of Muslim rule and the rational benevolence of British administration was often articulated around figurations of a golden “Hindu” past subject to “Muslim” rupture.¹⁶ The theme surfaces in the preface to the first volume of Elliot and Dowson’s *History of India*, a seminal compendium of translated medieval Arabic and Persian sources published in 1867, the *raison d’être* of which is given as follows:

They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant...The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged, and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices.¹⁷

Medieval Arabic and Persian accounts of looting and temple desecration by Ghaznavid and Ghurid sultans found apparent validation in the first mosques erected after the rapid eastward expansion of the Shansabanid sultanate of Ghur in central Afghanistan at the end of the twelfth century. The mosques were constructed from a *mélange* of newly carved and reused materials, some of it garnered from earlier temples. Consequently, these too could serve on occasion to manifest a colonial largesse articulated around the

theme of historical rupture. In October 1870, less than three decades after the Somnath episode, the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, held a *darbar* in the western Indian city of Ajmir in Rajasthan to commemorate the foundation of an elite college bearing his name. As part of the festivities, elaborately carved stone pillars were taken from the Arhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque, built in the former capital of the Chauhan rajas after their defeat by the Shansabanid sultans of Ghur in 588 (1192) (fig. 5).¹⁸ The pillars, which had been reused in the construction of the mosque, were now used to fashion a triumphal arch under which the viceroy and the local Rajput chiefs were intended to march in procession. Ironically, the removal of pillars from the Ajmir mosque to honor the viceroy and his guests flew in the face of a notice affixed to the mosque in 1809 by Daulat Rao Sindhia, the Maharaja of Gwalior, forbidding the quarrying of stone from the site, a precocious example of architectural conservation well in advance of the earliest British legislation on the subject.¹⁹

The “Gates of Somnath” episode is generally seen as an isolated event, an idiosyncratic adventure of Ellenborough’s conceiving. However, in its espousal of an interventionist and self-consciously politicized framework for understanding medieval architecture, the gesture was unique only in the negative publicity that it attracted. Both Ellenborough’s theatrical manipulation of Ghaznavid marquetry and Lord Mayo’s appropriation of Chauhan masonry are part of more extensive nineteenth-century experiments with rituals designed to represent British colonial authority to Indian subjects.²⁰ The integration of pillars believed to have been purloined from destroyed Hindu and Jain temples into a victory arch recalls earlier suggestions that the Gates of Somnath should be set within a triumphal arch to be erected in front of the Governor-General’s palace in Calcutta.²¹ In both cases, the monuments appear as *de jure* or *de facto* commemorations of British mastery over the Indian past, an endeavor to which textual translation, military adventurism, and colonial aspirations were equally instrumental.

The utility of medieval monuments as sites for the construction and negotiation of historical memory and meaning was directly related to the roles ascribed to them within colonial histories and art histories. However, despite later British incursions into Afghanistan, the geographic divisions and political boundaries of empire determined the limits of early scholarship, with a consequent emphasis on the more accessible



Fig. 5. The Arhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque at Ajmir. (Author's photo)

Indian monuments at the expense of those in the Afghan “homelands” of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids. The resulting lacuna was noted in 1876 by the architectural historian James Fergusson, in a passage with depressingly contemporary resonances:

Though centuries of misrule have weighed on this country since the time of the Ghaznavides, it is scarcely probable that all traces of their magnificence have passed away; but till their cities are examined and photographed by some one competent to discriminate between what is good or bad, or old or new, we must be content merely to indicate the position of the style, leaving this chapter to be written when the requisite information shall have been obtained. In the meanwhile it is satisfactory to know that between Herat and the Indus there do exist a sufficient number of monuments to enable us to connect the styles of the West with those of the East. They have been casually described by travellers, but not in such a manner as to render them available for our purposes; and in the unsettled state of the country it may be some time yet before their elucidation can be accomplished.”²²

The mediating role that Fergusson ascribes to the Afghan monuments—their potential to bridge the gap between the styles of East and West—reflects their liminality not only in a geographic sense but also within the rigid taxonomies that Fergusson (dubbed by contemporaries “a Linnaeus to Indian architecture”) was constructing for the nascent discourse of South Asian architectural history. Within these taxonomies, style was invariably correlated to race (broadly conceived to include ethnicity, religious affiliation, caste, and even occupation) and tethered to a principle of purity underwritten by the endogamous character of Indian society.²³ Represented by the modalities of temple and mosque, Indic and Islamic (or “Hindu” and “Muslim”) architectural traditions were seen as not only distinct but also antipathetic and incommensurate; as the current entry on al-Hind in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* explains, idol-temples “were not only anathema to Islam but were its direct antithesis.”²⁴ In colonial and postcolonial architectural history mosque and temple came to function as mutually antithetical

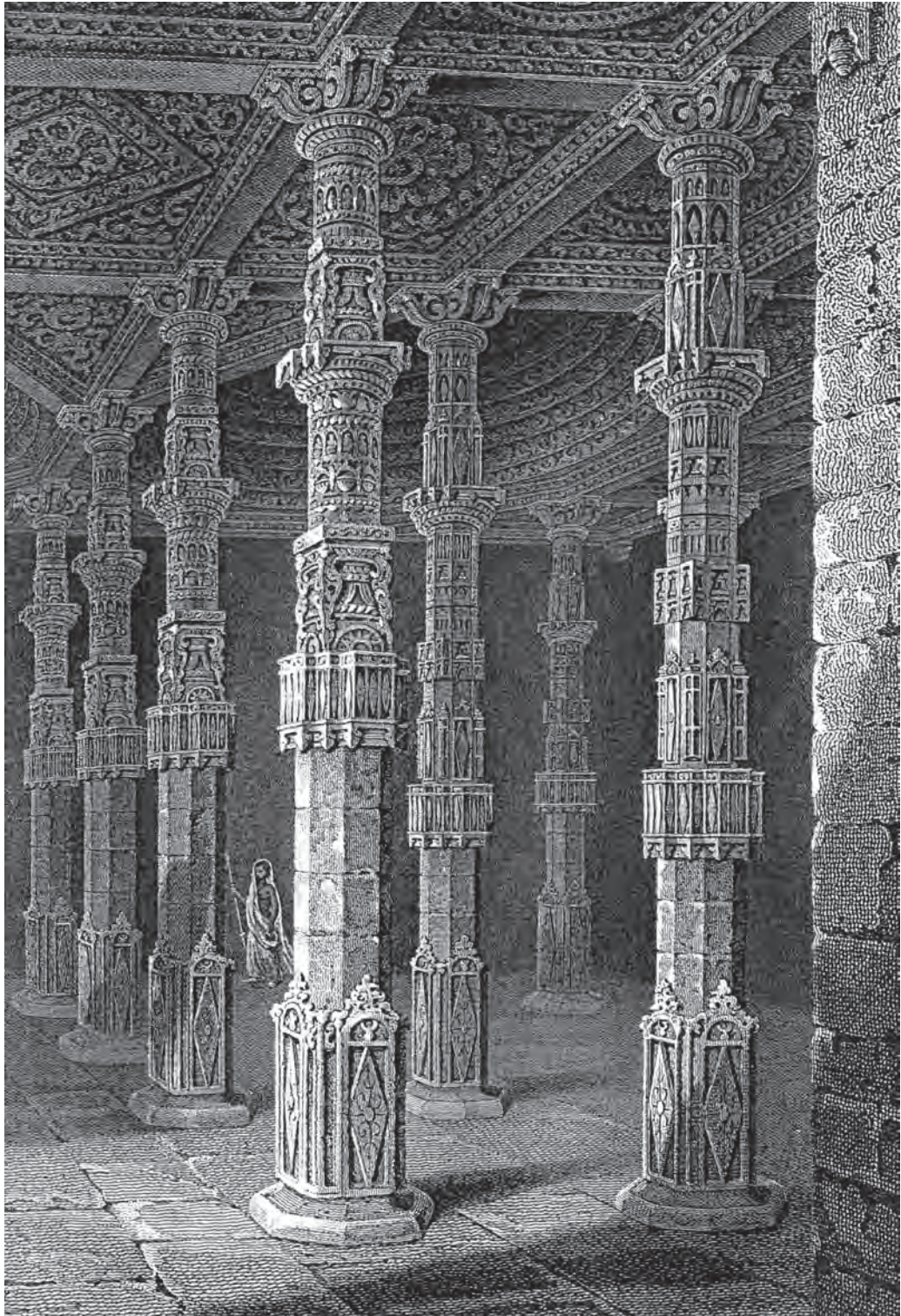


Fig. 6. Engraving of the Ajmir mosque accompanying Tod's description. (After James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han or, the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India* 2 vols. [London, 1829], 1:778)



Fig. 7. Qutb Mosque, Delhi. General view of *riwāq* with reused columns. (Author's photo)

metonymies not only for religious identities or cultural predispositions but for divergent “racial” characteristics—the clarity, openness and intelligibility of the mosque embodying the realist, formalist “mind of the Muslim,” in contrast to the mysterious domain of the temple, its “introspective, complex and indeterminate” nature indexing the idealist, rhythmic “mind of the Hindu.”²⁵

These tropes are already present in the earliest discussion of any Ghaznavid or Ghurid monument by a European scholar, James Tod's 1829 analysis of the Arhai-din-ka-Jhonpra mosque at Ajmir (from which the pillars for Lord Mayo's triumphal arch were later garnered) in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (fig. 6).²⁶ This was followed three years later by a substantial account of the Qutb Mosque in Delhi (1192 onwards; figs. 7, 11–12) by Walter Ewer published in *Asiatic Researches*, the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.²⁷ The monuments at Ajmir and Delhi were preeminent among a number of mosques built after the conquest of north India in the 1190s by the Shansabanid sultans of Ghur. Both were considerably enlarged and remodeled in the 1220s by the Delhi sultan Iltutmish, a former member of the *bandagān-i*

khāṣṣ, the elite mamluks of the Ghurid sultans, who appear with greater frequency in the foundation texts of the early monuments than do their Shansabanid masters.

Writing about the Ajmir mosque only three decades after Abbé Gregoire popularized the use of the term “vandal” to stigmatize the iconoclasts of the French Revolution, Tod condemns the “Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan”, admonishing his reader:

Let us bless rather than execrate the hand, though it be that of a Turk, which has spared, from whatever motive, one of the most perfect, as well as the most ancient, monuments of Hindu architecture.²⁸

The Turk to whom Tod refers is a stock figure of early Indo-Islamic historiography, a composite *mélange* of Ghaznavid raider, Ghurid mamluk (both of whom were indeed ethnic Turks), and the *Turushka* of medieval Sanskrit texts. The latter was an ethnic term that functioned as a generic denotation for Muslims, a testament to the coincidence between the experience of Islam and Turks during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁹

The oppositional sense of this identity is common



Fig. 8. Main gateway of the Arhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque at Ajmir. (Author's photo)

to medieval Persian texts, where the contrast between Turk and Hindu is standard,³⁰ but it is notably absent from medieval Arabic and Persian descriptions of the early monuments. With a single exception these ignore the reuse of architectural materials and instead emphasize as their most culturally significant elements the extensive inscriptions that the mosques bear.³¹ Tod's discussion of the Ajmir mosque thus marks a significant watershed in the nature and tone of writing on early Indo-Islamic architecture, projecting oppositional identities onto medieval monuments and inaugurating the oft-repeated notion that these monuments not only are the products of iconoclastic vandals, but also that they constitute "disjointed memorials of two distinct and distant eras: that of the independent Hindu, and that of the conquering Muhammadan."³²

Contrasting the gate of the mosque (composed of newly carved elements: fig. 8) with its prayer hall (constructed from reused columns: fig. 6), Tod draws from the repertoire of classicizing imagery that both informed and structured colonial responses to the remains of South Asia's past:

The mind, after all retires dissatisfied: with me it might be from association. Even the gateway, however elegant, is unsuitable to the genius of the place. Separately considered, they are each magnificent; together, it is as if a modern sculptor were (like our actors of the last age) to adorn the head of Cato with a peruke. I left this precious relic, with a malediction upon all the spoilers of art—whether the Thane who pillaged Minerva's portico at Athens, or the Turk who dilapidated the Jain temple at Ajmer.³³

In its graphic epitome of both dissimulation and dissonance, this remarkable figuration of a Roman portrait bust capped with an eighteenth-century actor's wig invokes an iconography of incongruity deeply rooted in contemporary discourses on Indian hybridity. Fortuitously or not, the image conjured here is that of the quintessential figure of Indian hybridity, the Nabob, a turban perched precariously on his bald pate (figs. 9–10).³⁴

As the nineteenth century progressed, the colonial project of reading difference was increasingly dependent upon a fundamental distinction between Hindu and Muslim. Consequently, nineteenth-century ethnographers were often at pains to emphasize the absence of "the disturbing element of crossing" in the objects and subjects of their study.³⁵ Conversely, in the master narratives of colonial history, the destructive effects of racial hybridity or miscegenation are indexed by the

mixing of forms or idioms in material culture.³⁶ Writing in 1870, Lord Napier decries the mixing of Hindu, Mussulman, and European styles in India, since Mussulman is "a perfect style, which can only be debased by alliance."³⁷ Inflecting similar sentiments with a different meaning, S. D. Sharma's 1937 history of Islam in India attributes the decline of the Ghaznavid sultanate that dominated the eastern Islamic lands and parts of northwest India between 1000 and 1150 to a heady mix of architectural hybridity, transculturation, and sexual intermingling:

Indian architects suggested some of the motifs that Indian artisans forcibly carried off to Ghazni executed for their Muslim masters; Indian captives that were taken in their thousands served to breed enervating habits among the restless and energetic Turks, Afghans, Arabs and Persians who formed the population of Ghazni; and lastly, Indian women abducted and enslaved also in large numbers sapped the vigour of their ravishers and contributed to their downfall.³⁸

The negative evaluation of the mixing of architectural forms found here and in Tod's pioneering work inflected the representations of most subsequent commentators, for whom the early Indo-Islamic monuments were (like the Nabob) a kind of duck-rabbit—an improbable, unstable, and unsatisfactory hybrid cobbled together from mutually incommensurate traditions.

As a consequence, the identity and importance of the Indo-Ghurid and early sultanate monuments as an architectural corpus straddling both cultural and national frontiers have been perpetually in doubt. Writing in 1959, the Pakistani scholar Muhammad Chaghatai noted of the Qutb Mosque in Delhi, "How much precisely this Indo-Islamic art owes to India and how much to Islam remains a controversial point."³⁹ The nature of the controversy is eloquently articulated in Doğan Kuban's *Muslim Religious Architecture* (1985):

In its variety, the richness of its materials, its inventiveness in decoration, and the quality of its execution Indian architecture in the Muslim period is an incomparable expression of artistic imagination. But owing to its syncretism it must be acknowledged as the least Islamic of the great Muslim architectural styles. To such an extent were its regional developments always influenced by local traditions.⁴⁰

The linkage between hybridity and cultural decline that is such a marked feature of colonial art history survives in modern surveys of Islamic art, which gener-



Fig. 9. Caricature by James Gillray of Warren Hastings, the governor-general of the East India Company, as a Nabob, 1786. British Museum, London. (London, BM 6955 ©The Trustees of the British Museum)



Fig. 10. Detail of fig. 9.

ally terminate around 1800, before the emergence of European-inspired cultural forms that were excoriated by nineteenth-century art historians.⁴¹ The ability of "mixed" cultural forms to disturb the taxonomic categories upon which the broader canon of Islamic art has traditionally depended is reflected in the omission of early Indo-Islamic monuments from a number of major surveys of Islamic art and architecture, including surveys of Ghaznavid and Ghurid architecture.⁴² Even the relevance of these structures to the history of Indo-Islamic architecture has been questioned within a teleology that sees them (like the mule and other hybrid creatures) as "false starts" in an evolutionary process that culminates (somewhat predictably) with the glories of Mughal architecture.⁴³

It has frequently been noted that notions of hybridity or syncretism depend upon a concept of "pure" styles, the promotion of which often has an underlying ideological agenda.⁴⁴ In evaluations of "hybridity" or "syncretism" in Indo-Turkic monuments, the relative value afforded indigenous and "alien" elements or the weight ascribed to the agency of Turkic patron and Hindu mason has generally depended on the aesthetic predispositions, disciplinary affiliations, and political proclivities of the writer. The resulting fragmentation is apparent in Tod's seminal discussion of the Ajmir mosque, in which he distinguishes the work of the "Vandal architect" from "the more noble production of the Hindu."

Conversely, Islamicists have tended to emphasize and valorize those formal features of the mosques familiar from the central Islamic lands, with the result that Iranian monuments have provided the touchstone against which the medieval architecture of both Anatolia and India have been measured, as we shall see below. The lack of empathy with or interest in the indigenous contribution to early Islamic architecture in South Asia may also be rooted in a general sentiment expressed by K. A. C. Creswell, the pioneering doyen of Islamic architectural history, in a letter of application addressed to the Archaeological Survey of India in 1914:

But there is one fact I must be perfectly frank about. All my interests and sympathies are with Muhammadan architecture, which makes a peculiar and special appeal to me beyond any other style; whereas the Hindu spirit and genius is a thing in which I have neither part nor understanding, and were my work to lie in that direction it would inevitably lack that keenness and driving force which only comes of a labour of love.⁴⁵

Although rarely expressed with equal candor, similar sentiments often permeated the work of later Islamicists—one reason why these monuments have generally received a more favorable reception from scholars conversant with medieval temple architecture than from historians of the mosque.

This differential reception is apparent in the metaphors employed to explain the heterogeneous affinities of the early mosques. Thus, while Michael Meister suggests that the negotiations that shaped the Arhaidin-ka-Jhonpra Mosque at Ajmir and the Qutb Mosque at Delhi might be conceptualized in terms of "permeability through a membrane," Doğan Kuban observes that the Ajmir mosque shows "how the developing Muslim style was being penetrated by the Indian tradition."⁴⁶ The sexual overtones of this kind of metaphor are ultimately rooted in the biological models of hybridity referred to above and in concomitant anxieties about miscegenation.

These divergent emphases are particularly marked in the reception of the arcaded screen added to the prayer hall of the Delhi mosque in 594 (1198) (fig. 11), which has been the site of unseemly tussles over the question of identity. In the first (1987) edition of Ettinghausen and Grabar's *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 650–1250*, for example, the central arch of the screen is depicted as a lithic rendering of "a very Iranian iwan arch," reflecting a widespread assumption that it represents a "rude and powerful expression" of Iranian arcuate brick forms in the trabeate idiom and stone medium favored in north India.⁴⁷ Two years earlier, however, Michael Willis had noted, "The screen at Delhi is not so much an example of Islamic art, but of Indian art put to Islamic usage, just as the remains at Bhārhut and Sāncī are not Buddhist art, but Indian art in the service of the Buddhist faith."⁴⁸

The tensions between these positions reflect the dominance of two basic interpretive paradigms, one "indigenizing" (these buildings are essentially adaptations of indigenous forms and idioms), the other "foreignizing" (these buildings witness a domestic inscription of alien forms).⁴⁹ Of the two, the indigenizing paradigm is the older, associated with colonial scholarship from its inception. In a lecture on the study of Indian architecture delivered in London in 1866, for example, James Fergusson espoused a contemporary perception of Islam as a culturally amorphous empty vessel devoid of any distinctive architectural styles, but capable of assimilating those of the cultures it engulfed:



Fig. 11. Qutb Mosque, Delhi. Screen added to the prayer hall facade in 1198. (Author's photo)

Wherever the Muslims went they introduced no style of their own, but employed the native people to build their mosques for them; and this accounted for the fact that some of the most beautiful Mahomedan buildings in India were purely Hindoo from first to last.⁵⁰

Consequently, it was the Hindu mason who deserved the credit for whatever aesthetic merit could be found in the monuments, not the usurping Turkic patron. A report on the Qutb Mosque in Delhi by the British archaeologist Alexander Cunningham, published in the 1860s, explains that, “on *à priori* grounds we should expect this want of appreciation of *truthful* ornamentation among the Muhammadans, a barbarous and warlike people...[who]...have not produced any structure which commands admiration independent of mere beauty of ornament (for which the Hindu workmen deserve credit).”⁵¹

Temple desecration and reuse of materials notwithstanding, an emphasis on continuity led to a lively debate about whether or not the Qutb Mosque and even the adjacent Qutb Minar (fig. 12) were in fact converted Hindu structures. Rejected in Ewer’s 1832 account of the mosque, the latter idea was championed in Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s *Āṣārussanādīd*, an Urdu account of Delhi’s monumental architecture published in 1847 and in a revised edition in 1854.⁵² In the 1870s

the question led to a very public contretemps between J. D. Beglar, an engineer commissioned by the newly formed Archaeological Survey of India to survey the site, and Alexander Cunningham, its first director, with the former being forced publicly to recant his affirmation of the mosque’s Hindu origins.⁵³ In his original report, Beglar reprised the theme of dissimulation, with even the foundation texts of the mosque proving the falsity of their own claims:

I have shown in a manner that cannot be shaken by any number of lying inscriptions, that this great beautiful structure is essentially Hindu in design, altered to a greater or lesser extent by the Muhammadan conquerors, who could perceive neither the beauty of the whole, nor the harmony of the parts, but deliberately did their best to hide the signs of the Hindu origin of the structure by building in, covering up, whitewashing and plastering, destroying parts and building them up according to their own crude and barbarous notions, and crowned the whole by inserting in the true style of oriental exaggeration in their inscriptions, that they built the structure!⁵⁴

The epistemes of colonialist historiography survived into the twentieth century. They are apparent, for example, in the work of Ernest Binfield Havell, English principal of the Calcutta Art School in the first decades of the twentieth century and champion of a fiercely



Fig. 12. The Qutb Minar, Delhi. (Author's photo)

nationalistic version of Indian architectural history. According to Havell, the Indian mosque was an adaptation of the temple to Muslim ritual and consequently lacked any Iranian or Central Asian contribution.⁵⁵ In the post-independence period, nationalist scholars such as D. S. Trivedi ignored both the epigraphic evidence and the criticisms of his contemporaries, asserting that the lower stories of the Qutb Minar were the remains of a Hindu observatory built in 280 BC.⁵⁶ A recent, more benign incarnation of the same idea (albeit one that also marginalizes the agency and contribution of Muslim patrons) emphasizes that Indo-Ghurid mosques were not the sole preserve of those who worshipped within them, but rather that "in a sense [they] 'belonged to' their creators as well."⁵⁷

When it comes to narratives emphasizing cultural purity, there is but a short step from colonialism to ultranationalism. Recently, the wheel has come full circle in a particularly sinister way, with Indian religious nationalists denying the existence of any "Islamic" architecture in South Asia and depicting the Qutb Mosque, the Red Fort of Delhi, and the Taj Mahal as converted Hindu buildings that should be restored to their "rightful" use. Within these narratives, the Qutb Mosque is the temple of Rai Pithora, the last Chauhan raja of Delhi, awaiting recovery or "reconversion" (fig. 13).⁵⁸ Based on a construction of medieval history heavily inflected by the values of the modern nation-state and shaped by an idea of racial and religious purity, these "restorative" aspirations are deeply rooted in the tropes of colonial-era scholarship. Seen in this light, the demolition in 1992 of the Baburi Mosque at Ayodhya (described by V. S. Naipaul, the recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature for 2001, as "an act of historical balance") is the logical progeny of Ellenborough's attempt 150 years earlier to despoil the despoiler.⁵⁹

In later-nineteenth-century publications, however, this view of the Muslim patron as a kind of stylistic cuckoo appropriating the work of others was mitigated by a conceptual and genealogical distinction between form and ornament that further complicated the question of architectural identity. Writing in 1876, for example, James Fergusson emphasized the historical value of the Indo-Ghurid mosques "and their ethnographic importance as bringing out the leading characteristics of the two races in so distinct and marked a manner."⁶⁰ These general sentiments are firmly rooted in the work of earlier antiquarians such as Tod but also reflect an ethnographic turn in colonial architectural



Fig. 13. Modern postcard of the Qutb Mosque, identified as “Rai Pithora Temple.”

history after 1860, with which Fergusson himself was closely associated.⁶¹ Contradicting Fergusson’s previous assertions that the early mosques were the product of “pure Hindoo” artistry, this ethnographic mode necessitated a more complex approach to questions of form and style. Discussing the Qutb Mosque, for example, Fergusson explained to his readers that “to understand the architecture, it is necessary to bear in mind that all the pillars are of Hindû, and all the walls of Muhammadan, architecture.”⁶²

The space opened by this distinction permitted the emergence of a second interpretive paradigm, one that emphasized the formal affinities of these mosques with the monuments of the eastern Islamic world, despite their inevitable concessions to the Indian environment. Thus, although Fergusson raised the possibility that the distinctive flanged forms of the Qutb Minar in Delhi derived from the Bhumija temples of central India, he was also the first to identify the minarets at Ghazna or the Seljuk minarets of Khurasan as possible sources of the Delhi *minār*, an idea that was to become canonical in twentieth-century scholarship.⁶³ The suggestion of Afghan or Khurasani affinities was to find fierce critics among later indigenist zealots

such as Havell and Trivedi, both of whom argued that Ghaznavid architecture represented a western extension of an indigenous Indian tradition, and that the Ghazna minarets were products of Hindu craftsmen carried west by Sultan Mahmud.⁶⁴

Despite such nationalist criticisms, the radical re-orientation (or occidentation) implied by Fergusson’s suggestion gained momentum in the early decades of the twentieth century, with the increasing availability of publications on the medieval architecture of Afghanistan and the central Islamic lands.⁶⁵ Samuel Flury’s epigraphic study of the Ghazna monuments in 1925, *A Survey of Persian Art* in 1938, the journal *Athār-é Īrān* after 1936, and the journal *Afghanistan* after 1946 were among the key publications that broadened the available range of comparanda.⁶⁶ From the 1950s onwards a slew of publications expanded the canon of Ghaznavid and Ghurid architecture, bringing the palaces at Lashkari Bazaar, the minaret at Jam, and the various remains of Ghazna within the scholarly purview and finally putting to rest the idea that one of the minarets in the latter city was built by Sultan Mahmud ibn Sebuktigin.⁶⁷

These developments coincided with the rise of the

disciplinary study of Islamic Art, and a consequent shift away from the positing of generic "Islamic" archetypes and analogues in favor of more specific sources. Increasingly, Ghaznavid and Ghurid monuments came to be included within classificatory schemes organized along ethnic and/or regional lines, as "Iranian" or "Turkic" art. In *A Survey of Persian Art*, for example, the Ghaznavid and Ghurid monuments known in 1938 were subsumed into Eric Schroeder's survey of Seljuk architecture, with Afghanistan accommodated as a region of Khurasan, which was afforded a central role in the narrative of Seljuk art. According to this narrative, the brick style championed in Ghaznavid architecture was adopted and generalized in the monuments of the Seljuks.⁶⁸

By the 1960s, scholars such as Ernst Kühnel could include Afghanistan and India in survey texts as eastern outposts of Iranian Seljuk art, asserting confidently that "both the prelude and the post-lude of the Seljuk epoch are to be sought in Muslim India."⁶⁹ The implication of an Indian contribution to Seljuk style echoes Schroeder's observation in the *Survey* that the ancestry of any Indian elements in Seljuk architecture should be sought in Ghazna.⁷⁰ Both suggestions are made in passing and appear to be based on a priori reasoning rather than empirical evidence; it is not until the Ghurid conquest of north India in the 1190s that Indic elements appear in Afghan architecture with any regularity.⁷¹

Despite the posited relationship to Iranian or Turkic architecture, the Indian monuments of the eastern Turks remained on the periphery both conceptually and geographically, their treatment more circumspect than that of their Iranian or Central Asian counterparts. In Oktay Aslanapa's *Turkish Art and Architecture* (1971), for example, the four centuries accommodated under the rubric *Turkish Art in India* occupy just a single page, in contrast to the ten pages each allotted to the Ghaznavids and Qarakhanids.⁷² Kühnel's observations on the early Indian monuments illuminates this reticence: the monuments "corresponded basically to Seljuk trends in art" although "with strict qualifications" since they were inflected by an "individuality" located "in the necessity of taking into account the peculiarities of Indian landscape."⁷³ Similarly, for the Pakistani scholar Muhammad Chagatai the early mosques represented an "Indianised form" of Seljuk architecture.⁷⁴

A minority of scholars believed that the disjunction between brick and stone media pointed to more far-

flung sources than Seljuk Iran. In the *Islamic* volume of his two-volume *Indian Architecture* (1942–44), Percy Brown saw the Indo-Ghurid monuments as inspired by contemporary Seljuk architecture, "a cultural and creative current of considerable significance" that "was obviously finding its way to Delhi." It was not to the brick monuments of Seljuk Iran that he looked for the source of this current, however—indeed, given the publication of *A Survey of Persian Art* six years earlier, it is odd that these are not even mentioned—but to Seljuk Anatolia. Brown's short paean to the Seljuk architecture of Anatolia addressed the perceived hybridity of both Anatolian and Indian monuments. Posing the question of "how these relatively uncivilized desert people in the course of so short a period were able to develop a building art of such excellence," Brown cited two causal factors: the liberating absence of established architectural conventions among the nomadic Turks, and their adoption of Roman masonry techniques, a winning combination of "the imaginative vision of the Asiatic" with "the scientific ingenuity of the Latin."⁷⁵

This notion evokes the "empty vessel" trope associated with the indigenizing paradigms of nineteenth-century colonial historians but inflects it with a strong racial flavor. The "imaginative vision of the Asiatic" is clearly related to the marked architectural sensibilities that nineteenth-century racial theories ascribed to "Turanians" (among whom the Turks were numbered). These had featured prominently in James Fergusson's discussion of the mosques at Ajmir and Delhi and their Turkic patrons: "A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest, they had brought with them neither artists nor architects, but, like other nations of Turanian origins, they had strong architectural instincts."⁷⁶

It is of course this *mentalité* that is common to the builders of both Anatolian and Indian monuments. In each case, the realization of an inherent flair for form and design rooted in the racial heritage of the Turks was contingent upon particular environmental and geographic factors: "Latin" forms and techniques on the one hand and "Hindu" idioms and materials on the other. Variations on the theme persisted well into the twentieth century. According to Havell, all of Indo-Islamic architecture bore the "distinct impression of the soil to which it belongs," while a 1926 monograph on the Qutb Mosque explains that the mosque reflects a combination of "geography and racial influences," manifest, for example, in the arched screen of

its prayer hall, on which Hindu ornament is deployed according to "Saracenic" sensibility.⁷⁷

In an article published in 1947, three years after *Indian Architecture*, Brown went further, positing not the common roots of Rum Seljuk and Sultanate architecture, but the transmission of Seljuk style from Anatolia to India, both regions in which stone was the dominant medium. Subverting the central role afforded Iranian Seljuk architecture in traditional narratives, this radical refiguration of architectural historiography left the problem of Rum Seljuk style transiting through the central Islamic lands, where a brick medium was predominant. Again, a combination of environmental determinism and racial essence came to the rescue. Through "the application of racial temperament" manifest in a peculiarly Persian aptitude for the adaptive use of ductile and tractable materials (witnessed, for example, in Persian carpets), the medieval architecture of Iran was figured as a derivation from Anatolian Seljuk tradition, albeit one that manifested "an independent trend."⁷⁸ The argument was in many ways ingenious, imbuing style with an autonomous identity, and thus obviating the need to explain how or why masons from the Rum Seljuk lands ended up in Delhi. Despite the rather vague circumstances of its arrival in India, "Saljuqian influence" was destined to play a decisive role in Indo-Islamic architecture, for it is only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Brown sees it giving way to the "influence of the national architecture of Persia."

Although they represented an idiosyncratic strand in scholarship, Brown's ideas were not without issue. In a paper presented to the twenty-second Congress of Orientalists in Istanbul in 1951, G. Le Play-Brown asserted that the roots of the alien (that is, non-Indian) elements in Sultanate architecture lay in the urban centers of Seljuk Anatolia, specifically those of Konya, whose denizens made their way to Delhi, bringing with them the "influence of the Konya school."⁷⁹ Play-Brown asked rhetorically how the characteristics of (Rum) Seljuk art could have made their way to Delhi, concluding conveniently that the answer to the question would require extensive investigation that lay beyond the scope of his short submission.

Although expressed by a minority, these ideas exerted some influence on the work of post-independence South Asian scholars. Writing in 1966, for example, the Pakistani scholar Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar compared the conical stone dome over the mihrab of Sultan Ghari (fig. 14), the funerary madrasa built in

627 (1229) for the son of the Delhi sultan Iltutmish, with the conical domes of Seljuk Anatolia (fig. 15), referring his reader to Percy Brown for a further treatment of "the process of transmission of Saljūk influence to India."⁸⁰

Although usually articulated in terms of a contemporary parallel rather than a direct source, the Anatolian analogy has in fact been a fairly consistent strand in scholarship on Indo-Ghurid and early Sultanate architecture. In the first edition of Ettinghausen and Grabar's *Art and Architecture of Islam*, for example, the encounter between Islamic form and Indic media and technique is described as resulting in an architecture "which, within the Islamic fold, remained more consistently original than in any other province or at any other time, except perhaps in Ottoman Turkey."⁸¹ For the majority of scholars, analogies between the Anatolian and Indian monuments derived neither from the migration of Rum Seljuk masons nor from analogous encounters with non-Islamic cultures, but from a common status as epigonous reflections of contemporary Iranian mosques. Evaluating the relationship between Anatolian and Iranian Seljuk architecture in 1982, for example, Howard Crane wrote:

Thus, in Anatolia we have a situation which is in many ways curiously analogous to that at the other end of the Islamic world at this moment, namely early Sultanate India where, as in Asia Minor, a Muslim power was establishing its sway over a pre-existing indigenous, non-Muslim cultural tradition...As with the Saljūqs of Rūm, the familiarity of these Sultanate elites with Islamic high culture was through the agency of Iran. Yet the architecture they created in these lands newly annexed to the Islamic world was markedly distinct from prototypes in Central Asia and on the Iranian plateau. Hence, although the pointed arch is introduced into the subcontinent at this moment, it was actually built by Indian craftsmen working for Muslim patrons using the traditional Indian technique of corbelling rather than the self-buttressing construction of the true arch. Similarly, while an attempt is made to translate vegetal stuccoes into stone, the individual motifs on close inspection have a distinctly indigenous, Indian feeling and appearance to them, as if the craftsmen who carved them had never actually seen the Iranian stuccoes they were intended to replicate.

As in Anatolia, then, we have a situation in which patrons and craftsmen *attempted* to give expression to Iranian architectural ideas and values but were as often as not *overwhelmed* by the power of local practices and traditions as well as by environmental and practical considerations relating to building materials and climate.⁸²



Fig. 14. Conical mihrab dome, Sultan Ghari funerary complex, Delhi, 1229. (Author's photo)

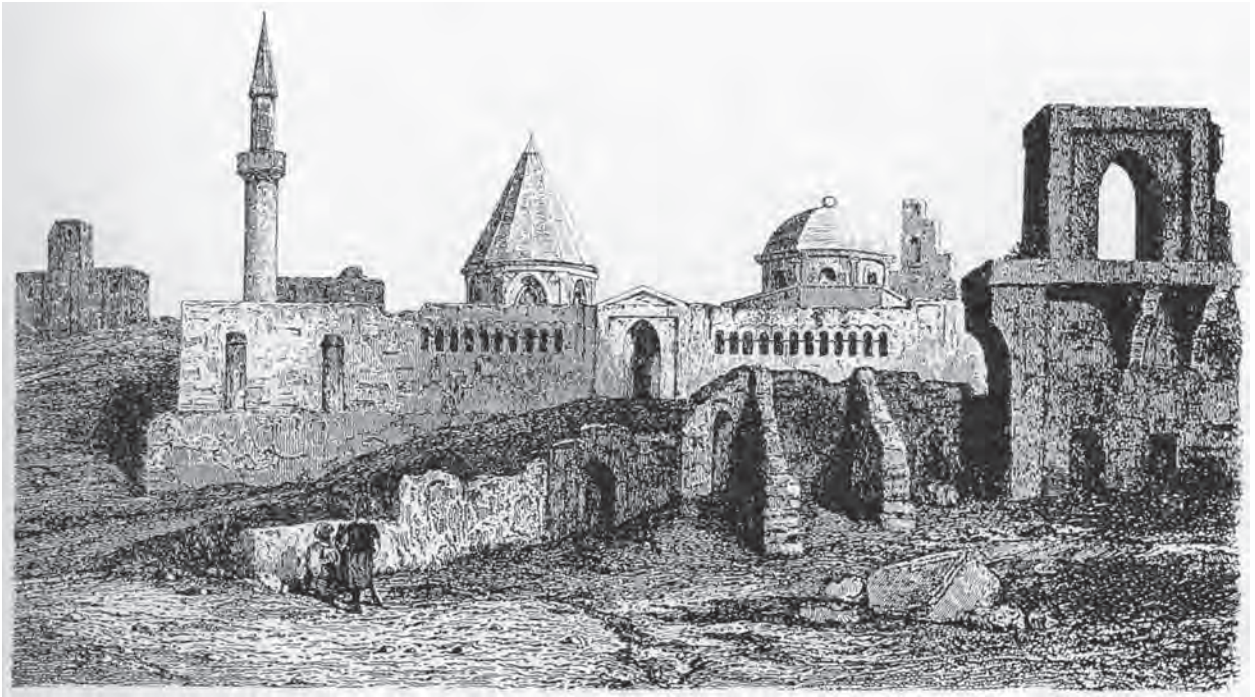


Fig. 15. View of Konya, showing the Alaeddin mosque and the tomb of Kilic Arslan II (d. 1192). (After J. H. Löytved, *Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten* [Berlin, 1907], 21)

The trope of translation and transumption employed here first appears in nineteenth-century evaluations of Indo-Islamic architecture, but over the past few decades it has been deployed with increasing frequency to explain the perceived idiosyncrasies of Indo-Ghurid architecture.⁸⁴ Thus, the Ghurid mosque at Ajmir is said to demonstrate “the translation of Iranian architecture into Indian stone,” or an “attempt to transplant the Saljuq architectural style to northern India.”⁸⁴

The sense of struggle associated with these attempts (a term itself redolent of failure) to replicate the signifiers of a normative Iranian architecture represents another commonality in scholarship on Anatolia and India. In both cases the purity of the assumed Persianate source is seen to be diluted by a domestic inscription, overwhelmed by a process of acculturation stemming from local cultural and environmental conditions, and resulting in the emergence of a *vernacular* version of Seljuk architecture:

The architecture of this Turkish-dominated period is not eclectic: instead it is obsessed with imposing an aesthetic that carried comforting meaning for the conquerors. The attempt to replicate the familiar from back home is

overriding: it ignores north India’s established building types and twists indigenous architectural techniques to accommodate it. The resulting torque is obvious, but not surprising. Without such mimetic references the Sultanate would have appeared adrift in an all too new and unfamiliar land.⁸⁵

With the mosque “back home” figured as not only chronologically or ontologically anterior but also culturally prior, architectural difference is manifest as cultural value. The consequent emphasis on translation as traduction is common to many accounts of the Ajmir and Delhi mosques.

Evaluations of the arcaded screens added to the prayer hall facades of the Delhi and Ajmir mosques in 1198 and ca. 1229 respectively (figs. 5 and 11) index the relative value afforded Islamic and Indic forms and idioms within this process of translation. In his 1829 publication on the mosque, Tod noted that the Ajmir screen was the work “of Ghorian sultans, who evidently made use of native architects,” explaining to his reader that “after confessing and admiring the taste of the Vandal architect, we passed under the arch to examine the more noble production of the Hindu.”⁸⁶



Fig. 16. Great mosque of Gunabad, Khurasan, early thirteenth century. Courtyard facade. (Author's photo)

Conversely, fifty years later, Fergusson waxed lyrical about the Delhi screen (with its “Islamic” forms and “Hindu” decoration), going so far as to claim that its carvings surpassed not only those of Hagia Sophia, but also the decorations of any monument in Cairo or Persia, Spain or Syria.⁸⁷

Twentieth-century scholarship took it as axiomatic that the *raison d'être* of both screens lay in the need to veil the “Hindu” appearance of the earlier prayer halls that lay behind them. Writing of the Qutb Mosque in *The Cambridge History of India* (1928), the director of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sir John Marshall, explains:

Seen from within or without, the building, as originally designed, presented an essentially Hindu appearance. ...A design so alien to their own traditions was hardly likely to satisfy the sentiments of the Muhammadans, and within two years of its completion (i.e. in 1198 A.D.) an arched screen of characteristically Muhammadan design was thrown across the whole front of the prayer chamber...⁸⁸

Echoing Tod's account of a century earlier, the juxtaposition

is deemed to be incongruous and inappropriate, the screen

...too obviously an after-thought, not an integral, organic part of the structure; too vast and over-powering to harmonise with the relatively low colonnades of the courtyard, and still more out of keeping with the slight elegant pillars of the hall behind.

Most accounts of the mosques take it for granted that the arches of the screens were deployed both as generic signs of Islam and as specific evocations of the courtyard arcades and brick *iwāns* of Khurasani mosques (fig. 16).⁸⁹ Indeed, the pointed arch was described by one nineteenth-century commentator as having “a sacred significance in Mahommedan ritual,” and was considered sufficiently synonymous with Islamic architectural style to serve as the principal diagnostic device in the chronological taxonomy developed in the 1860s by James Cunningham and reiterated frequently thereafter (fig. 17).⁹⁰ However, the ability of arcuate Persian forms to function as talismans against the threat of acculturation was qualified by a dependence on Indian masons working in

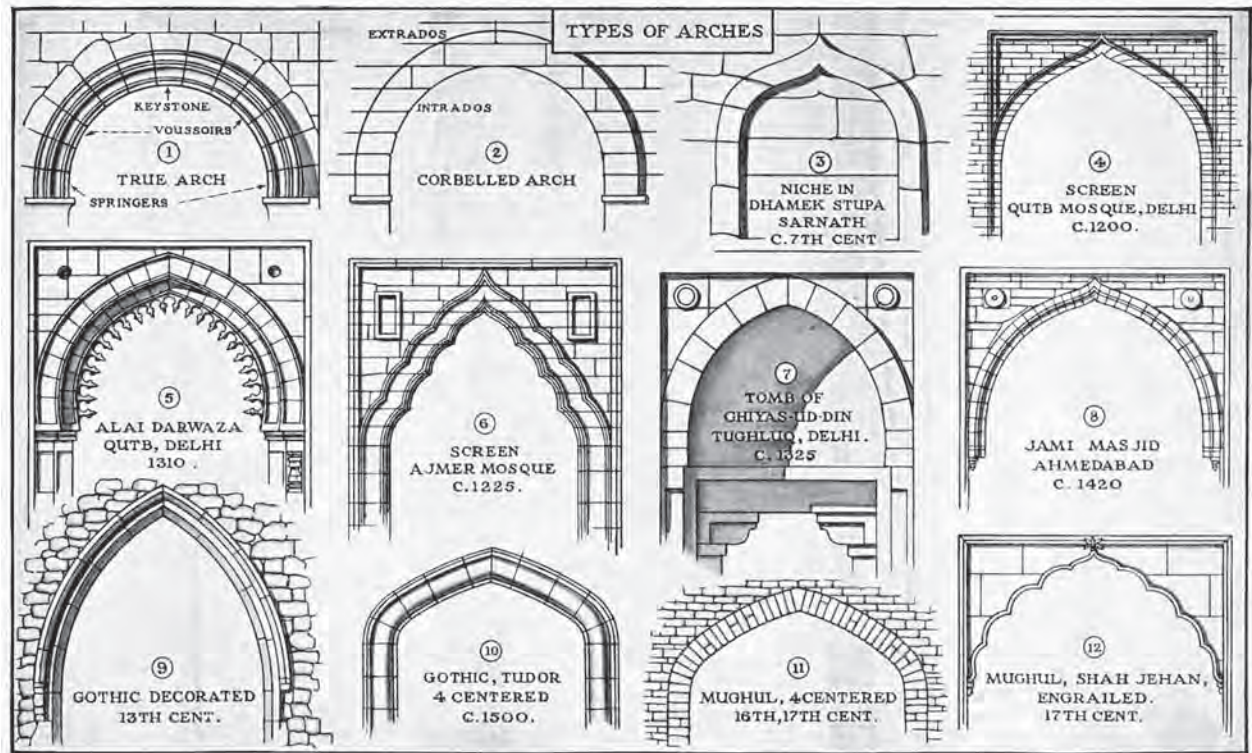


Fig. 17. Diagnostic sketch of arch types (after Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture [The Islamic Period]* [Bombay, 1944], pl. 4)

a stone medium and trabeate idiom that produced corbelled arches (fig. 18). Consequently, the success of the undertaking was variously evaluated as rendering an “entirely Seljuk” look to the mosques or evoking in them a “superficial imitation” of the *iwān* facades found in Seljuk mosques.⁹¹ Emphasizing the superficies or surface, such evaluations provide an implicit contrast with Eric Schroeder’s characterization of Seljuk architecture in *A Survey of Persian Art* as an “honest” style that revealed a “constitutional liking for strong and sincere forms” executed in a brick medium that reveals rather than obscures structure.⁹² While the Seljuk architecture of Iran was “virile, austere, and rational, strong enough to bear opulent stucco decoration without loss of primitive energy,” its Indian variant was dissimulating and dissonant, its structural logic occluded and overwhelmed by a profusion of baroque stone ornament.⁹³

Notions of dissemblance or dissimulation find their most explicit expression in the inevitable contrast (still *de rigueur* in any contemporary survey of Islamic art) between the true (voussoired or four-centered)

arch of the assumed Persianate originals and the corbelled (sometimes referred to as “false”) arches of the screens at Ajmir and Delhi. Just as the screen has itself been the site of a struggle over Indic or Islamic identity, so the arches that are its distinguishing features have been represented as touchstones of either cultural alterity or permeability.⁹⁴ In his history of Ajmir (1941), for example, Har Bilas Sarda argues that the arches of the Ajmir screen “were not only constructed by Hindu masons but are of Hindu origin.” Following earlier commentators such as Tod and Havell, Sarda goes on to claim a “Hindu” origin for the arch form in general, citing Tod’s speculation that the roots of the “Saracenic” arch (typified by those found in the Alhambra) were more likely to lie with the “wealthy and scientific Hindu” rather than the “roving Bedouin of the desert.”⁹⁵

Other commentators had little sympathy with this bid to claim an Indian origin for what was widely regarded as a quintessential signifier of Islamic identity. On the contrary, the corbelled arches of Indian workmanship were seen as decidedly inferior versions of



Fig. 18. Qutb Mosque, Delhi. Detail of *qibla* screen showing corbeled arch. (Author's photo)

the real thing. As early as 1826, the deficiencies of the Hindu vis-à-vis the perfection of Persian arches and vaults were among the qualities that featured in a damning critique of “Hindu” culture by the British Utilitarian James Mill.⁹⁶ The primitive and rudimentary character of the corbeled arch was to be a consistent strand in scholarship of the following century, exemplified by Percy Brown's remarks on the Delhi screen:

Had there been an Islamic master-builder present, it is highly improbable that he would have sanctioned these arches being put together on such a principle. For some centuries before this date, masons in all countries under Moslem rule had employed the true arch, inherited from the Romans [via the Sasanians and Parthians], with its radiating voussoirs, but here the rudimentary system of corbelling out the arch was used.⁹⁷

From the inception of modern scholarship, these monuments have thus been implicated in a double masquerade, the nature of which lies in the eye of the beholder. In the indigenist paradigms favored in colonial scholarship (and its more recent neo-nationalist progeny) the Turkic patron is figured as a kind of decorator crab building a house of prayer from a bricolage of purloined forms and materials, none the products of his own labor. Islamicists, by con-

trast, have generally espoused an evaluation that takes us back to the image of Cato and his wig, figuring the screens at Ajmir and Delhi (and their associated mosques) as a double dissimulation, a veneer masking the alien qualities of Indian craftsmanship with a weak and false approximation of strong and true Seljuk formal values.

The dichotomy is deeply rooted in the taxonomic structures and disciplinary divisions discussed at the outset, within which Khurasani (and even Afghan) monuments are figured as individual expressions of a monolithic “Iranian” (and often specifically “Seljuk”) architectural culture reduced to a corpus of significant forms that circulate eastwards. Obscuring the distinction between the materialization of architectural form and its conceptualization on the one hand, and between form and idiom on the other, this reduction takes no account of regional variation and its significance. In particular, the relegation of 150 years of Ghaznavid architecture to a walk-on part as the precursor of a reified high Seljuk style has occluded from analysis features that are *not* standard in the medieval Seljuk architecture of Iran, rendering opaque the innovative character of Ghaznavid and Ghurid monuments and their significant legacy to Indo-Islamic architecture.

More than three decades ago, Muhammad Mueeb bemoaned the search for borrowed elements in the Qutb Mosque and the ways in which it detracted from aesthetic appreciation and empirical analysis of the mosque itself.⁹⁸ Underlining the point, the presence of several unusual formal features in the Delhi mosque has gone unnoticed and unremarked despite scholarly fixation with the various ways in which the Indo-Ghurid mosques diverge from a postulated Seljuk norm. These include the two domed mezzanine chambers at its southeastern and northeastern corners (fig. 19).⁹⁹ No comment has been made on the possible function of these elevated chambers, but early mosques in south India were provided with loft spaces and upper chambers that housed madrasas.¹⁰⁰ These mezzanine structures may therefore have served an analogous function, with the Qutb mosque combining the functions of *jāmiʿ masjid* and madrasa before the construction of a dedicated madrasa in Delhi. Indeed, it is tempting to see them as housing adherents of the Shafiʿi and Hanafi *madhhabs* to which the Ghurid sultans subscribed, and whose presence in Delhi is documented in the decades following construction of the mosque.¹⁰¹

Equally significant for its potential to provide insights into the social organization of space within the Qutb Mosque is the small, elevated cuboid chamber, measuring roughly 6 meters a side, located in the northwestern sector of its prayer hall (figs. 19–20). A structure of similar form and dimensions recurs in the Chau-rasi Khamba Mosque at Kaman in Rajasthan (figs. 21–22), another of the mosques built after the eastward expansion of the Ghurid sultanate, and in the mosque now known as the Ukha Mandir at Bayana, datable to the first decades of the thirteenth century.¹⁰² In all cases, the mezzanine enclosures abut the north walls of the mosques and were probably once screened with stone lattices. Those at Delhi and Kaman were provided with private entrances distinguished by the massing of richly figural sculpture among which elephants and lions—common signifiers of royalty within the discourses of Indic and Persianate kingship—feature prominently (figs. 23–27).¹⁰³ The selection of these carvings implies a translation not only of materials but also of meaning.

Although these chambers are an innovation absent from earlier mosques in South Asia, they have either been ignored in discussions of Indo-Ghurid architecture or misidentified as *zenānas*, or women's galleries.¹⁰⁴ They perpetuate, however, a feature first

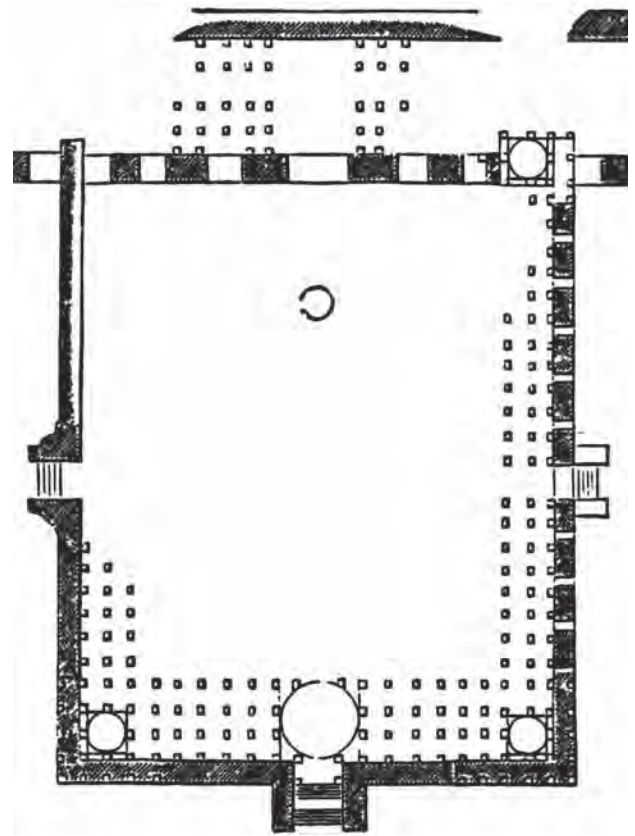


Fig. 19. Qutb Mosque, Delhi. Plan showing the location of the domed upper chambers, including the *muluk khana* to the north of the prayer hall (top right). (After James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 vols. [London, 1910], 2:200)

encountered in the ʿArus al-Falak, the Friday Mosque built by Sultan Mahmud ibn Sebuktegin in his capital of Ghazna around 408–9 (1018–19). Like the majority of Ghaznavid monuments, the mosque is no longer extant but is instead known through an extensive eyewitness account preserved in the *Tārīkh al-Yamīnī* of al-ʿUtbi (d. ca. 1031). The feature in question was elevated, cubical, distinguished by its decoration, and provided with a private entrance leading to the adjacent palace:

The sultan set apart for his personal retinue a chamber (*bayt*) in the prayer hall, looking out over it, cubical (*mukaʿab*) in construction, spacious, with regular corners and sides, and provided with a floor and dado (*izār*) of marble which had weighed heavily on the backs [of the beasts] that bore it from the land of Nishapur...A route



Fig. 20. Remains of the *mulūk khāna*, viewed from the courtyard. Qutb Mosque, Delhi. (Author's photo)

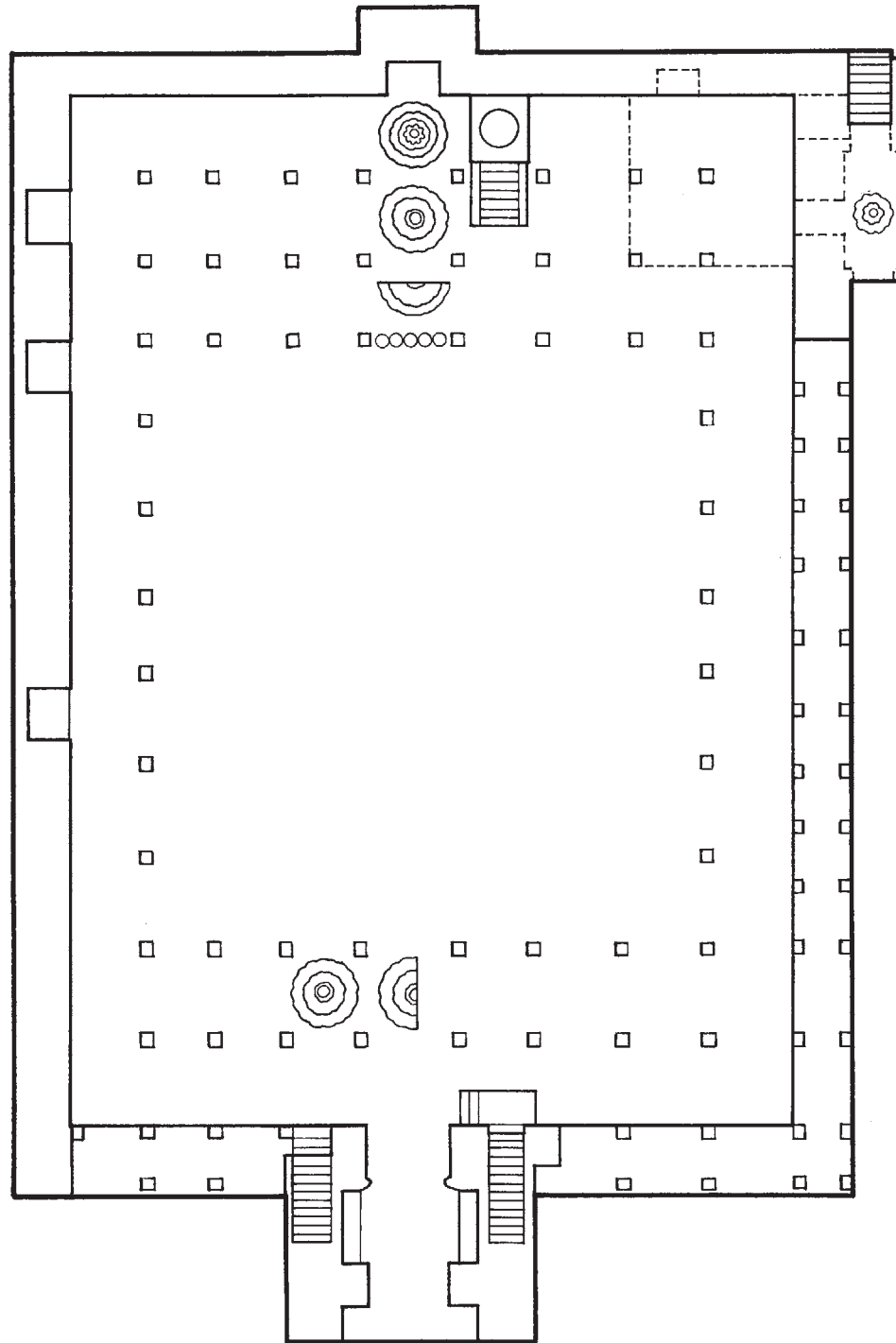


Fig. 21. Chaurasi Khamba Mosque, Kaman, Rajasthan. Plan showing the position of the *mulūk khāna* and its exterior entrance (top right). (Redrawn with additions after Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, "The Architecture of Baha al-Din Tughrul in the Region of Bayana, Rajasthan," *Muqarnas* 4 [1987]: fig. 2)



Fig. 22. Chaurasi Khamba Mosque, stepped approach to the *mulūk khāna*. (Author's photo)



Fig. 23. Chaurasi Khamba Mosque, detail of *mulūk khāna* doorway. (Author's photo)

was cut through from the royal palace to the chamber that I have described, giving access to it with security from the indignity of prying eyes or the interference of men either virtuous or vicious. Thus the sultan could ride to this chamber with complete dignity and peace of mind in order to perform his prescribed religious duties and claim his wages and reward for them.¹⁰⁵

In al-ʿUtbi's description this *bayt* is distinguished etymologically and spatially from the *maqṣūra*, which held the *ghulāms* of the sultan, and which was located between the *bayt* and the *qibla*. Interestingly, the location suggests that in contemporary eastern usage the term *maqṣūra* (which elsewhere referred to a royal box) was identical with the *ḥaram*, the open space of the prayer hall itself.¹⁰⁶

Since the only Ghurid mosque that survives in Af-

ghanistan is the Friday Mosque of Herat (and this in substantially altered form), it is difficult to trace the subsequent history of this *bayt*.¹⁰⁷ However, excavation of the Friday Mosque at Lashkari Bazaar in southern Afghanistan revealed that at the northwestern end of the prayer hall (that is, in precisely the same location as the royal box in the Chaurasi Kambha Mosque at Kaman) a rectangular area two bays long, measuring roughly 10 by 20 meters, had been walled off from the space of the prayer hall (fig. 28). The date of the mosque is problematic: it appears to have been constructed in the eleventh century and then remodeled under the Ghurids in the second half of the twelfth.¹⁰⁸ The mode of construction led the mosque's excavators to believe that the curtain walls screening this chamber belonged to a post-Ghurid renovation; even if this



Fig. 24. Chaurasi Khambha Mosque, detail of *mulūk khāna* threshold showing lion. (Author's photo)

was so, they may well have marked a division of space associated with the mosque since its inception.

Despite the paucity of extant evidence for this feature in medieval Afghan mosques, its subsequent appearance in both Delhi and Kaman suggests that it was adopted in the Ghurid mosques of Afghanistan. In contrast to the mosques of the Iranian world, on which it left little trace, this royal chamber was to enjoy a long history in the mosques of South Asia, referred to in later Indo-Persian texts as a *mulūk khāna* (royal chamber) and in Bengal as the *takht-i shāhī* (royal platform). Subsequent appearances occur in the royal mosques at Begampuri in Delhi (ca. 1343), and Pandua in Bengal (1374).¹⁰⁹

In the analyses discussed above, an ideal Khurasani mosque, a kind of Platonic form of Persian-ness, serves as a transcendental signified within a concept of translation as mimesis, a one-to-one carrying-over or substitution between the elements of alien Hindu and familiar Muslim “languages” (or vice versa).¹¹⁰ The mimetic paradigm of translation measures success by fidelity of reproduction, assuming the panoptic vision of the modern art historian furnished with abundant comparanda rather than the more circumscribed view of the twelfth-century patron.¹¹¹ This perspective invariably privileges putative originary works, with the inevitable consequence that the mosques at Ajmir, Delhi, and elsewhere are represented either as derogations

of the material temple or derivative reiterations of an ideal Persian mosque.

Since the *mulūk khāna* is not integral to that mosque, its presence and significance have largely been ignored. The perpetuation of this feature in Indo-Ghurid mosques, and in many later Indian congregational mosques, thus points to the limits of both “indigenizing” and “foreignizing” paradigms as historically conceived, while recalling Walter Benjamin’s conception of translation as a process that permits the “living-on” of a source text even in its absence.¹¹² As Benjamin also reminds us, the relationship between target and source is not one of original and copy, for translation is a process characterized by “continua of transformation, not abstract ideas of identity and similarity.”¹¹³ Building on the insight, poststructuralist theorists have rejected the idea that difference is ever pure, that translation entails the export of pure signifieds between languages; instead, Jacques Derrida and others posit a notion of translation as “*transformation*: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another.”¹¹⁴ Similarly, in his work on hermeneutics, the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer has argued that any translation is not a reproduction of an original, but a recreation: an interpretation rather than a reiteration.¹¹⁵

Although developed in relation to texts, these modes of conceptualizing translation provide alternative mod-



Fig. 25. Qutb Mosque, Delhi, general view of the exterior entrance to the *mulūk khāna*. (Author's photo)

els for evaluating the hermeneutical and physical displacements that shaped the first mosques in centers such as Ajmir and Delhi. They would, for example, shift the emphasis from the priority of architectural forms

to the contingencies of cultural practice, so that the consumption of preexisting architectural forms might be seen as a dynamic form of production rather than a deficient form of reproduction.¹¹⁶ In this way, the



Fig. 26. Qutb Mosque, Delhi, entrance to the *mulūk khāna*. (Author's photo)



Fig. 27. Qutb Mosque, Delhi, reused lion carvings on the threshold of the *mulūk khāna*. (Author's photo)

mosques might be viewed not as synchronic products of a finished event, but as constantly (re)produced by a potentially open-ended series of displacements and interpretations mediated and negotiated by multiple chains of actors and agents in specific contexts. This approach replaces a backward-oriented (and often ideologically charged) source-mongering with a more forward-looking emphasis on innovation and mediation, while acknowledging a dialectical relationship between region and transregion, continuity and discontinuity, past and present that is plainly relevant to the forms and meanings of the monuments.¹¹⁷

This way of approaching the mosques requires a re-evaluation of the ways in which the agents and modes of mediation have been conceptualized in traditional historiography. For one thing, despite the consistent assertion that Indo-Ghurid mosques replicate the formal values of a reified Seljuk mosque, the mechanisms and contexts of transmission are rarely addressed in detail, if at all. At various points, illustrated Qur'ans, depictions of mosques, and pattern books have all been mooted, although it seems far more likely that the relationship to Afghan and Iranian mosques is the product of verbal transmission rather than graphic notation.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, scholarship on medi-

eval Anatolia and India has usually assumed a contrast between nomadic Turkic patrons and a reservoir of sedentary Christian or Hindu masons. Indeed, in many of the analyses cited above the contrast between the mobility of the Turks, with their innate flair for architecture, and the fixity of those who built their monuments is central to the role of the former as promoters of “Roman” or “Hindu” architectural traditions deeply rooted in the environment or soil of the conquered lands.

However, a number of what appear as anomalies within the master narratives of traditional historiography point to the recalcitrant nature of men and materials—their refusal to remain on either side of the hyphen dividing “Indo” and “Islamic,” “Turk” and “Hindu”—calling into question this emphasis on the local and locales. Examples include the importation of (wooden?) beams or columns (*judhū*) from Sind and al-Hind for the Friday Mosque of Ghazna, built by Sultan Mahmud in 1018, or the employment of a peripatetic craftsman from the land of the Turks (*Turush-kadesha*) to gild a parasol (*chatr*) on a Shiva temple built by King Kalasha, the Hindu ruler of the Kashmir Valley, between 1063 and 1089.¹¹⁹ More important, there is now abundant evidence indicating that

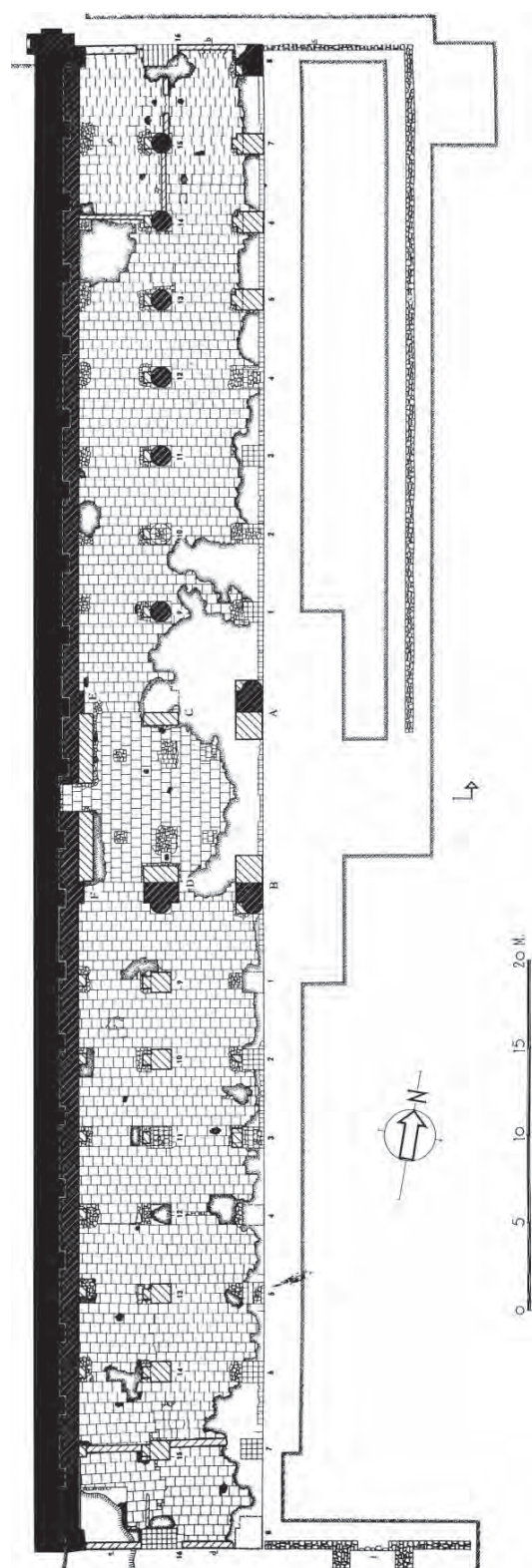


Fig. 28. Lashkari Bazaar, plan of the Friday mosque as excavated. (After Daniel Schlumberger and Janine Sourdél-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar: Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoriide*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1978], 1B:pl. 23)

Indic, possibly Jain, stonemasons from the region of Rajasthan and northern Gujarat were active in southern and eastern Afghanistan in the last decade of the twelfth century, during the period when the Indo-Ghurid mosques in Ajmir, Delhi, and other Indian centers were under construction. In fact, certain features of the Ghurid mosques in India are only comprehensible as the products of north Indian stonemasons who had worked for Muslim patrons in Afghanistan and returned eastwards in the wake of the Ghurid conquest.¹²⁰

In other words, the processes of transmission and translation witnessed in the mosques at Ajmir, Delhi, and elsewhere are considerably more complex than is suggested by the traditional scenario of a transumption between self-contained Iranian and Indic architectural traditions or a negotiation between mobile Turkic *ghulāms* and sedentary Indic masons. The mobility of forms, idioms, and masons raises significant questions about architectural reception and aesthetic taste at the end of the twelfth century, questions that necessitate not merely a reevaluation of Indian mosques or architectural taxonomies, but nothing less than a reconceptualization of medieval South Asian cultural geography.

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NOTES

1. Yorgos Dedes, *The Battalname, an Ottoman Frontier Epic Wundertale*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 33 (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 35.
2. See, for example, Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 2, *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Period* (Chicago and London, 1977), 275–79; Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York, 1994), 151.
3. J. F. Richards, "The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia," *South Asia* 4 (1974): 91.
4. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 166–67.
5. Barbara D. Metcalf, "Too Little, Too Much: Reflections on Muslims in the History of India," *Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1995): 959.
6. For continuities in workshop practice, see Vryonis, *Decline*, 235–37; Robert Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 48–62.
7. See, for example, Girault de Prangey, *Souvenirs de Grenade et de l'Alhambra: Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833* (Paris, 1837); Pascal-Xavier Coste, *Architecture arabe, ou, Monuments du Kaire mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826* (Paris, 1839); Girault de Prangey, *Essai sur l'architecture des Arabes et des Mores, en Espagne, en Sicile, et en Barbarie* (Paris, 1841).
8. At least nine short descriptions of Ghazna and its monuments (some illustrated) were published in the 1830s and 1840s, compared to two for the remainder of the century: Warwick Ball, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), 1:106. Among these see, for example, Godfrey T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan* (London, 1840), 128–30; R. H. Kennedy, *Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus in Sind and Kauboul in 1838–9*, 2 vols. (London, 1840), 2:59–60; Keith A. Jackson, *Views in Afghanistan, etc., from Sketches Taken during the Campaign of the Army of the Indus* (London, 1842), 11–12; Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, 3 vols. (London, 1842), 2:219–22.
9. Edward Sanders, C. Blood, John Studdart, and C. F. North, "Documents Relating to the Gates of Somnath; Forwarded to the Society by the Government of India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 12, 1 (1843): 73–78. For the inscriptions on the minarets see J. A. Rawlinson, appendix to "The Gates of Somnath," *Asiatic Journal* (1844): 50–52. See also S. Flury, "Das Schriftband an der Türe des Mahmūd von Ghazna (998–1031)," *Der Islam* 8 (1918): 214–27.
10. Muhammad Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna* (New Delhi, 1971 [1931]), 209–24.
11. *Speeches in the House of Lords 1843, 28 February 1843–24 March 1843*, *Hansard* 67 (1843): March 9th, 1843, 533. See also Edward Law, Lord of Ellenborough, *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington*, ed. Lord Colchester (London, 1874), 52.
12. *Hansard* 67 (1843): March 9th, 1843, 540–41; Romila Thapar, *Somanatha: The Many Voices of a History* (Delhi, 2001), 173–74.
13. John Briggs, tr., *History of the Rule of the Mahomedan Power in India through the Year A.D. 1612, Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, 4 vols. (London, 1829), 1:43. See also Richard H. Davis, "Memories of Broken Idols," in Irene A. Biermann, ed., *The Experience of Islamic Art in the Margins of Islam* (Reading, UK, 2005), 151–52. For other references to the mace see R. Karkaria, "Mahmud of Ghazni and the Gates of Somnath," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (1895–97): 147–48. On the figure of Mahmud in modern historiography see Peter Hardy, "Mahmud of Ghazna and the Historians," *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 14 (1962): 1–36.
14. Vigne, *Personal Narrative*, 129.
15. Cited in John William Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, 2 vols. (London, 1851), 2:650. For a strident critique of Ellenborough's actions, which were not well received in the metropole, see Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1871), 630–41; Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, 1997), 197–209.
16. Finbarr B. Flood, "Signs of Violence: Colonial Ethnographies and Indo-Islamic Monuments," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 5, 2 (2004): 33–38; Amalendu Misra, *Identity*

- and Religious Foundations of Anti-Islamism in India (New Delhi, 2004), 206–13.
17. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. 1 (Delhi, 1990 [1867]), xxi.
 18. James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), 513n; Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), 221–23.
 19. Sarda, *Ajmer*, 71. The Mayo durbar was followed between 1875 and 1878 by a campaign of restoration to the mosque: Anon., “Restoration Work in Ajmir,” *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (1902–3): 80–81.
 20. Bernard S. Cohn, “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in J. Hobsbawm and T. Rangers, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK, 1983), 165–210.
 21. *Hansard* 67 (1843): March 9th, 1843, 522.
 22. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 497.
 23. Discussing Rickman’s *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* (1817) and its emphasis on style as a means of establishing architectural chronology, Fergusson writes that “owing to its perfect originality and freedom from all foreign admixture or influence, I believe these principles, so universally adopted in this country, are even more applicable to the Indian styles than to the European”: *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, xii. See also Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3, no. 4 (New Delhi, 1998 [1994]), 89–90; Flood, “Signs of Violence,” 28.
 24. J. Burton-Page, s.v. “Hind,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1950–2004).
 25. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)* (Bombay, 1944), 1.
 26. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast’han, or, the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India*, 2 vols. (London, 1829–32), 1:778–82.
 27. Walter Ewer, “An Account of the Inscriptions on the Cootub Minar, and on the Ruins in Its Vicinity,” *Asiatic Researches* 14 (1832), 480–89.
 28. Tod, *Annals*, 609. For the history of the term see Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London and New Haven, 1997), 18, 35–36.
 29. André Wink, “India and Central Asia: The Coming of the Turks in the Eleventh Century,” in A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, and M. S. Oort, eds., *Ritual, State, and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman* (Leiden, 1992), 747–73; Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims: Eighth to Fourteenth Century* (New Delhi, 1998), 40–43.
 30. Annemarie Schimmel, “Turk and Hindu: A Poetical Image and Its Application to Historical Fact,” in Speros Vryonis Jr., ed., *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 107–26. For a recent reevaluation of these oppositional categories see David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville, 2000).
 31. Of the four extensive thirteenth- and fourteenth-century descriptions of the mosque that survive, the sole exception is the earliest, the *Tāj al-Ma’āthir* (begun ca. 602/1205–6), which refers to the golden domes of the idol temples (*qubbah-ī zārīn-i but-khāna*) formerly associated with the site: *Tāj al-Din Hasan b. Nizāmi Nishāpūri, Tāj al-Ma’āthir*, British Library, India Office Library, ms. 15 (Ethé no. 210), fol. 114b; Syed Hasan Askari, “Taj-ul-Maasir of Hasan Nizami,” *Patna University Journal* 18, 3 (1963): 72; Bhagwat Saroop, tr., *Tajud Din Hasan Nizami’s Taj ul Ma’athir (The Crown of Glorious Deeds)* (Delhi, 1998), 142.
 32. Tod, *Annals*, 1:778.
 33. Tod, *Annals*, 1:782. On the way in which European classicism inflected representations of the South Asian past see Finbarr Barry Flood, “Lingas in Latin: Classicism and Censorship in Colonial Translation,” paper delivered to the Annual Symposium of the American Council for Southern Asian Art, Peabody Museum, Salem, MA, May 2004.
 34. Finbarr Barry Flood, “Correct Delineations and Promiscuous Outlines: Envisioning India at the Trial of Warren Hastings,” *Art History* 29, 1 (2006): 54–55, figs. 2.3–2.4.
 35. Nicholas B. Dirks, “Reading Culture: Anthropology and the Textualization of India,” in E. V. Daniel and J. Peck, eds., *Culture/Contexture* (Berkeley, 1996), 292; Flood, “Signs of Violence,” 28–30.
 36. For the broader European context see Nancy Stepan, “Biological Degeneration: Races and Proper Places,” in *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, ed. J. Edward Chamberlain and Sander L. Gilman (New York, 1985), 97–120; Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York, 1995).
 37. Lord Napier, “Modern Architecture in India,” *The Builder* 28 (1870): 722.
 38. S. D. Sharma, *The Crescent in India* (Bombay, 1937), 63.
 39. Muhammad Abdullah Chagatai, “Turkish Architectural Ornament in Indo-Pakistani Architecture,” *First International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara, 19th–24th October, 1959* (Ankara, 1961), 75.
 40. Doğan Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture*, pt. 2: *Development of Religious Architecture in Later Periods* (Leiden, 1985), 15.
 41. Finbarr Barry Flood, “From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art,” in Elizabeth Mansfield, ed., *Making Art History* (New York, forthcoming), 31–53.
 42. For example, David Talbot Rice, *Islamic Art* (London, 1975); Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World* (New York, 1997); Robert Hillenbrand, “The Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids,” in *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand, vol. 2, *The Sultan’s Turret: Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture* (Leiden, 2000), 124–206.
 43. Robert Hillenbrand, “Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir,” *Iran* 26 (1988): 105.
 44. Peter Draper, “English with a French Accent: Architectural *Franglais* in Late-Twelfth-Century England?” in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000–c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 33. See also Tony K. Stewart and Carl W. Ernst, “Syncretism,” in *South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Peter J. Claus and Margaret Mills (New York, 2003), 586–88.
 45. Cited in R. W. Hamilton, “Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 60 (1974): 6. Reprinted in *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 130.

46. Michael Meister, "Indian Islam's Lotus Throne: Kaman and Khatu Kalan," in *Islam and Indian Regions*, ed. Ann Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemand (Stuttgart, 1993), 445–52; idem, "The Membrane of Tolerance—Middle and Modern India," in *Art and the Integral Vision: A Volume of Essays in Felicitation of Kapila Vatsyayan*, ed. B. N. Saraswati, S. C. Malik, and Madhu Khanna (New Delhi, 1994), 289–98; Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture*, pt. 2, 15.
47. Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (New York, 1987), 291, 293. For further discussion of the screen see below.
48. Michael D. Willis, "An Eighth Century Mihrāb in Gwalior," *Artibus Asiae* 46, 3 (1985): 244–45. On the indigenous affinities of the Ajmir mosque and its screens see Michael Meister, "The Two-and-a-Half-Day Mosque," *Oriental Art* 18 (1972): 57–63.
49. My terminology reflects that used by S. C. Misra, "Indigenisation and Islamization in Muslim Society in India," *Transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study* 6 (1971): 361–71.
50. James Fergusson, *On the Study of Indian Architecture* (Delhi, 1977 [1866]), 32. For later elaborations of the indigenist paradigm see E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammedan Invasion to the Present Day* (London, 1913), 42–44.
51. Alexander Cunningham, *Four Reports Made During the Years 1862–63–64–65*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports 1 (Delhi, 1994 [1871]), 177. Emphasis mine.
52. Ewer, "Account of the Inscriptions," 485; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āṣārussanādīd (Āthār al-Sanādīd)* (Delhi, 1847 and 1854), translated by M. Garcin de Tassy as "Descriptions des monuments de Dehli en 1852 d'après le texte Hindustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khan," *Journal Asiatique* (Aug.–Sept. 1860): 238–50. For an English calque see R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi: Historical Survey* (New Delhi, 1979), xviii–xix. See also R. Nath, "The Qutb Minār of Delhi and Its Symbolism (1200–1215)," *Studies in Medieval Indian Architecture* (New Delhi, 1995), 1–17.
53. J. D. Beglar and Alexander Cunningham, "Preface," in *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1871–72* (Varanasi, 1966 [1873]), i–xvii.
54. J. D. Beglar, "Report on Dehli," in *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1871–72*, 45.
55. E. B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation* (New Delhi, 1972 [1915]), 218; Osman Jamal, "E. B. Havell: The Art and Politics of Indianness," *Third Text* 39 (1997): 3–20; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York, 2004), 155–56.
56. D. S. Triveda, "Vishnudevājya or Kutub Minar," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 40 (1960): 241–61. See also Mohammad Yasin, "Origins and Authorship of Qutb Minar," *Journal of Indian History* 54 (1976): 399–405.
57. Alka A. Patel, "Towards Alternative Reception of Ghurid Architecture in Northern India (Late Twelfth–Early Thirteenth Century CE)," *Archives of Asian Art* 54 (2001): 40; idem, "Islamic Architecture of Western India (Mid-12th–14th Centuries): Continuities and Interpretations" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000), 30–31; idem, *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society during the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2004), 8–11.
58. Sita Ram Goel, *Hindu Temples: What Happened to Them?* (New Delhi, 1991), especially 232–33; Davis, "Memories of Broken Idols," 137–40. The dyadic vision of precolonial Indian history championed in colonial narratives was already adopted by some nineteenth-century Indian nationalists, who contrasted the darkness of "Muslim" rule with the light of British governance: Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Delhi, 1997), 94. On the way in which scholarship is implicated in contemporary political developments see Barbara D. Metcalf, "Presidential Address: Too Little, Too Much: Reflections on Muslims in the History of India," *Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1995): 95.
59. Aman Khanna, "Among the Believers," *Outlook India*, Feb. 27, 2004. Available at www.outlookindia.com
60. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 214.
61. Flood, "Signs of Violence," 22–28.
62. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 501.
63. With characteristic enthusiasm, Fergusson declared that while the Qutb Minar found a formal comparison in Giotto's campanile in Florence, the Florentine structure "wants that poetry of design and exquisite finish of detail which marks every moulding of the minār": *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 506. Descriptions of Khurasani minarets were available in contemporary travelers' accounts of eastern Iran and Central Asia: e.g., Nicolai Khanikov, *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1861), 134.
64. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 11, 41; Triveda, "Vishnudevājya."
65. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 3, 192; idem, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*, viii.
66. See, for example, Oskar von Niedermayer, *Afghanistan* (Leipzig, 1924); Samuel Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna," *Syria* 6 (1925): 61–90; Arthur Upham Pope, "The Mosque at Qal'a-i-Bist," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* 4, 1 (1935): 7–11; Y. A. Godard, "L'inscription du minaret de Mas'ūd III a Ghazna," *Althār-é Irān: Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Irān* 1, 2 (1936): 367–69.
67. Among the most important publications are Daniel Schlumberger, "Le palais ghaznévide de Lashkari Bazar," *Syria* 29 (1952): 251–70; Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Deux minarets Seljoukides en Afghanistan," *Syria* 30 (1953): 108–36; Ahmad 'Ali Kohzad, "Firoz Koh," *Afghanistan* 12, 4 (1957): 31–34; André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam: La découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghourides XIIIe–XIIIe siècles*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, vol. 16 (Paris, 1959); Umberto Scerrato, "The First Two Excavation Campaigns at Ghazni, 1957–1958," *East and West*, n.s., 10 (1959): 22–55.
68. Eric Schroeder, "The Seljūq Period," in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackermann, 18 vols. (Ashiya, 1981 [1938]), 3:983–84. In the same volume see Arthur Upham Pope, "Introduction," 911–12. The centrality of Khurasan to the development of Seljuk architecture is a shibboleth of subsequent Islamic architectural history: see Oleg Grabar, "The Visual Arts, 1050–1350," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol.

- 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge, 1968), 348.
68. Ernst Kühnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, tr. Katherine Watson (London, 1966), 95.
70. Schroeder, "Seljūq Period," 982. See also Aslanapa's suggestion that the monumental *maḡṣūra* dome characteristic of Seljuk mosques in Iran has its origins in Ghaznavid mosques such as that in the palace at Lashkari Bazaar: Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York, 1971), 56–57.
71. Alessio Bombaci, "Les Turcs et l'art Ghaznavide," in *First International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara*, 67.
72. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 55–62, 64.
73. Kühnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, 95–96.
74. Chagatai, "Turkish Architectural Ornaments," 76.
75. Brown, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, 6–7.
76. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 197; see also Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, 1989), 30–31.
77. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 51; J. A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 22 (Calcutta, 1926), 2n, 9–10. For the distinction between imported form and indigenous decoration see also Fritz Lehmann, "Architecture of the Early Sultanate Period and the Nature of the Muslim State in India," *Indica* 15, 1 (1978): 25.
78. Percy Brown, "Early Indo-Islamic Art and Its Relation to the Art of the Seljuks and of Iran," *Indo-Iranica* 2, 2 (1947): 2–3.
79. G. Le Play-Brown, "De l'influence de l'art turc seljouicide dans les monuments islamiques de l'Inde du Nord," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul, 13th to 22nd September 1951* (Leiden, 1957), vol. 2, 639.
80. Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, "Some Aspects of the Mamlūk Buildings and Their Influence on the Architecture of the Succeeding Periods," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 11 (1966): 52–53. For Sultan Ghari see S. A. A. Naqvi, "Sultān Ghārī, Delhi," *Ancient India* 3 (1947): 4–10. It has been suggested that the madrasa, whose form is anomalous among extant early sultanate monuments, replicates a classical or classicizing style from regions to the west, described perhaps by a traveler to Delhi: Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983), 154.
81. Ettinghausen and Grabar, *Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250*, 293.
82. Howard Crane, "Anatolian Saljūq Architecture and Its Links to Saljūq Iran," in *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Edinburgh in 1982*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, 1994), 267. Emphasis mine.
83. Anon., "Saracenic Architecture in India," *The Builder* (August 26, 1876): 822.
84. Derek Hill and Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Its Decoration AD 800–1500* (London, 1967), 76; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," 115.
85. Anthony Welch, "Architectural Patronage and the Past: the Tughluq Sultans of India," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 314.
86. Tod, *Annals*, 1:779.
87. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 499–500.
88. John Marshall, "The Monuments of Muslim India," in Wolseley Haig, ed., *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3: *Turks and Afghans* (Cambridge, 1928), 576; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," 110, 112.
89. Tsukinowa Tokifusa, "The Influence of Seljuk Architecture on the Earliest Mosques of the Delhi Sultanate Found in India," *Acta Asiatica* 43 (1982): 57–59; Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 204; Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge, 1992), 4; Mehrdad Shokoohy, *The Dictionary of Art*, (New York, 1996), vol. 15, 339.
90. Anon., "Saracenic Architecture in India," 823; Beglar, "Report on Delhi," in *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1871–1872*, 87.
91. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 64.
92. Schroeder, "Seljūq Period," 985–86.
93. Pope, "Introduction," *Survey of Persian Art*, 3:912. As Briggs notes, "it is the profuseness of the decoration in early Hindu temples that tends to obscure their structural features and thus make them difficult for a European critic to analyse dispassionately": Martin Briggs, "Muslim Architecture in India," in *A Cultural History of India*, ed. A. L. Basham (New Delhi, 1975), 312. The emphasis in twentieth-century scholarship on the concealment of form is at odds with earlier evaluations that emphasized the "constructive truthfulness" of Indo-Islamic architecture: Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, 36, 38.
94. For the latter interpretation see Sunil Kumar, "The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate, 588–685/1192–1286" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1992), 89.
95. Sarda, *Ajmer*, 72–73; Tod, *Annals*, 611; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 4–5.
96. James Mill, *The History of British India*, 5th ed., 10 vols. (London, 1858), 2:10–11. This resonates with a broader Orientalist critique in which racial and environmental factors conspired to effect an Indian inability to produce anything but deficient copies of a reality constituted according to Western canons: Ronald Inden, "Orientalist Constructions of India," *Modern Asian Studies* 20, 3 (1986): 441.
97. Brown *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, 11. See also John Terry, *The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture: An Introduction to the Northern Phase* (London, 1955), 7.
98. M. Mujeeb, "The Qutub Complex as a Social Document," in idem, *Islamic Influence on Indian Society* (Meerut, 1972), 115.
99. Page, *Memoir*, 8.
100. Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the Traditions of the Maritime Settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts [Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Goa]* (London and New York, 2003), 235.
101. Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 2 vols., ed. Abdull Hayy Habibi (Kabul, 1963–64), 1:461.
102. Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, "The Architecture of Baha al-Din Tughrul in the Region of Bayana, Rajasthan," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 125.
103. For a discussion see Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter, 800–1250* (Princeton, forthcoming), chap. 6.
104. Page, *Historical Memoir*, 8; J. Burton-Page, s.v. "Dihli," *EI2*. For other occurrences see Mehrdad Shokoohy and Nata-

- lie H. Shokoohy, *Hişār-i Firūza: Sultanate and Early Mughal Architecture in the District of Hisar, India* (London, 1988), 33–37; Meister, "Indian Islam's Throne," 449. For a general discussion of the feature and its possible functions see Muhammad Abdul Qadir, "The So-called Ladies' Gallery in the Early Mosques of Bangladesh," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum* 7 (1981–82): 161–72. The history of the women's gallery remains to be written, but its existence in the mosques of the central Islamic lands is attested to by thirteenth-century manuscript paintings such as those in the illustrated copies of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri produced in Iraq.
105. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi, *al-Tārīkh al-Yamīnī*, printed in the margin of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manīnī, *al-Fath al-wahabī 'alā tārīkh Abi Naṣr al-'Utbi*, 2 vols. (Bulaq, 1869), 2:296–97. For an early-thirteenth-century Persian translation in which the Arabic term *bayt* is glossed as *khāna* see Abū 'l-Sharaf Nāṣih b. Zafar al-Jurfādiqānī, *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, ed., Ja'far Sha'ār (Tehran, 2037/1978), 387–88. I am very grateful to Everett Rowson for allowing me to use his translation of the Arabic text, which is taken from the bilingual edition that he is currently publishing. To date, the sole published English translation is that of James Reynolds, *The Kitab-i-Yamini* (London, 1858), 462–67, but see also Alessio Bombaci, "La 'Sposa del Cielo,'" in *A Francesco Gabrieli: Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dei suoi colleghi e discepoli* (Rome, 1964), 25–26, 32.
 106. This suggestion finds support in a fourteenth-century description of 'Ala al-Din Khalji's extension of the Qutb Mosque complex, in which he is said to have added a fourth *maqṣūra* to the existing three (that is, the original prayer hall and the two added on either side as part of the enlargements undertaken by Sultan Iltutmish around 1229): Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī, *Khazā'in al-Futuḥ*, ed. Mohammed Wahid Mirza (Calcutta, 1953), 23.
 107. For the Herat Mosque see Ruedi Stuckert, "Die Grosse Moschee und das Mausoleum des Ghiyāth ud-Dīn in Herat," *Afghanistan Journal* 7, 1 (1980): 3–5; B. Glatzer, "Das Mausoleum und die Moschee des Ghoriden Ghiyāth ud-Dīn in Herat," *Afghanistan Journal* 7, 1 (1980): 6–22.
 108. Daniel Schlumberger, "La grande mosquée de Lashkari Bazar," *Afghanistan* 7, 1 (1952): 1–4; Daniel Schlumberger and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar: Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, vol. 18 (Paris, 1978), 1A, 67–69; 1B, 54–57; pls. 23, 93c, 95e–f.
 109. Sikandar b. Muḥammad, *Mi'rāt-i Sikandari*, ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rahman (Baroda, 1961), 38; Wheeler M. Thackston, tr., *The Jahangirnāma: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (Oxford and Washington, DC, 1999), 245; Shamsuddin Ahmad, "An Outline of Muslim Architecture in Bengal," in *Studies in Indian Culture: Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemorative Volume* (Hyderabad, 1966), 113–14; Welch and Crane, "Tughluqs," 130. In certain respects, the feature recalls the *hūnkar mahfilī*, the elevated royal tribune found in Ottoman royal mosques from the late fifteenth century onwards: Aptullah Kuran, "The Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques," *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 281–300.
 110. For a preliminary discussion see Finbarr Barry Flood, "Refiguring Iconoclasm in the Early Indian Mosque," in *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, ed. Anne McClanan and Jeff Johnson (Aldershot, 2005), 27–29. The potential of translation theory for conceptualizing textual production in medieval and early modern South Asia has been explored by Tony K. Stewart, "In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Hindu-Muslim Encounter through Translation Theory," *History of Religions* 40, 3 (2001): 260–87.
 111. On comparanda and their role in determining relationships to putative originals see Ian MacKenzie, "Gadamer's Hermeneutics and the Uses of Forgery," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 45, 1 (1986): 41.
 112. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *Illuminations*, tr. Harry Zohn (London, 1992), 71–72.
 113. Walter Benjamin, "On Language as Such and the Language of Man," in idem, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, tr. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978), 325.
 114. Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, tr. Alan Bass (Chicago, 1981), 20.
 115. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York, 1995), 384–87.
 116. In addition to the writings on translation cited above, I am indebted here to Roger Chartier, "Culture as Appropriation: Popular Culture Uses in Early Modern France," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin, 1984), 234.
 117. See Ruth Evans on Homi Bhabha's concept of translation and its relevance to premodern cultural production in idem, "Translating Past Cultures?" *The Medieval Translator* 4 (1994), 32. For empirical readings of the Qutb Mosque in Delhi that emphasize this dialectic between continuity and discontinuity as well as the idea of the mosque as a space of mediation, see Sunil Kumar, "Qutb and Modern Memory," in *The Partitions of Memory: The Afterlife of the Division of Memory*, ed. Suvir Kaul (New Delhi, 2001), especially 144–48, 157–62; Monica Juneja, "Spaces of Encounter and Plurality: Looking at Architecture in Pre-Colonial North India," in *Religious Pluralism in South Asia and Europe*, ed. Jamal Malik and Helmut Reifeld (New Delhi, 2005), 245–67.
 118. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 47; Meister, "Indian Islam's Lotus Throne," 450; Patel, *Islamic Architecture of Western India*, 212–13. See also Jonathan M. Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 21–28.
 119. al-'Utbi, *Al-Tārīkh al-Yamīnī*, 2:292. In the Persian translation, the term is glossed by *dirakht* (tree): al-Jurfādiqānī, *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, 387. For the Turkic gilder see M. Aurel Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāgini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1892), 1:311, ll. 7.528–7.531.
 120. Finbarr Barry Flood, "Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahid," *Ars Orientalis* 31 (2001): 153–54; idem, *Objects of Translation*, chap. 6.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SEARCH FOR OTTOMAN ORIGINS IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD

Following the European pattern, the development of the discipline of art history in the Ottoman Empire was largely concomitant to the rise and modification of nationalist ideology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The definition of an Ottoman artistic and architectural heritage and the preservation and representation of that heritage were significant assets in the process of inculcating a consciousness of dynastic/national identity, for they helped authenticate a unified vision of Ottoman society and firmly embedded its means of collective cultural expression in the distant past.

On a scholarly level, the novel endeavor to define and articulate the artistic/architectural patrimony of the “Ottoman nation” emerges in the wake of modernizing Tanzimat reforms,¹ with the publication of the *Uşûl-i Mi‘mārî-i ‘Osmânî* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) or *L’architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873),² the earliest comprehensive study on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture (fig. 1). The *Uşûl-i Mi‘mārî-i ‘Osmânî* (henceforth abbreviated as *Uşûl*) was an elaborate attempt to redefine the Ottoman dynastic building tradition according to the standards of modern art-historical scholarship. Rendered in analytical terms, the “Ottoman style” in architecture was also promoted by the authors as a rational, open-ended, and universally applicable system of building that was subject to continuous change and innovation. Hence, beyond being a purely scholarly endeavor, the *Uşûl* was also conceived as a primary manifesto for an officially endorsed program of rediscovery and revival in late Ottoman architecture. In all, contrary to enduring assumptions about the lack of an internal discourse on architecture coming out of the Islamic context, the *Uşûl* constitutes a significant early response to Western Orientalist categorizations of Islamic art and architecture.³

STRATEGIES OF SCHOLARLY DISPLAY

The publication of the *Uşûl* was part of a larger official effort to represent the empire in the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna. The text and drawings were prepared under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, the Minister of Trade and Public Works,⁴ by a diverse group of artists, architects, and bureaucrats who had close professional ties with the palace. The text begins with a lengthy historical overview that embodies a pioneering attempt to define and represent the entire Ottoman architectural past according to the norms of modern historiography. This overview is supplemented by another section comprising detailed monographs of major Ottoman monuments located in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. In the remaining chapters, grouped under the title “Technical Documents,” Ottoman architecture is situated within a theoretical framework of discussion. Here, through a systematic and analytical investigation of building components and decoration, the authors propose to derive the “fundamental” principles of Ottoman architecture, thus providing the necessary guidelines for the Ottoman architect in his new revivalist task (fig. 2).

The editor of the whole volume, and the author of a substantial portion of the original text, was the amateur historian and artist Victor Marie de Launay, a “naturalized” Frenchman who held a secretarial position in the Ministry of Trade and Public Works (the main governmental agency that directed the Ottoman exhibits) and acted as the official correspondent of the Ottoman commission to the Vienna Exposition.⁵ With a keen scholarly interest in architecture, art, and traditional crafts, Marie de Launay, throughout his lengthy bureaucratic career in the imperial capital, was deeply involved in the representation of the Ottoman state in the world expositions. For the Vienna Exposition he also coauthored (with Osman Hamdi

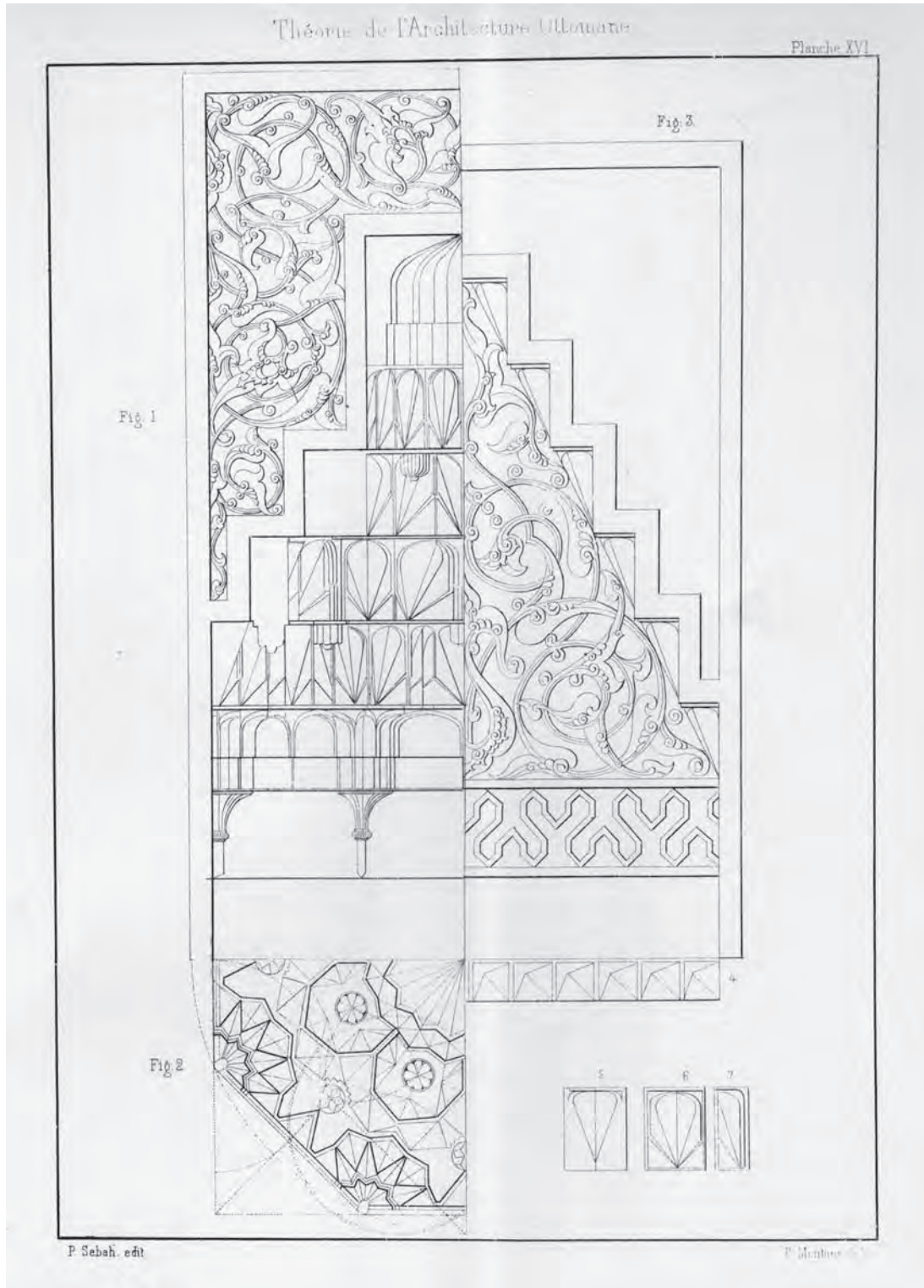


Fig. 1. *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmânî* (Istanbul, 1873)

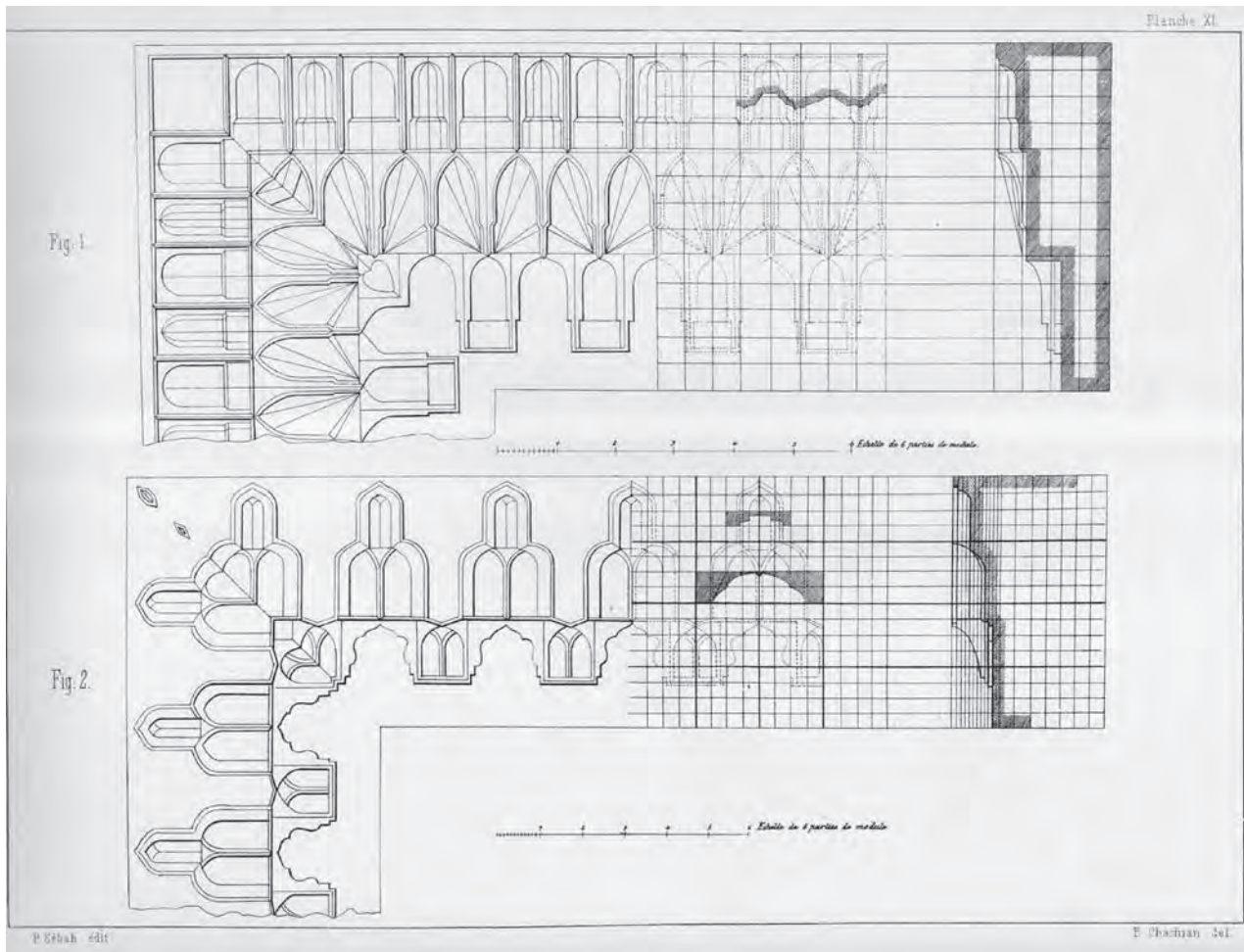


Fig. 2. Detail from Montani's "Technical Documents." (After the *Uşûl*)

Bey, the eminent painter/bureaucrat) a photographic album of traditional Ottoman costumes titled *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* or *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*.⁶

The "technical documents" included in the *Uşûl*, constituting a separate section entitled "Fenn-i Mi'mār-i 'Osmānī" (The Theory of Ottoman Architecture), were provided by Pietro Montani (or Montani Efendi), an Ottoman Levantine artist of Italian origin.⁷ Here, in line with the works of the French arch-rationalist Viollet-le-Duc (and those of his disciples focusing on Islamic building traditions, namely, Jules Bourgoïn and Léon Parvillée), Montani sought to uncover the underlying morphological laws through which the characteristic features of Ottoman architecture were generated. Similar to Viollet-le-Duc's vision of the

Gothic, Montani's outline of Ottoman architecture presented a highly ordered and rational building system governed by universally valid geometric rules. Montani also executed most of the drawings and color plates, with the exception of a few plans by Marie de Launay and some additional renderings of decorative components by the French artist Eugène Maillard⁸ and the Ottoman Armenian painter Bogos Şaşıyan.⁹

The expertly crafted plates that supplement the text of the *Uşûl* include plans, elevations, and sections of various Ottoman buildings as well as a rich panoply of decorative details and ornamental patterns, all meticulously depicted in accordance with the academic standards of the Beaux-Arts model (fig. 3). The "technical documents" are furnished with explanatory graphic illustrations delineating various building components

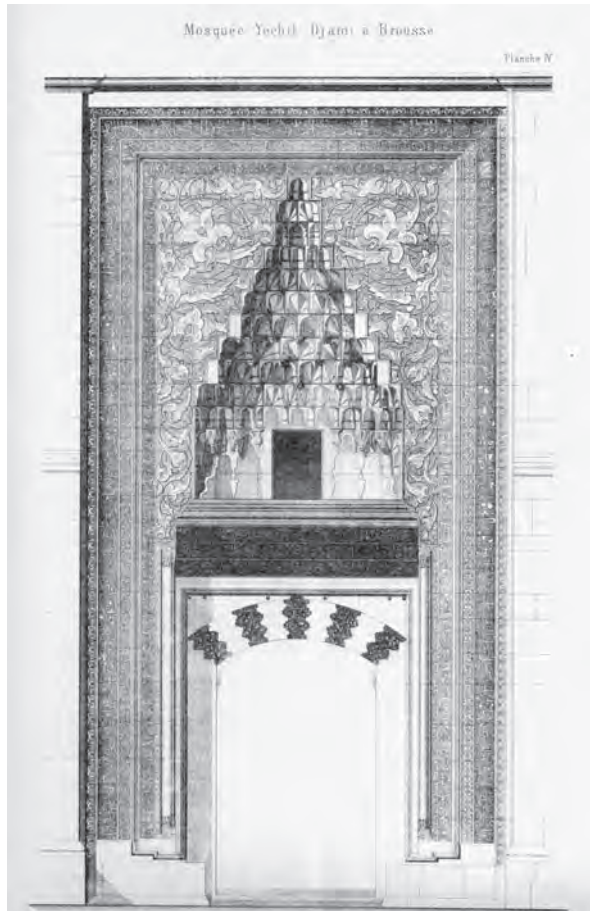


Fig. 3. Portal of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Uşûl*)

and their proportional relations and combination patterns. Accompanying the monochrome illustrations are fourteen chromolithographic plates (printed in the Sébah studios in Istanbul), skillfully drafted with vibrant and sharply delineated colors (fig. 4). In the superior technical quality and graphic precision of its illustrations, the *Uşûl* is duly comparable to its highly acclaimed European counterparts, such as Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856) (fig. 5), Auguste Racinet's *L'ornement polychrome* (Paris, 1869), or Jules Bourgoïn's *Les arts arabes* (Paris, 1873). Thus, leaving aside the intellectual scope of its text, the *Uşûl* must be considered an artistic specimen in and of itself, conceived as a unique showcase of Ottoman technical competence in the art of publishing.

Owing to its original context of display, the *Uşûl* was shaped with two types of audience in mind. Advertisements in Ottoman newspapers of the period

reveal that the book was reprinted several times and sought after by the Constantinopolitan reading public. After all, in the eyes of its Ottoman readers, the *Uşûl* was a clear testimony to the cultural merits of a common dynastic/national past. But the prestigious official publication also catered to a wide international audience. The Ottoman Turkish text was accompanied by two other versions, in French and German. The Ottoman and German versions were almost verbatim translations of an original draft that was, for the most part, written in French.¹⁰ After one copy of the book was displayed in the Ottoman galleries of the Vienna Exposition, more were distributed in major cities around Europe.¹¹ The aim was to open up a separate international field of discussion for Ottoman architecture and dissociate it from the reductive tropes that dominated European perceptions of Islamic architecture. In presenting the *Uşûl* as a unique and rational building tradition, its authors attempted to promote Ottoman architecture to the status of the “privileged” styles of the Western world. Their universal claims are even reflected in the imperial decree appended to its preface:

[It has been decided that this volume]...will be prepared in the Turkish, French, and German languages in order to declare to a universal audience the great dexterity [in architecture] of the industrious Ottoman nation. It is hoped that it will serve as a practical basis and a fine [source of] instruction for modern architects.¹²

The authors of the *Uşûl* were the first to locate Ottoman architecture within the broader context of cultural history and examine its course with respect to long-term changes in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The present study particularly aims to concentrate on the historical discourse formed in the *Uşûl* concerning the earlier monuments of the Ottoman dynasty, namely, those that precede the sixteenth-century “classical” phase. The formative stages of the Ottoman architectural tradition were highly significant for the authors of the *Uşûl*, as they were believed to yield to the analytical eye the very essentials of the Ottoman system of building. The authors expected that the early Ottoman synthesis could stand as a model for contemporary architects who, inspired by prevailing experiments in European eclecticism, were striving to devise a new synthetic idiom for late Ottoman architecture. The decorative richness and artistic elaboration of early Ottoman architecture, in contrast to the relative austerity of the “classical” style, were keenly highlighted by the authors of the *Uşûl*—mostly decora-



Fig. 4. Chromolithographic plate from the *Uşûl*.



Fig. 5. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pl. 42 (detail).

tors and artists whose professional outlook was shaped by and geared towards the current European interest in the eclectic reassessment of traditional crafts and ornament. Furthermore, on a more local ideological level, the preclassical monuments of Bursa became an indispensable locus of interest for late Ottoman intellectuals as they helped reconstitute and envisage the remote historical milieu within which the Ottoman state was created, hence forming a major site for celebrating the myth of “founding a nation from a clan.”

ARCHITECTURE AND THE HISTORICIZING MISSION

The overriding concern behind the production of the *Uşûl* was to define and represent Ottoman architecture as a distinctive, monolithic, and historically rooted

stylistic entity that, as a system of building, also displayed a capacity to fulfil the requirements of the modern age. But delineating a separate representational turf for Ottoman architecture amidst the fiery atmosphere of stylistic debate in Europe was a daring endeavor that had to be backed by a shrewd strategy of justification. First, the Ottoman style, dismissed by many European theorists as an indistinct melange of Arabo-Persian and Byzantine elements, had to be distinguished as a consistent and unified tradition with its own pattern of stylistic progression and its unique standards of design. Moreover, in order to make claims of universal validity and applicability, Ottoman architecture had to be rendered and codified in a universally intelligible and “objective” form; that is, the authors of the *Uşûl* had to conform to the established norms and nuances of the European discourse on architecture and address the critical issues that dominated the current debate on style. The program pursued by the Ottoman authors for promoting Ottoman architecture as a historic and open-ended style, then, closely paralleled the efforts of contemporary antiestablishment theorists in Europe who sought to reinstate various nonclassical historical traditions as potent alternative sources of architectural knowledge. Pugin’s, Ruskin’s, and Viollet-le-Duc’s reappraisals of the Gothic, for instance, or Texier and Pullan’s exposition of the Byzantine style¹³ had already set the discursive guidelines for the authors of the *Uşûl*, who, like their European forerunners, were faced with the arduous task of challenging the universal supremacy of classicism and, at the same time, confronting the negative preconceptions about the tradition they espoused.¹⁴

A major step in lending credibility to Ottoman architecture was to “historicize” it by ordering its chronological development according to contemporary paradigms of stylistic change.¹⁵ Defined as a progressive and dynamic tradition, the Ottoman style was thus consciously dissociated from attributes (such as timelessness or inertness) that were commonly ascribed to “non-historic” styles. Marie de Launay’s historical outline represents this initial step toward legitimation, whereby Ottoman architecture was subjected to the “cyclical-evolutionary” principles of modern historiography and examined in view of the long-term changes in the history of the Ottoman state.

Starting from the initial examples of the dynastic style, Marie de Launay orders and evaluates Ottoman monuments along a progressively unfolding scheme

of stylistic transformation. The “development of the Ottoman style,” as formulated in the *Uşûl*, comprises three major formative stages: The first phase starts with the modest beginnings of Ottoman architecture under the first leaders of the dynasty and culminates with the efflorescence of the classical style in the sixteenth century. The second phase traces a path of postclassical stagnation, followed by gradual decline in the eighteenth century, which eventually leads to a total breakdown of the autonomous Ottoman style in the early decades of the following century. The final phase, in Marie de Launay’s model, culminates with the portrayal of the time of the reigning sultan, Abdülaziz (1861–76), as an age of downright revival. Here, the monuments of the Abdülaziz era in Istanbul, particularly the Perpetüyal Valide Mosque in Aksaray (1869–71) and the Çırağan Palace (1864–71), all embellished with an eclectic array of Ottoman, Orientalist, and Gothic elements, are acclaimed as the harbingers of an up-and-coming “Ottoman Renaissance” in architecture (figs. 6 and 7).¹⁶

For the authors of the *Uşûl*, architecture served as an appropriate index for understanding the various stages in the transformation of Ottoman state and civilization. Supplemented by the wealth of historical references afforded in the historical outline and the monographies, each monument appears in the Ottoman publication as an individual expression of the specific cultural, political, and economic circumstances of its historical period, as well as a singular and representative constituent of a larger pattern of stylistic evolution. It is important to note here that the *Uşûl* emerged at a time of intense transformation in the Ottoman practice of history writing, whereby the nineteenth century’s novel standards of “objectivity” and documentary accuracy were eagerly espoused by a new generation of Ottoman authors.¹⁷ Starting with the Tanzimat era, following the established pattern of European nationalist historiographies, the highly challenging task of historicizing a collective sense of Ottoman identity (out of a wildly diverse ethno-religious imperial corpus) was carried out with increasing support from the emerging disciplines of philology, ethnography, archaeology, and art history. The material provided by these fields, as well as the new techniques of representation they offered (at both the academic and the popular level, as in the case of museums and exhibitions) functioned as potent instruments for achieving an empathic and “realistic” engagement with the past. As Ottoman historiography was being



Fig. 6. Perpetüyal Valide Mosque, Aksaray (1869–71). (Author’s photo)

refashioned along more romantic and nationalistic lines, the representation of art and architecture was to gain popularity and status as a beneficial instrument for rendering a more tangible and convincing vision of the remote past. Works of art and architecture were gradually being inscribed into the replotted historical narrative of the Ottoman state, nurtured above all by the proliferation of textbooks prepared for the new secular institutions of learning. Of significant impact in this regard was the authoritative multivolume work on the history of the dynasty, the *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, by the Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall; this work, in its broad scope and skillful synthesis of Ottoman sources, played a paradigmatic role in the establishment of late Ottoman historiography.¹⁸ By the 1870s renowned writers of Ottoman history such as Ahmed Vefik Pasha and



Fig. 7. The Çırağan Palace (1864–71). (Photo: Çelik Gülersoy archive, reproduced by permission of the Çelik Gülersoy Foundation)

Mustafa Nuri Pasha were already making use of artistic or architectural examples to illustrate in concrete form the revised models of periodization they proposed for examining the historic progression of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ From a historiographical point of view, then, the *Uşûl* can be considered a specialized counterpart to the novel historical paradigm propagated by these authors, for it was the first modern work of scholarly command to concentrate exclusively on architecture in representing the entire Ottoman past.²⁰ Thus, engaged in the complex dramaturgy of stylistic sequence, every Ottoman monument turned into a distinct manifestation of a uniform and collective “character,” or, as the authors of the Ottoman publication put it, concrete evidence of the “inherent genius” with which the “Ottoman nation” was endowed.²¹

THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

The introductory paragraph of the “historical overview” authored by Marie de Launay evinces the strictly

dynastic focus of the *Uşûl*’s discourse on history. In the opening sentences the political and cultural backdrop of the emergence of the Ottoman state is portrayed in only a few brusque lines. Here, the author recounts the prehistory of Ottoman architecture, starting from the point at which the “four hundred and sixteen families of the *Kayı* tribe,” the legendary kinsmen of the chief named Osman, secured control over the Bithynian frontier zone of the Seljuk Sultanate in the late thirteenth century. The tumultuous political climate of post-Chingisid Anatolia was, we are told, anything but favorable for the cultivation of a new school of architecture. These were times when, in Marie de Launay’s words, “the people of Asia Minor lapsed into a state of profound ignorance, and all branches of the arts and sciences were annihilated in the Seljuk Empire,” due to the excessive toll of what the author identifies as “foreign oppression,” referring to the ascendance of Mongol Ilkhanid authority in the Seljuk lands.²² In Ottoman historiography, depicting the rise of the Ottoman polity against a backdrop of such acute political and cultural depletion was a standard rhetorical strategy employed since the

fifteenth century for glorifying the mission and deeds of the Ottoman founders. While the story of “founding a colossal empire with a handful of horsemen” was a time-honored cliché that never failed to occasion dynastic bravado, reembellishing the myth-encrusted origins of the state within the modern framework of world history also helped cultivate the novel sentiments of dynastic/national consciousness and pride among Ottoman readers. In *‘Osmānlı Tārīhi*, the celebrated history of the empire by Namık Kemal (d. 1888),²³ for instance, the advent of the Ottoman state is interpreted as a lasting remedy to the condition of decline and misery that had befallen the realm of Islam in the late medieval era, and is allegorized as “the rise of the crescent and star of felicity from the western bounds of Asia; a resplendent dawning that was to flood the Islamic world and the rest of humanity with the radiance of its blessings for many centuries to come.”²⁴

In line with the general sentiments of the age, the authors of the *Uşûl* were willing to depict the rapid stride of Ottoman architecture, from the humblest of beginnings towards full stylistic articulation, as part of a dynastic success story, the initial credit for which was given to the foresight and “superior genius” of the founding fathers.²⁵ The preliminary stages in Ottoman culture’s irreversible path of development were limited, according to Marie de Launay, by the severe conditions of frontier life in late medieval Anatolia. He describes the public buildings constructed during the first century of Ottoman rule in the region as “massive, heavy, and certainly not reminiscent of any school of architecture.”²⁶ It should also be noted, in relation to the image of crudeness attributed to early Ottoman architecture, that the role of the Seljuk cultural patrimony (or that of other Turco-Muslim principalities of the region) over the formation of Ottoman art and architecture, which was to become a standard topos of later art history produced under the sway of twentieth-century Turkish nationalism, does not appear to be an issue of major concern for the author.²⁷ It is only hinted at obliquely in a later part of the chapter, where the mausoleum of the fifteenth-century vizier Bayezid Pasha in Bursa is identified as a monument “inspired by the Seljuk architectural remains.”²⁸ When it came to acknowledging the major sources of influence that contributed to the formation of an autonomous Ottoman style, Marie de Launay was more eager to pay heed to the impact of broader

cultural traditions, which he defined rather loosely as “Arab” (probably referring to the “classical” phase of Islamic civilization, extending from the time of the early caliphates till the Crusades), “Eastern” (pertaining to the Persian-Central Asian cultural sphere), or “Greek” (that is, Byzantine—a topic of enduring unease in Ottoman and republican official historiography),²⁹ than to refer specifically to the other Turkic or Turco-Mongol dynasties that preceded the Ottomans. While the author’s propensity for analyzing Ottoman architecture with reference to the dominant cultural traditions of the medieval era reflects the low priority accorded to the concept of ethnicity in Tanzimat Ottomanism, it can also be viewed as the extension of an age-old Ottoman strategy for dynastic legitimization. Comparison with the esteemed civilizations of the past helped distinguish Ottoman culture as a distinctive and prestigious entity while securing it a place within the historical continuum as the rightful inheritor of ancient cultural traditions.³⁰

According to Marie de Launay, the initial period of experimentation that constituted the foundations of Ottoman architecture extended into the reign of the third sultan of the dynasty, Murad I (r. 1359–89). The author finds the Hüdavendigar Mosque in Bursa (ca. 1366–85) (fig. 8), the most prominent building patronized by this ruler in the new Ottoman capital, still lacking in character: “a curious mosque,” he calls it, built “in a semi-Byzantine style.”³¹ It was not the sultan himself but his Greek-born mother, Nilüfer Hatun, in Marie de Launay’s view, who initiated a significant advance in the formation of Ottoman architecture. He credits the potent and charitable queen mother (the first member of the dynasty to deserve that title, according to Namık Kemal), who commissioned several public buildings in the Bursa and İznik area,³² with fostering a distinct Ottoman synthesis in art and architecture. The discernible change is not solely attributed to the enlightened patron’s “fine and delicate taste” but also to her insight in inviting “artists and craftsmen *from the East* who were capable of establishing a school of architecture.”³³ But while Marie de Launay considers this enigmatic group, presumably of Persian or Central Asian origin, to be the essential driving force behind the advancement of architectural crafts and thus, perhaps, the perpetrators of a more consistent mode of artistic expression, he nevertheless makes it clear that, in his view, their architectural accomplishments did not yet carry the full weight of a unique style.



Fig. 8. The Hüdavendigâr Mosque in Bursa (ca. 1366–85). (Drawing by Sedat Çetintaş, after his *Türk Mimari Anıtları: Osmanlı Devri* [Istanbul, 1946], pl. 16)

LATE MEDIEVAL SYNTHESIS: THE GREEN MOSQUE

For the authors of the *Uşûl* the actual moment of synthesis in Ottoman architecture arrived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, only after the reinstatement of Ottoman authority by Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421), who assumed power following the Timurid incursion into Anatolia in 1402 and the internecine strife that ensued. Interestingly, the monuments erected during the reign of the preceding ruler, Bayezid I (1389–1402), an ardent builder, are cited only in passing, with the

claim that very few of them deserved special attention. Rather, it is his successor, however incommensurate with the brevity of his reign, who is associated with an entire “period of architecture” designated by the author as “the century of Mehmed I.”³⁴ For the authors of the *Uşûl*, the initial period of the development of Ottoman architecture, “the period of formation,”³⁵ entered a new and mature stage at the onset of Mehmed I’s reign, in accord with the restoration of the Ottoman state. The culmination of the early Ottoman style, the authors claim, was marked above all by the construction of the Green Mosque (1419–

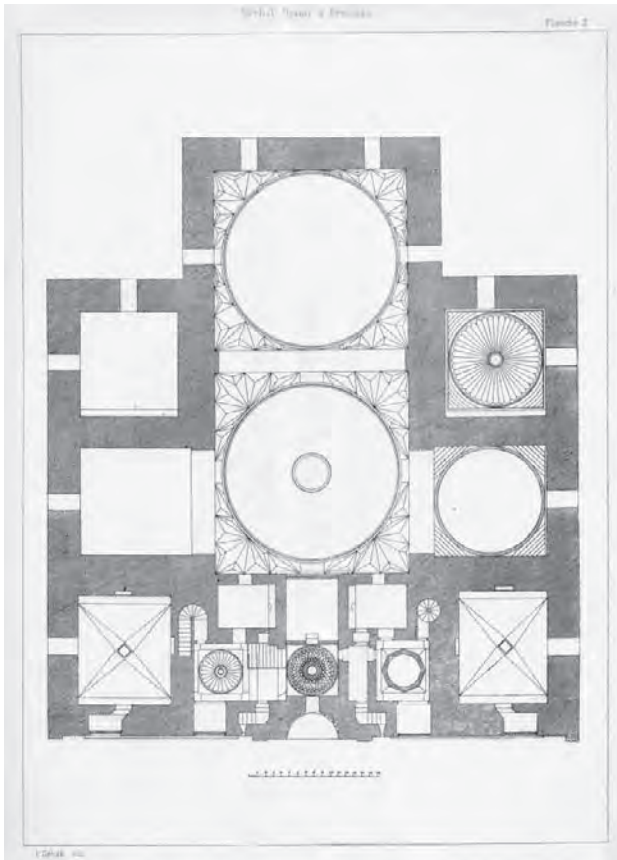


Fig. 9. Plan of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Uşûl*)

24) and the mausoleum of its donor, Mehmed I, in Bursa (figs. 9 and 10). In the “technical documents” section, for instance, Montani acknowledges Ali b. İlyas Ali (alias Nakkaş Ali),³⁶ the court artist known to have supervised the decorative program of the Green Mosque, as the initiator of a distinct and coherent language of architecture: “İlias Ali [*sic*]...seems to be the first architect [*sic*] to found a school of Ottoman architecture. He started by purifying the details, and it was through his initiative that the *national style* was established.”³⁷

As the lengthy monograph devoted to it makes clear, the Green Mosque represented to the authors of the *Uşûl* a vital step in the development of imperial Ottoman taste. Indeed, the monument erected by Mehmed I to commemorate the reestablishment of Ottoman dynastic power under his rule did constitute an exceptional tour-de-force, particularly in terms of the unprecedented intensity and elaboration of its decorative program.³⁸ It was, above all, the profuse

display of high-quality ceramic tiles (demonstrating various color combinations and techniques of production that were entirely new in the Anatolian setting) that distinguished the Green Mosque and its mausoleum as showcases of the new standards of Ottoman artistic expression, which were now closely attuned to the tastes of the wider Turco-Iranian, Timurid-Turkmen world.³⁹ It was the rich and variegated decorative repertory of this novel stylistic orientation, shared by various courts of the eastern Islamic lands and disseminated in the Ottoman domains by itinerant artisans from Iran, that was ironically characterized by the authors of the *Uşûl* as the early manifestation of a stabilized “Ottoman national style” (fig. 11). It is important here to note that the professional priorities of all the prominent figures involved in the production of the *Uşûl*—Marie de Launay, Montani, and İbrahim Edhem Pasha—were shaped, above all, by the prospects of an applied arts reform in the empire. It comes as no surprise, then, that they tended to idealize the Green Mosque as an unmatched paragon of Ottoman architecture primarily because it displayed a superior level of technical and aesthetic mastery in the area of decorative crafts. For them, the monument of Mehmed I represented a crowning moment of artistic and industrial perfection that contemporary artists and architects both at home and abroad needed to assess and recapture, using the modern analytical and technical instruments at their disposal. Accordingly, while the writers of the monograph found no virtue in the layout of the Green Mosque save its “extreme simplicity,” they nevertheless lauded the monument as the first true masterpiece of Ottoman architecture:

Nothing in the plan of this mosque is particularly worthy of study. On the other hand, due to the balance between the splendor and good taste of its decoration, the ingenious conception of the smallest details of painting and sculpture, the perfect harmony that reigns in all the parts of the edifice...and the perfection that has been attained in all branches of arts and industry, the Green Mosque can undoubtedly be considered one of the most charming and complete examples of Ottoman architecture... All elements of the entire ensemble, comprising painting, sculpture, ceramics, and even the ironwork of the windows...closely conform to the overall composition. This decorative [*sic*] achieves a character of unity in diversity and a kind of continuity that connects every detail to the whole. The feeling produced here by the Ottoman decorator has clearly surpassed *what the Arabs achieved* in their most beautiful monuments.⁴⁰

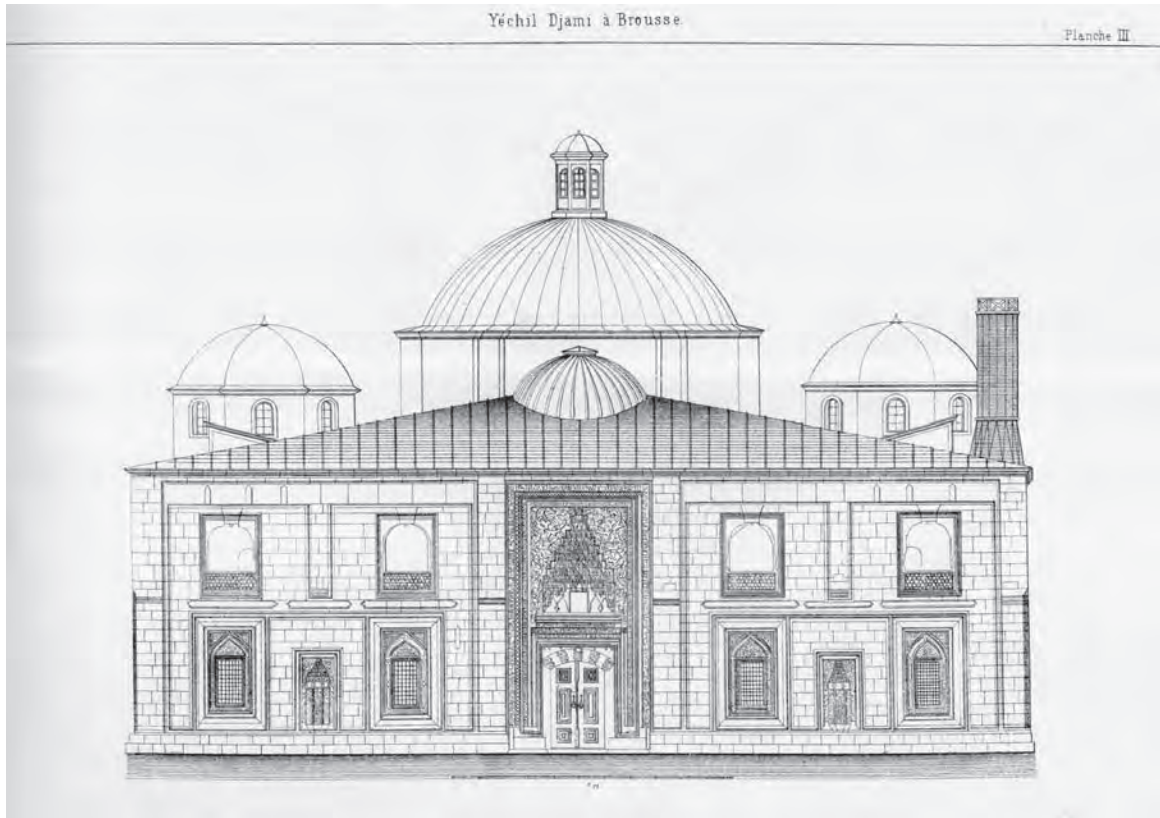


Fig. 10. Elevation of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Uşûl*)

By balancing the Green Mosque against the most exceptional monuments of the “Arabs,” the authors of the *Uşûl* aimed to demarcate the “period of Mehmed I” as a separate and more advanced stage of artistic achievement in the larger history of Islamic art. In the historical outline, Marie de Launay emphasizes the novelty and distinction of the Ottoman style by describing the Green Mosque as “a perfect expression of Saracenic architecture...[that has been] *profoundly modified* by Ottoman taste.”⁴¹ It was quite common for nineteenth-century European travelers and scholars to refer to the earlier examples of Ottoman architecture as “Saracenic” or “Arab” with recourse to the indiscriminate standards of Orientalist categorization. Charles Texier, for instance, refers to several early Ottoman mosques as “the most gracious monuments of Arab architecture,”⁴² while in Hammer-Purgstall’s *Geschichte*, a standard reference work for all late Ottoman historians, the Green Mosque is admired as being “one of the most beautiful examples of Saracenic sculpture and architecture.”⁴³ What is significant in Marie

de Launay’s view of the Green Mosque is that with this monument, Ottoman architecture is dissociated from the less specific category of the “Oriental,” and distinguished as a complete and elaborate stylistic entity in its own right. Nakkaş Ali’s skillful mediation and domestication of the Timurid-Turkmen style in Bursa was hailed by the author as a genuine and original Ottoman achievement that boldly refuted the assumption commonly held among Western scholars about the absence of a distinctive Ottoman style in art and architecture.⁴⁴ In the *Uşûl*, the Green Mosque represents a moment of decisive architectural transformation in which earlier Ottoman experiments with the so-called Eastern, Saracenic, or Byzantine forms were molded into a synthetic and integrated whole, supassing the previous artistic achievements of the Orient.⁴⁵ Thus, although the specific term “synthesis” was not employed by the authors themselves, the Ottoman style was characterized in the *Uşûl* as a synthetic achievement (and not a “hybrid” one, as some European theorists claimed) that was built upon rooted

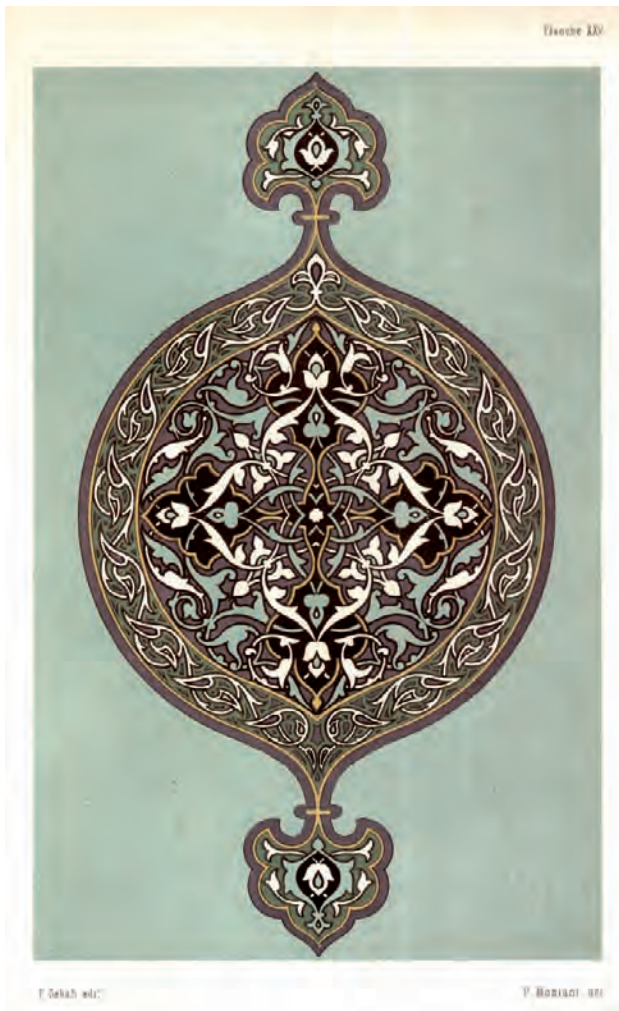


Fig. 11. Tile pattern of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Uşûl*, "Fayences murales," pl. 25)

architectural traditions of the medieval Near East and the Mediterranean.

The fact that the creation of early Ottoman architecture relied heavily on the collective expertise of builders and artisans from diverse cultural and geographic backgrounds was acknowledged in various Ottoman accounts starting with the earliest chroniclers of the House of Osman.⁴⁶ Not only the diverse cultural inheritance of the Ottoman land itself but also the massive influx of ideas and people engendered by the post-Chingisid and Timurid disarrays contributed to the formation of a syncretic artistic milieu on which Ottoman art and architecture thrived.⁴⁷ It was, in a way, the "inclusive nature" of early Ottoman

tribalism, cogently expressed in Cemal Kafadar's study on the rise of the Ottoman state,⁴⁸ that generated the cultural ferment within which the polymorphous nature of Ottoman artistic activity was plotted. This inclusive artistic setting was nourished further under the variegated influence of post-Timurid aesthetics and dominated Ottoman patterns of taste until the consolidation of a "classical" dynastic expression in the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ For the Ottomans of the nineteenth century who looked back at the founding years of their dynasty, a reappraisal of the highly syncretic nature of early Ottoman culture promised to be a pertinent ideological instrument for providing historical legitimacy to the modern ideal of cultural and political inclusivism instilled by the Tanzimat. A new layer of meaning was added to the reading of early Ottoman history by the proponents of late Ottoman reform, propelled by their quest for inventing a suitable dynastic/national past. Laced heavily with romanticized overtones, this revised and recharged version of the distant dynastic past helped authenticate and eternalize the Tanzimat's newly contrived models of collective identity. Possibly the most demonstrative example of such late Ottoman investment in early Ottoman history is a work by Ahmed Midhat (d. 1912), the *Üss-i İnkılâb* (The Basis of Transformation), an official history of the Tanzimat era commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II in the first years of his reign (1876–1908).⁵⁰ In the historical outline, Ahmed Midhat identifies the cosmopolitanist and egalitarian ideals of Ottomanism as the primal and indefatigable constituents of the "Ottoman imperial edifice," keeping it intact since the very first days of its foundation. He describes the emergence of the Ottoman state as the dawn of "a new civilization,"⁵¹ brought forth through the unification of various ethnic and religious elements around the ideals of "freedom" and "political fraternity":

[In the late Middle Ages] the essential prerequisite for establishing and confirming an imperial edifice possessing the necessary firmness and tenacity—such as the one founded by the House of Osman—was a governing body that would have the capability of bringing various [ethnic and religious] elements together and merging them as an indivisible whole. At that point in history, the institution of such a consolidated polity by any dynasty of Muslim, Turkish, or Christian origin save the Ottomans remained a distant possibility. The complete and permanent unification of these diverse components, that unprecedented feat of remarkable aptitude and subtlety, was realized, with the grace of God, by the Ottoman House alone. The tangible

remains of their rule bear testimony to the inimitable level of this dynasty's conciliatory achievement.⁵²

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SEARCH FOR OTTOMAN "ORIGINS"

The drive in the late Tanzimat and the Hamidian eras to assign new meaning to the early Ottoman period and its glorification by the Ottoman intelligentsia as the cradle of a shared Ottoman identity must account for the surge of interest within Ottoman artistic circles in the earlier, preclassical stages of dynastic architecture. While instigated by the unfortunate circumstances of the 1855 earthquake in Bursa, the intensive restoration and rebuilding activity undertaken by the Ottoman government in and around the early Ottoman capital, a project initiated in the Abdülaziz era and extended in scale and intensity during the reign of Abdülhamid II, must also be viewed as part of the Tanzimat mission of creating a new historical awareness about the period of Ottoman "origins." The knowledge and experience obtained from the Bursa project had a critical impact on the formation of a modern discourse on Ottoman architecture in the years that followed. Even a cursory glance at the distribution of plates in the *Uşûl* reveals the overwhelming appeal occasioned by the structures in question. While the two prominent masterworks of sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture, the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques built by Sinan, are encapsulated in a total of ten plates, the Green Mosque alone receives a bounteous share of thirty-two. Furthermore, in contrast to the drawings of other monuments, mainly comprising elementary plans, sections, and a limited number of details, the plates for the Bursa monument are copiously supplemented with diagrammatic guidelines, comparative scales, and a significant number of analytical drawings that illustrate the underlying compositional and decorative principles of Ottoman architecture with reference to the modular proportional system proposed by Montani.

Unquestionably, then, the authors of the Ottoman publication considered the basic standards and norms that characterized Ottoman architecture, which were also expected to constitute the groundwork for the imminent Ottoman Renaissance, to have been firmly incorporated in the course of the fifteenth century. Thus, even though the achievements of Sinan are recognized as constituting the culmination of the mature Ottoman aesthetic, the interpretive lens provided by

the *Uşûl* seems more sharply focused on the dynastic monuments of the fifteenth century. Beyond its marked ideological status as the unrivaled icon of the founding years, the Green Mosque was given primacy as an artistic masterpiece by the authors, whose foremost ambition was to explore the decorative potential of Ottoman architecture. At odds with the evolutionary scheme of stylistic development proposed in the text, the decorative wonders of the early fifteenth century were privileged (most perceptibly in the plates) over the sixteenth-century paragons of classical perfection and austerity. This ambivalence regarding the period of paradigmatic status in Ottoman architecture was to remain embedded in the writing of art history throughout the late Ottoman period, only to be resolved by modernist republican readings, in which the classical age emerged unsurpassed as the emphasis on decoration was definitively suppressed in favor of tectonics and structure.

The data collected on early Ottoman architecture not only were indispensable in the formulation of the architectural "principles" proposed by the authors of the *Uşûl* but also formed the basis of Léon Parvillée's theoretical approach to Ottoman architecture as manifested in his *L'architecture et décoration turque* (Paris, 1874), published a year after the *Uşûl* (fig. 12).⁵³ In fact, this specific publication reveals that the French architect, who acted as the leading designer and restorer in the Bursa project and for several years served the Ottoman state as an architect for official projects, genuinely subscribed to the idea of early Ottoman artistic synthesis and was at least as adamant about defending its uniqueness as the authors of the *Uşûl*. In discussing the "origins" of Ottoman architecture, for instance, Parvillée claimed that the plan types as well as the constructional and sculptural aspects of Ottoman buildings were taken from the "Greeks," their decorative details supplied by the "Arabs," and the decoration and technology of their tiles transferred from the "Persians." But in direct contrast to Viollet-le-Duc, who questioned the very conception of a distinct Ottoman artistic tradition in his preface to *L'architecture et décoration turque*,⁵⁴ Parvillée maintained that the disparate elements contributing to the formation of Ottoman architecture ultimately coalesced into a synthetic whole, constituting in the fifteenth century a "unique art that was determined by geometrical principles and definite constructive rules."⁵⁵ In the introductory paragraphs of his book, Parvillée portrays as agreeable a picture of early



Fig. 12. Elevation of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After Léon Parvillée, *L'architecture et décoration turque* [Paris, 1874], pl. 2)

Ottoman symbiosis as anything the ideologues of the Tanzimat could contemplate:

One must admit that after the...invasion of Asia Minor and the Bosphorus, the vanquishers and the vanquished, without taking account of the difference in race, collaborated on the production of works of art. Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and a whole population divided by religious beliefs and different aptitudes intermingled with the conquerors. Art being independent of the state of civilization, all these diverse groups, which coalesced at the time of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, had inherited the most various knowledge from their ancestors. A distinct method [of building] emerged from the fusion of all these elements and with the contribution of each of these arts.⁵⁶

But it was not solely his strong conviction on the idea of Ottoman artistic synthesis that made Parvillée so similar in outlook to the authors of the *Uşûl*. Both sides also singled out the Green Mosque as an epitome of the formative period of Ottoman architecture and therefore as a perfect embodiment of the “synthetic achievement” in question. The distinct historical status granted to the Green Mosque in the *Uşûl* and in *L'architecture et décoration turque* can readily be ascribed to its predominant position in the Bursa project as the most significant monument restored. It can easily be surmised, as regards the available evidence on nineteenth-century architectural surveys conducted on Ottoman soil, that in the 1870s the Green Mosque was the most thoroughly documented structure among the recorded pre-sixteenth-century

Ottoman monuments. The abundance of meticulously executed drawings provided in both the *Uşûl* and *L'architecture et décoration turque* demonstrates that a team of experts had been appointed with the task of documenting this building down to the minutest details of its decoration. But beyond the practicalities of the considerable level of Ottoman investment in the Green Mosque, one also wonders whether the fascination created by this monument and its recognition in the emerging discourse on Ottoman architecture as a dominant archetype were also conditioned by the particularities of a prevalent historical discourse concerning the specific period for which the building was taken to be a symbol.

THE TANZIMAT "RENAISSANCE": A SEQUEL TO LATE MEDIEVAL RESTORATION

The reintegration of the Ottoman realm under Mehmed I following the dismal aftermath of the Timurid hiatus did indeed usher in a period of rediscovery and regeneration of political and cultural identity. In the course of the fifteenth century, especially following the complete annihilation of the Byzantine Empire and the appropriation of its capital by Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81), the historical image of the Ottoman principality was subjected to intense scrutiny and transformation in the wake of major ideological and institutional changes brought forward by the process of imperial centralization.⁵⁷ Most historians of the Tanzimat era and the late nineteenth century, who were inclined to reorder Ottoman history into characteristic periods of social and political transformation that transcended individual reigns, perceived the entire fifteenth century as an unbroken phase of overall advancement, a period of "reawakening" that paved the way for the culmination of Ottoman political power in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ They acclaimed Mehmed I, the chivalrous initiator of this revival, as the "second founder of the state"⁵⁹ and depicted his brief reign not only as a time of administrative stabilization but also as the beginning of an era of artistic, industrial, and scientific efflorescence.⁶⁰ Thus, for the authors of the *Uşûl* as for many Ottoman historians of the nineteenth century, the Green Mosque stood out as the manifest sign of a time of dynastic and "national" regeneration and dynamic cultural development of the Ottoman state. In Marie de Launay's historical overview, the Green Mosque occupies such a central position in the

preclassical phase of Ottoman architectural history that the buildings erected during the reigns of the two sultans following Mehmed I—Murad II and Mehmed II—are considered to represent merely an unforced outgrowth of the major transformation achieved at the beginning of the century.⁶¹ In sum, the overall emphasis in Tanzimat historiography on the period of Mehmed I as an age of out-and-out revival and progress can be regarded, by and large, as an expression of the immediate political and cultural aspirations of the reform-oriented Ottoman intelligentsia. After all, cutting across the wide and variegated spectrum of late Ottoman reformative discourse, ranging from the writings of Young Ottoman dissidents to those of the central bureaucratic elite, was a drive to idealize, and thus legitimize and naturalize, the project of modernization as a return to the fundamental and inherently progressive tenets of Islam and of Ottoman rule prior to its commonly presumed phase of protracted decline.⁶² Mehmed I's restorative achievement must have appealed to the late Ottoman historians as an appropriate precedent that confirmed the pertinence of the task of extensive "regeneration" being pursued by the cadres of the Tanzimat.

It follows, then, that for those who contemplated the prospects of artistic revival in the Ottoman Empire, including not only the authors of the *Uşûl* but Parvillée as well (based on his restoration and rebuilding activity in Bursa), the Green Mosque stood as a relevant model for the creative and synthetic artistic transformation that they hoped to reproduce within the reformative context of the Tanzimat. In other words, the emphasis placed on the Green Mosque in the novel discourse on Ottoman architecture was partly due to the fact that in its revised historical setting this monument represented an attainment that coincided suitably with the immediate aspirations of the late Ottoman architects. In reaching back to the disparate sources of the Ottoman artistic tradition, the architects of the professed "Ottoman Renaissance" must have regarded their mission as analogous to that of the artists and architects of Mehmed I, who, they maintained, were able to amalgamate diverse elements of the "great" medieval traditions and forge a new and unified expression that was distinctly Ottoman. The buildings promoted in the *Uşûl* as the crowning achievements of the Ottoman Renaissance, the Çırağan Palace and the Aksaray Valide Mosque, were thought to testify to a similar period of intense stylistic experimentation and regeneration as they incorporated a lavishly eclectic

blend of forms, ranging from reworked early Ottoman motifs to elements culled from the European Orientalist repertoire to details evincing the current neo-Gothic style (figs. 13 and 14).

In its retrospective scholarly zeal and its forceful plea for full-fledged stylistic revival, the *Uşûl* fits squarely into the turbulent late Ottoman climate of soul searching and can readily be aligned with similar strategies of cultural myth-making within the global enterprise of nationalism. What is perplexing for us, as contemporary observers whose vision is still mired in the sediment of nationalist certainty, is that the *Uşûl*'s commanding official teleology was designed by none other than a motley group of French expatriates, Levantines of Italian origin, and Ottoman Armenians. One might contend with this seeming dilemma by reflecting upon the overriding role of patronage, and argue that the individual identities and diverse backgrounds of the authors appear to be of secondary importance, since their personal inclinations were subordinate to the dictates of an officially prescribed agenda of Ottoman modernization. As overly state-centered as this approach may seem, there is nevertheless a commonsensical side to it, since the *Uşûl* indisputably stands as a solid and harmonious collaborative achievement that was orchestrated by an important governmental institution. Entrusted with the task of representing the dynastic Ottoman state, the authors had to reckon and identify with a common, albeit fabricated, Tanzimat identity and translate it into architectural terms within the boundaries of a specialized official mission.

On the other hand, given the heterogeneity of the Tanzimat's reformative ideology, steered by day-to-day negotiations in the political and cultural sphere, the *Uşûl* must also be viewed as a unique scholarly statement in its own right, as well as a distinct appropriation of official discourse inflected by the particular propensities of its producers. One should remember, for instance, that the overwhelming weight placed on decoration and ornament in the *Uşûl*'s definition of Ottoman architectural heritage was largely informed by the professional priorities and intellectual proclivities of the group of artists and decorators involved in the project, who were, predictably, highly conversant with the decorative biases of Orientalist scholarship on Islamic art. In sum, it could be argued that the *Uşûl* project attests to the fundamental predicament of Tanzimat Ottomanism in its embodiment of an ethnically and religiously diverse group's combined effort to promote and negotiate with the idea of a glorious and collective Ottoman past.



Fig. 13. Pertevniyal Valide Mosque, detail of exterior. (Author's photo)

Viewed from the present perspective, and with the full benefit of hindsight, the elusive mission of Tanzimat Ottomanism (with its idyllic visions of multicommunal harmony) could easily be deemed a naive and clumsy experiment that was doomed to fail in the age of the rampant nation-state. Indeed, one could justifiably claim that the Tanzimat's secular and inclusivist vision of state and society was inherently flawed by the irrepressibly dynastic and Islamic undertones embedded within the historical image of a professed Ottoman nationhood. Nevertheless, leaving aside the obvious vulnerabilities of the Ottomanist agenda, a closer inspection of the unique, creative, and oftentimes conflicting articulations of the official language of the Tanzimat (as in the case of the *Uşûl*) may help us reveal the dense and hitherto undiscovered interstices of the late Ottoman discourse on modernization. Only upon assessing the particular motives of the diverse historical

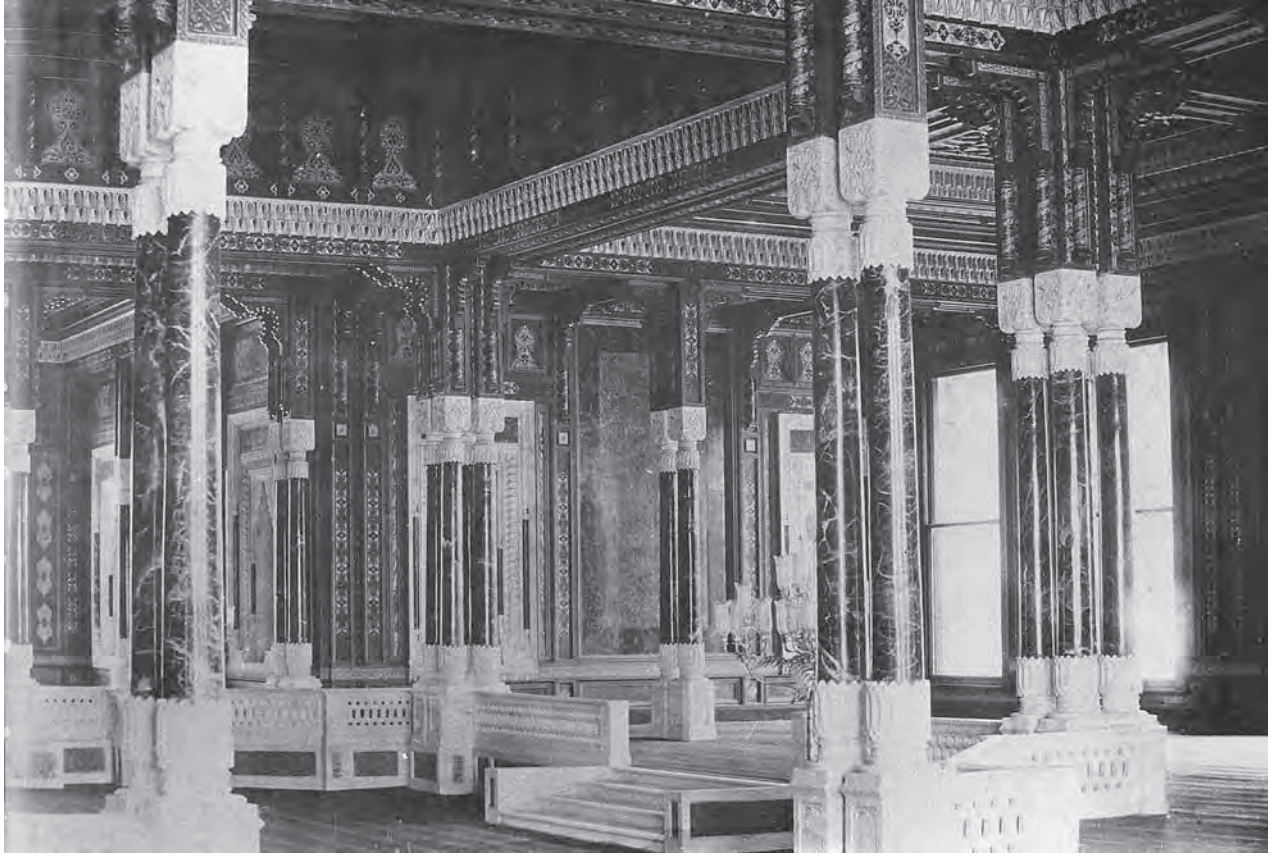


Fig. 14. The Çırağan Palace, interior detail. (Photo: Çelik Gülersoy archive, reproduced by permission of the Çelik Gülersoy Foundation)

actors, and by demarcating their complex patterns of commitment and identification within the broader project of reform, does one begin to appreciate the highly elaborate play of allegiances on which the many-roomed edifice of the Tanzimat was built.

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NOTES

1. The word “Tanzimat” in the title (literally, “reordering”) pertains to the period of intense modernization in the Ottoman Empire that was officially inaugurated by the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber in 1839. The period is generally considered to have ended with the enthronement of Abdülhamid II and the adoption of the short-lived Ottoman constitution of 1876.
2. Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî*

(Istanbul, 1873). Reprinted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture (with a supplementary English translation by Robert Bragner) with the title *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1998). For a critical study of the text and its cultural context of production and reception see Ahmet Ersoy, “On the Sources of the ‘Ottoman Renaissance’: Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

3. The rooted assumption that artists and scholars in the Islamic world were largely dormant at the time when Western academic categories on Islamic art emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is maintained, for instance, in Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom’s recent essay on the state of the field in Islamic art: “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *Art Bulletin* 85, 1 (Mar. 2003): 152–84. Studies such as the *Uşûl* are largely overlooked within the traditional Eurocentric as well as the nationalist ethnocentric narratives, since, being spawned by a process of intense dialogue with Western knowledge, they fail to meet the requirements of the “indigenous.”
4. Edhem Pasha was also the official director of the Ottoman commission to the 1873 Exposition. This Ottoman states-

man represented one of the last few examples of the traditional slave-official type whose career line was determined by personal merit and affiliations with a strong and protective household. In his early youth Edhem was brought as a slave to Istanbul from Chios after the insurrections on the island were brutally suppressed by the Ottoman army. He was adopted by the commander of the Navy, Hüsrev Pasha, and reared in his household among a group of other slaves and orphans. In his early teens, he was also privileged to be one of the first students sent to Paris with a government scholarship for his higher education. In the year the Tanzimat was founded (1839), he graduated as a geological engineer from the École des mines; after his return home until his death in 1893 he served the new regime as a bureaucrat and a devoted follower of the reforms. Indeed, as a distinguished technocrat, a freemason, and a suave westernized intellectual, Edhem Pasha was a genuine product of Tanzimat modernization and a model bureaucrat of the period of reform. Throughout his lengthy official career he functioned as the director of many important institutions, including the ministries of education, foreign affairs, and public works; he occupied the grand vizierate for less than a year preceding the suspension of the first Ottoman constitution by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1878.

5. Marie de Launay was born in Paris in 1822–23, the son of Cesair Marie de Launay, an official connected to the palace. He arrived in Istanbul around the time of the Crimean War and in 1857 became the assistant engineer, archivist, and draftsman of the newly established Pera Municipality (the Sixth Municipal District) in Istanbul, the model district for instituting modern municipal reforms at the time. Marie de Launay displayed a romantic enthusiasm for early Ottoman/late medieval history and for the local customs and popular lore of the Ottoman lands. He contributed to the Ottoman exhibits not only as an organizer and author but also as an exhibitor: an amateur artist and collector, he displayed his own paintings (mostly scenes of medieval history), illustrations of Ottoman types and costumes, and collections of handcrafted objects. According to his official biographical record he also authored the voluminous catalogue of the Ottoman exhibits in the 1867 Paris Exposition, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867). Generally attributed to the director of the Ottoman commission, Salaheddin Bey, the catalogue included an extensive appraisal of the Ottoman pavilions in the exposition, which were modeled after the “rational” style of the early Ottoman mosques. For biographical information on Marie de Launay see Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*, hereafter BOA), *Sicill-i Ahval* Collection, 6/593. His publications include *Coup d'œil général sur l'exposition nationale à Constantinople: Extraits du “Journal de Constantinople”* (Istanbul, 1863); and, with the palace chemist Bonkowsky Bey, *Brusa ve Civarı* (Bursa and Environs) (Istanbul, 1880).
6. Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *Elbise-i ‘Osmâniyye = Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Istanbul, 1873). Proposed by the head of the commission, Osman Hamdi Bey, and the secretary, Marie de Launay, the album contained an explicatory text in French and photographs of Ottoman subjects from all corners of the empire dressed in their local garb. For a broader discussion of the text see Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmâniyye* Album,” *Muğarnas* 20 (2003): 187–207.
7. Although he was born in Trieste to a Piedmontese family from Mergozzo, Pietro Montani (1829–87) was above all a Perote Levantine by culture. Montani was recognized in the Ottoman capital more as a decorator and painter than as an architect. He is not known to have been responsible for any realized architectural projects except the pavilions that he designed for the Vienna Exposition. Judging by his extensive decorative work in the Çırağan Palace (examples of which were included in the *Uşûl*), it can be safely assumed that Montani had a major role in the decoration of this royal building. For biographical information on Montani I am indebted to the work of two scholars: Paolo Girardelli, “Istanbul e l'Italia, 1837–1908” and Cengiz Can, “İstanbul’da Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Batılı ve Levanten Mimarların Yapıları ve Koruma Sorunları” (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, Istanbul, 1993). On the Vienna Exposition pavilions, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient* (Berkeley, 1992), 63, 106–7.
8. Eugène Maillard was an artist and architect from Anjou who lived and worked in Istanbul. In 1860 the French painter C. G. Hornig reports that Maillard had already “spent some years in Constantinople and mastered Turkish.” Hornig adds that by this time the artist had become “the right arm of the Sultan’s Armenian architect [who must be Sarkis Balyan] and a welcome visitor in the palace.” See C. G. Hornig, *Séjours et promenades à Constantinople, 1860–1861* (Paris, 1876), 106. Most probably Maillard was assisting the Balyans in royal projects as an interior decorator and a skilled artisan. Maillard’s specialization in applied arts is confirmed by another French author, Prêtrexat Lecomte, who describes him as an artist who was mainly preoccupied with ceramic tile production during the later decades of the nineteenth century: see Prêtrexat Lecomte, *Les arts et métiers de la Turquie et de l’Orient* (Paris, 1902), 38. According to the same author, Maillard’s major professional objective at this time was to rediscover the techniques of production utilized by the fifteenth-century Ottoman tilemakers, an endeavor, Lecomte notes, in which Maillard collaborated with Léon Parvillée. It is likely that Maillard got actively involved in ceramic production through the Bursa project and like Parvillée devoted most of his time throughout the rest of his career to the improvement of this craft. Maillard’s work in the *Uşûl* itself reinforces this assumption. The majority of the plates that bear the artist’s signature, excepting his measured drawings of the Ahmed III fountain, comprise detailed and meticulous renderings of tiles and decorative patterns that reveal a systematic effort to understand the early Ottoman decorative vocabulary and techniques of production.
9. Bogos Şaşıyan (1841–1900) received no technical or artistic training and did not have any previous experience in architectural rendering. He came from a prominent family of court physicians, studied law in an Armenian Catholic college in Venice, and upon his return embarked on his bureaucratic career in the Translation Bureau of the Porte. As a legal expert he served as a member of various official organizations, such as the Üsküdar criminal court and the Imperial Court of Appeal. For Şaşıyan’s official biographic record see BOA, *Sicill-i Ahval*, 4/274. For additional biographic information see Y. G. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler* (Istan-

- bul, 1953), 88, 209–10, and Kevork Pamukciyan, “Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Sergilerine Katılan Ermeni Ressamlar,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 14, 80 (Aug., 1990): 34–41.
10. The translations from the original French into Ottoman Turkish, and possibly German, were most probably overseen by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, an official of considerable knowledge who spoke several languages, including Arabic, Persian, French, German, and English, and had professional experience in translation. At the time of the *Uşûl*'s publication Şevki Efendi functioned as the chief scribe of the Council of Public Works, a conciliar body connected to the Ministry of Trade and Public Works. In his secretarial task in the council, he closely collaborated with Marie de Launay, the second scribe of the same council, who was responsible for the correspondence in French. Mehmed Şevki Efendi is also known to have drafted the brief preface to the *Uşûl*. For his official biographic record see *BOA, Sicill-i Ahval*, 42/33, 34.
 11. Initially eighteen copies of the publication were sent by the state to major European libraries. See *Şark* 292 (17 Shawwal 1291 [November 27, 1874]). By the time of the exposition, the *Uşûl* was also commercially available in Istanbul. For advertisements, see *La Turquie* (June 13, 1873). During my research in Europe and the United States, I had a chance to see other copies in private collections. Some of these reprints must have been produced for the Western market alone, since they lack the Ottoman Turkish version of the text.
 12. The term used for the “Ottoman nation” (*la nation Ottomane*) is “millet-i ‘Osmâniyye” in the Ottoman Turkish text: *Uşûl*, i.
 13. Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan’s comprehensive study of Byzantine monuments in *L’architecture byzantine; ou, Recueil de monuments des premiers temps du Christianisme en Orient* (Paris, 1864) was intended to change the rooted preconceptions about Byzantine architecture and to reevaluate it with recourse to the accurate and systematic findings of modern archaeological research. Rather than a process of “decay,” the authors define the development of the Byzantine tradition as a “grand transformation,” by which the classical principles of construction, which had “degenerated” in the late Roman period, were regenerated and improved. Texier’s studies were essential for many advocates of architectural historicism, such as Léon Vaudoyer and Edmond Duthoit, who saw the Byzantine era as a definitive moment in the transition from the antique tradition to the medieval “synthesis”: hence its instructive potential for defining a modern and synthetic style for the new age.
 14. A major concern for all upholders of the Gothic tradition in the nineteenth century was to refute the established academic perceptions on medieval architecture. Many articles in Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture* (Paris, 1854–68), for instance, were meant to be responses to Quatremère de Quincy’s canonic *Dictionnaire historique d’architecture* (Paris, 1832), in which Gothic architecture was dismissed as the absolute antithesis of the classical—a decadent and “rule-less” manner of building that recalled the structures produced by certain animals. On Quatremère de Quincy see Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, 1992). Specifically on Quatremère’s conflict with Viollet-le-Duc and Jean-Baptiste Lassus see Barry Bergdoll, “The Ideal of the Gothic Cathedral in 1852,” in Paul Atterbury, ed., *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* (New York, 1995): 103–35.
 15. In Europe the earliest similar attempt to trace the stylistic development of the Gothic tradition was made by Thomas Rickman in his *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (London, 1817). While elements of Islamic architecture were generally examined outside their specific historical/cultural context in European publications, the *Uşûl* was by no means the only example of an Islamic tradition being subjected to laws of historical change. See, for instance, the Orientalist Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski’s introduction to Pascal Coste’s *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (Paris, 1867), where Islamic architecture in Persia is recognized as a distinctive national tradition shaped by its own dynamics of historical transformation. For a later and more elaborate historical account on the same subject see Albert Gayet, *L’art persan* (Paris, 1895).
 16. The confidence of the *Uşûl*'s authors in the prospects of a profound change in the realm of art and architecture is reflected in the propagandistic fervor of Marie de Launay’s concluding remarks in his historical outline (*L’architecture ottomane*, 7): “La renaissance de l’architecture ottomane, tout nous le fait donc espérer et nous n’en doutons pas, va prendre date dans l’histoire sous la protection du nom illustre de Sultan Abdul-Aziz Khan. La mosquée d’Ak-Seraï, le palais de Tchéraghan, font preuve des qualités solides qui distinguent les modernes artistes ottomans, et donnent d’avance droit de cité à l’école dite *néo-turque*, en voie de fondation par leurs honorables efforts.” The Ottoman version of the text (*Uşûl*, 12) reads as follows (with my italics): “Cülûs-ı meyâmin-me’nûs-ı Hâzret-i Pâdişâhî rûz-i firûzundan berû bir takım ebniye-i ‘aliyye inşâ’ buyurularak taraf-ı müstecmî-ül kemâlât-ı Hâzret-i Pâdişâhîden ibzâl buyurulan ‘avâtf-ı celîleniñ eser-i hikmet-güsteri olmak üzere uşûl-i mi‘mârî-i ‘Osmânî derece-i vâlâyı kâdimine terfî’ ve i‘lâ’ buyurulmuş ve cülûs-ı hümâyûn-ı Hâzret-i Pâdişâhî uşûl-i mi‘mârî-i ‘Osmânîniñ mebd’-i ihyâsı olmuştur Devletü ‘ismetlû Valide Sultân ‘Aliyyetü’ş-şân Efendimiz Hâzretlerinin Aksarayda te’sisine bezl-i ‘âtfet-i hayriyyet-i menkabet buyurdıkları câmi-i dilârâ ve Çırağan sâhil saray-ı hümâyûnu *yeniden te’sis buyurulan* uşûl-i mi‘mârî-i ‘Osmânîniñ letâfetine delil-i kâfidir.”
 17. On late Ottoman historiography see Ercüment Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period,” in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962): 422–29; M. Halil Yınanç, “Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik,” in *Tanzimat* (Istanbul, 1940): 573–95; Klaus Kreiser, “Clio’s Poor Relation: Betrachtungen zur osmanischen Historiographie von Hammer-Purgstall bis Stanford Shaw,” in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung, und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Vienna, 1983): 24–43; Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument: Ein Plädoyer für die Tanzimat vermittelt der Historie; die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Ahmed Cevdet Paşas Tarih* (Münster, 1994); and Colin Heywood, “Between Historical Myth and ‘Mythistory’: The Limits of Ottoman History,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 315–45. For a comprehensive survey of Ottoman historians and their works see Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927).
 18. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Rei-*

- ches, 10 vols. (Pest, 1827–32). The French translation, by J. J. Hellert, was published as *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, 18 vols. (Paris, 1835–1843).
19. Concerning Ahmed Vefik Pasha, my reference here is to his oft-printed textbook entitled *Fezleke-i Tārīh-i 'Osmānī* (Istanbul, 1869–70). The other author, Mustafa Nuri Pasha, was responsible for producing one of the most seminal nineteenth-century works on Ottoman history, the *Netā'icü 'l-Vukū'at*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–1909), a pioneering endeavor that set new critical and analytical standards for Ottoman scholarship. For both authors, detailed references to art and architecture ensured a more precise and “objective” rendering of individual historical periods.
 20. In Marie de Launay's historical outline and in the monographies of dynastic monuments included in the *Uşûl*, the authors reveal a clear predilection, in conformity with other Ottoman historians of the period, to corroborate their data by commenting scrupulously on both the local and the European sources on history. For estimating the exact construction costs of various monuments, for instance, the authors refer both to the works of Ottoman chroniclers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as İbrahim Peçevi and Raşid, and to those of contemporary European Orientalists like François-Alphonse Belin. Furthermore, in order to reconstruct the Ottoman monuments' cultural context of production and use in the most comprehensive and “authentic” fashion, and thus to enable the reader's empathetic engagement with the historical milieu—concerns that are endemic to nineteenth-century Romantic historiography—the authors of the *Uşûl* tapped extensively into the available literary and narrative evidence concerning the dynastic buildings. For elucidating the specifics of dating and patronage, the monographs in particular offer detailed references to building inscriptions, in addition to chronograms and other poetic compositions that were produced in relation to the monuments in question. These are supplemented by numerous accounts on rituals and local customs (such as the changing functions of the buildings in the month of Ramadan) as well as on myths and popular lore (Marie de Launay's favorites) that surround the Ottoman buildings.
 21. “Zekā'i fıtrı” in the Ottoman text, and “le génie original,” in the French. See *L'architecture ottomane*, 78; *Uşûl*, 52.
 22. *L'architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10 (my italics): “Ecānibiñ vukū' bulan mezālīm ve te'addiyātı neticesi olarak Anadolu ahālisini perde-i zālām-ı cehl ve nādānī isti'āb ile berāber *memālik-i Türkīyye* her güne 'ulūm ve fūnūndan hālī olmuştur.” This is the only instance in the *Uşûl* where the word “Turkish” is used for designating a political entity by the authors of the Turkish text. By the 1860s the terms “Türkistān” and “Türkiye” were introduced into Ottoman Turkish, mainly through newspaper articles, as direct translations of “Turkey.” For obvious reasons the usage of these neologisms was sporadic and largely confined to the unofficial sphere. But while the meanings conjured by the new terms were still highly ambiguous and their ideological import negligible within the political framework of the Tanzimat, their appearance in the Ottoman realm can still be regarded as an embryonic foreshadowing of the emergence of a modern and more nationally inclined ethnic consciousness among the Muslim and Turkish-speaking intellectuals of the empire. In the case of the *Uşûl*, an official publication whose authors were extremely punctilious in sustaining the cosmopolitanist discourse of the state throughout the text, it is very difficult to derive any conclusions from one isolated instance in the Turkish version of the document, where the designation was translated directly from the French “l'empire turc.” But one might safely argue, at least, that such direct terminological import was permissible and far less problematic when the subject in question was not the Ottoman but the Seljuk Empire. It is most likely that in the 1870s the Ottoman image of the Seljuks—as a separate and long defunct dynastic entity—ran a very low risk of arousing any ideological implications that would be contested by the current official viewpoint. On differing Ottoman perceptions of Turkish ethnicity and their expression in the journalistic and official rhetoric of the nineteenth century, see David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876–1908* (London, 1977), chap. 2, 20–26.
 23. Namık Kemal, *'Osmānlı Tārīhi*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1888).
 24. *Ibid.*, 2:37.
 25. *L'architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10.
 26. *L'architecture ottomane*, 3.
 27. Art historians accorded growing emphasis to the cultural connections between the nascent Ottoman entity and the Seljuk sultanate, commensurate with the increasing role of Turkish ethnicity in the definition of Ottoman (later republican) nationalism around the turn of the century. The first evidence of a rising interest in Seljuk architecture is Kemaleddin Bey's seminal article from 1906, the “Mī'māri-i İslām,” in which the early Islamic, Seljuk, and Ottoman styles are analyzed as successive stages in the development of an Islamic architectural tradition: see *Hüdāvendigār Vilāyeti Sālnāmesi* (Bursa, 1906): 142–187. With the advent of the republican regime, a new line of publications on “Turkish art history,” such as Celāl Esad Arseven's *Türk San'atı* (Istanbul, 1928), stipulated a direct lineage between the Ottoman and Seljuk cultural entities that was determined along strictly racial lines. The two were regarded as consecutive manifestations of a continuous Turkish identity in art that was traced back, along an unbroken path of migration, to its putative origins in Inner Asia.
 28. *L'architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 11.
 29. It is curious that the contribution of the Byzantine heritage to the formation of Ottoman architecture was openly (and not necessarily antagonistically) recognized in the *Uşûl*. While the Tanzimat regime, due to the pro-Western and cosmopolitan inclinations of the ruling elite, provided official backing for projects like the display and restoration of the Byzantine remains in the capital, the mainstream Ottoman historians were mostly reluctant to tackle the question of Ottoman-Byzantine relations. When they did, the image of the latter, embellished with stereotypical traits borrowed from Western sources, often served as a negative counterpart that fortified the impeccable image of the early Ottoman polity. On perceptions of Byzantium in late Ottoman historiography, see the following articles by Michael Ursinus: “Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (henceforth *BMGS*) 10 (1986): 211–22; “Der schlechteste Staat’: Ahmed Midhat Efendi on Byzantine Institutions,” *BMGS* 11 (1987): 237–43; “From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet

- Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 305–14.
30. It must be for similar reasons that Namık Kemal's prolegomena to his Ottoman history, a full volume entitled *Roma Tārīhi* (Istanbul, 1890), was focused entirely on the history of the Roman Empire. Kemal deemed this appendage crucial for a deeper understanding of Ottoman history, since he considered the Roman Empire to be the seedbed for both the Byzantine and the Islamic civilizations. Obviously, the question of how Ottoman identity was linked to the dominant cultural traditions of the past in traditional historiography is a colossal one that remains beyond the boundaries of this discussion. An insightful examination concerning the definition of Ottoman self-identity in sixteenth-century historiography and its relation to the "high cultures" of the Islamic past is made by Cornell Fleischer with specific reference to the works of the historian Mustafa Âlî: see chaps. 9, 10, and 11 in *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âlî (1541–1600)* (Princeton, 1986). Also see Cemal Kafadar's definitive work on early Ottoman historiography, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995).
 31. *L'architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10. That the Hüdavendigâr Mosque was built by a Greek architect named Christodoulos was an unfounded assumption that was reproduced by generations of Ottoman and foreign authors, including those of the *Uşûl*. Some European scholars, such as Charles Texier, who mainly concentrated on the classical and Byzantine ruins of Anatolia, took the monument to be a converted church because of the unusual organization of its plan and the presence of Byzantine spolia. See Texier's *Asie mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1862), 128. On the Hüdavendigâr Mosque and other early Ottoman mosques see Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago, 1968), and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul, 1966).
 32. Nilfer Hatun, presumably the daughter of a Greek governor, was an influential matron who was actively involved in Ottoman administration. She was the patron of three major monuments in Bursa. In addition, a dervish lodge was built in her honor by Murad I in the city of İznik. For biographical reference, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1950–2004), s.v. "Nilüfer *Khatun*."
 33. My italics, *L'architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10.
 34. *L'architecture ottomane*, 4. A Turkish translation of the quoted designations is not provided in the *Uşûl*.
 35. *L'architecture ottomane*, 5; *Uşûl*, 11: "...uşûl-i mi'mârî-i 'Osmânîniñ ibtidâ-i zuhûru olan bu devir..."
 36. Ali ibn İlyas Ali was a native of Bursa who was captured by Timur and trained in Samarqand in calligraphy and the arts of the book. It is assumed that he brought with him the group of artisans called "the masters of Tabriz," who worked on the decoration of the Green Mosque and had a major impact on the improvement and diversification of ceramic techniques in the Ottoman lands: see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136–170. The artist's name appears in an inscription panel placed inside the royal lodge of the Green Mosque: See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* 806–855 (1403–1451), vol. 2 of idem, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul, 1972), 94.
 37. My italics. *L'architecture ottomane*, 12; *Uşûl*, 14.
 38. On the Green Mosque see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, 46–94, and Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse, Bursa*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), 1:79–94.
 39. Delineating the emergence of a standardized "classical" expression in the Ottoman ceramic tiles of the sixteenth century, Gülrü Necipoğlu characterizes the earlier aesthetic mode of the fifteenth century as the expression of an "international Timurid" taste, which, she explains, was shared and nourished in its variant local forms in the major urban centers of the eastern Islamic world: see Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman."
 40. *L'architecture ottomane*, 23–24. My italics.
 41. *L'architecture ottomane*, 5 (italics mine); *Uşûl*, 11: "[Yeşil Câmî'] tab'-ı 'Osmâniyâna tevfiķan ta'dil olunmuş olan uşûl-i mi'mârî-i 'Arabîniñ bir eķer-i mücsesemi 'add olunabilir."
 42. "[Les] plus gracieux monuments d'architecture arabe": see Texier, *Asie mineure*, 107.
 43. "Un des plus beaux modèles de la sculpture et de l'architecture sarrazines," in the French translation customarily used by the Ottoman readers: see Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 2:205. The reference in the original German edition reads as follows: "... eines der schönsten Denkmahle der Frömmigkeit und Kunstliebe osmanischer Sultane, ein glänzendes Kleinod saracenischer Baukunst und Steinhaue-rey." (Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, 1:391.)
 44. A good representative of the standard Western view on Ottoman artistic incompetence is Charles Texier, who argues in his *Asie mineure* that the Ottomans, being essentially a "nomadic tribe," were entirely ignorant of the art of building, and that all their public structures were constructed by "foreign" Arab, Persian, and, later on, Greek architects: see Texier, *Asie mineure*, 227.
 45. While the Green Mosque is praised in its monograph for the seamless unity and harmony of its decorative components, certain elements in the building, such as the "pseudo-Corinthian" column capitals of Byzantine origin, are viewed by the authors as remnants of the less resolved, formative stage of Ottoman architecture. Still, the authors claim that the spolia used were attentively placed in the darkest corners of the entrance vestibule so as to make them less conspicuous to the observer: *L'architecture ottomane*, 23; *Uşûl*, 22.
 46. The fifteenth-century historian Aşıkpaşazade, for instance, reports that Mehmed I's grand vizier Hacı İvaz Pasha, an earnest patron of the arts who also supervised the construction of the Green Mosque, "brought masters and men of skill from foreign lands to the Ottoman domain." See [Derviş Ahmed] Aşıkpaşazade, *Menâkıb-ı Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, ed. N. Atsız, included in *Osmanlı Tarihleri* (Istanbul, 1947), 242. A similar account made by the sixteenth-century historian Neşrî in his *Târîh* (History) is cited by Necipoğlu in "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 166 n. 5.
 47. Concerning the influence of artists trained in the Persian/Central Asian workshops on the artistic climate of fifteenth-century Anatolia, see Julian Raby, "The Ceramic Inheritance," in Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *İznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1989), 82–89; John Carswell, "Ceram-

- ics," in *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London, 1982), 75–76; and Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 136–37.
48. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*.
 49. On the dynamics of the sixteenth-century Ottoman stylistic synthesis, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 194–216; in addition to Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman."
 50. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkılâb*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–78).
 51. *Ibid.*, 1:44.
 52. *Ibid.*, 1:40.
 53. On Parvillée and his work on the Bursa monuments see Miyuki Aoki, "Léon Parvillée: Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Eşiğinde Bir Fransız Sanatçı" (Léon Parvillée: A French Artist on the Treshold of Ottoman Modernization) (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2002); and Beatrice St. Laurent, "Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer of Bursa's Monuments and His Contribution to the Exposition universelle of 1867," in *L'Empire Ottomane, la république de Turquie et la France*, ed. H. Batu and J. L. Bacque-Grammont (Istanbul, 1986): 247–82.
 54. While applauding the analytical content of his protégé's work, Viollet-le-Duc expresses as follows his doubts about the cohesiveness and distinction of the material presented in the book: "Existe-t-il un art turc? Que les Turcs aient adopté l'art ou des arts qui s'accommodaient le mieux à leurs habitudes et à leur religion, rien de plus naturel, mais qu'ils aient été les pères d'un art local, cela me paraît difficile à démontrer. En effet, dans tous les exemples fournis par M. Parvillée, je trouve de l'Arabe, du Persan, peut-être quelques influences Hindoues, mais du Turc?..." (from Parvillée, *L'architecture et décoration turque*, ii.)
 55. *Ibid.*, 12.
 56. *Ibid.*, 1.
 57. A clear sign of the cultivation of a new historical consciousness in the fifteenth century was the emergence of the first written chronicles of the House of Osman. On contesting visions of the dynastic past in the fifteenth century, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, chap. 2.
 58. Most historians of the nineteenth century characterized the period that roughly corresponded to the fifteenth century (starting with Mehmed I's unification of the Ottoman realm in 1413 and terminating with the enthronement of Selim I in 1512) as a remarkable prelude to the ultimate expression of Ottoman power in the sixteenth century. The authors of the *Uşûl* designated this period as "the century of Mehmed I," on account of the sultan's inaugurating act of restoration. Abdurrahman Şeref, on the other hand, identified the fifteenth century as an age of "renaissance and confirmation" ("intibâh ve te'yid"): see his *Tārîh-i Devlet-i 'Osmâniyye* (Istanbul, 1898), 115–200.
 59. "Devletîñ bânî-i sânisî." See, for instance, Namık Kemal, *Evrâk-ı Perîşân* (Istanbul, 1872), 18. While using the same expression in describing Mehmed I, Tayyarzade Ahmed 'Atâ, an official chronicler of the Abdülaziz era, goes further in noting that "perhaps [the sultan is] worthy of being commemorated as the actual founder ('mü'essîs-i evvel') of the state": *Tārîh-i 'Atâ* (Istanbul, 1874), 29.
 60. Among nineteenth-century Ottoman historians, Mustafa Nuri Pasha and Ahmed Vefik in particular marked the reign of Mehmed I as a time of considerable innovation in crafts and industries. See Nuri Pasha's *Netâ'icü'l-Vukû'ât*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–1909) 1:74; and Ahmed Vefik's *Fezleke-i Tārîh-i 'Osmânî* (Istanbul, 1870), 36. The accounts of the two authors were preceded by that of Hammer-Purgstall, who portrayed the early fifteenth century as an age of remarkable improvement in the arts, literature, and the sciences: see Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 2:205–7.
 61. The words Marie de Launay uses to describe the architectural deeds of the two sultans in question are as follows: "Le fils de Tchêlêbi Sultan Mohammed I, Sultan Mourad II, et son petit fils Sultan Mohammed II el Fatyh (le conquérant) ont élevé chacun des centaines de monuments: collèges, écoles...mais qui, en général, n'ont aucun caractère spécial bien prononcé." *L'architecture ottomane*, 5; *Uşûl*, 11.
 62. Among the first to entertain these revivalist ideas were the Young Ottomans, many aspects of whose ideology became gradually ingrained within the mainstream of political discourse during the Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid eras. On Young Ottoman traditionalism see Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, 1962). The Young Ottoman endeavor to reconcile modernization with religion and tradition was a strategy that developed in line (and sometimes by exchange) with similar revivalist movements in the larger Islamic world, led by such intellectuals as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, and Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi. Among the increasing number of publications on nineteenth-century Islamic revivalism outside the Ottoman center, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789–1939* (Oxford, 1962), and Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London, 1997).

CREATION OF A NATIONAL GENIUS: SİNAN AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF “CLASSICAL” OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

The insistence of canonical twentieth-century historiography on the Turkishness of “classical” Ottoman architecture, codified during Sinan’s tenure as chief royal architect (1539–88), has masked its more inclusive “Rumi” visual identity.¹ A combination of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms has hindered a fuller understanding of the ways in which the chief architect’s monumental mosque complexes, the ultimate icons of the Ottoman “classical style,” mediate among the Islamic, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architectural traditions.² Defying standard classifications based on a Eurocentric East-West divide, Sinan’s domed central-plan mosques have also been consigned to an architectural limbo in global art histories because until recently the Renaissance and early modernity were defined as exclusively Western phenomena.³

With a few exceptions, such as Spiro Kostof’s *A History of Architecture* (1985), which compares Sinan with his Italian contemporaries in a chapter on early modern Istanbul and Venice, survey books have generally tended to insert the entire Islamic tradition after the “Early Christian and Byzantine” period.⁴ This practice is rooted in the nineteenth-century conceptualization of Islamic architecture as an offshoot of the late antique Mediterranean heritage transformed under the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates into a non-Western medieval tradition particularly notable for its ornamental character. The essentialization of “Saracenic” or “Mahometan” architecture as a “non-historical style” permanently fixed in a medieval past finds ultimate expression in Banister Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896), where it is grouped with other non-Western styles (Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Central American) that emphasize “decorative schemes” unlike those of Europe, “which have progressed by the successive solution of constructive problems.”⁵ In Fletcher’s famous “Tree of Architecture,” the “Saracenic style” and its timeless companions stand in stark contrast to the historically evol-

ing Western architectural tradition, which culminates with modernism (fig. 1).

In global surveys of art and architecture that continue to classify Islamic visual culture as a medieval tradition, early modern monuments such as those of Sinan do not appear where they chronologically belong, namely, in the “Renaissance” period. A case in point is Frederick Hartt’s *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (1976), which includes the Ottoman mosques of Istanbul in an “Islamic Art” chapter placed under “The Middle Ages.” Hartt acknowledges the innovative transformation of Byzantine and Sasanian prototypes in early Islamic architecture, thanks to the “natural mathematical bent of the Arabs” whose “highly developed aesthetic sense produced an art of abstract architectural decoration.” But he dismisses the Ottoman mosques of Istanbul as uninventive variations of Hagia Sophia and overlooks the simultaneous emulation in Renaissance Italy of Justinian’s celebrated church. This double standard denies creative agency to the so-called “later Muslim” period, when, in his interpretation, the classical Mediterranean heritage becomes the exclusive preserve of Renaissance Europe: “The Ottoman Turks...were by no means as inventive as their Arab predecessors...Hugely impressed by Hagia Sophia...the Ottomans confined themselves to producing innumerable replicas of Justinian’s masterpiece in large, medium, and small sizes.”⁶

Hartt’s ethnicized aesthetic judgment echoes nineteenth-century Orientalist paradigms that doubly essentialized the Islamic tradition of architecture by partitioning it into ahistorical “schools” reflecting ethno-racial character traits (Arabian, Moorish, Persian, Turkish, and Indian). In this hierarchy, the “Turks” occupied the lowest position among those “races” that embraced Islam, being “the most stolid and least refined, and the least capable consequently of elaborating such an art as we find in all other countries subject to this faith.”⁷ Since the medieval period was privileged as a “clas-



Fig. 1. "The Tree of Architecture." (After Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* [New York and London, 1924], iii)

sical age" when the norms of typically Islamic architecture supposedly became fixed, the monuments of "later Muslim" dynasties were often ranked as derivative regional variants of already established prototypes. Hence, Orientalist paradigms failed to historicize Sinan's renewed early modern dialogue with the classical Mediterranean heritage of the "lands of Rum"—a heritage that was concurrently being reinterpreted in

Renaissance Italy. Thanks to their anxiety regarding "influence," nationalist counternarratives equally failed to come to terms with this architectural dialogue.

My paper focuses on the dominant discourses of selected late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts, produced by a heterogeneous group of European and Turkish authors, that have contributed to the methodological impasses of Sinan scholarship. In these texts, the person of the chief architect and the stylistic "character" of his mosques constitute the focal point of narratives—ideological and often driven by presentist concerns—that negotiate the contested origins and originality of classical Ottoman/Turkish monumental architecture as a site of national identity. Starting with the emergence of such narratives during the late Ottoman period, I turn to their subsequent reframing in the early republican era (1923–50) and conclude with their persisting echoes in canonical publications that proliferated in the second half of the twentieth century.⁸

DESIGNATION OF SİNAN AS ARCHITECTURAL GENIUS IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Sinan was first hailed as the ingenious codifier of an original dynastic style, worthy of universal status, in the *Uşûl-i Mi'mārî-i 'Osmanî* (Fundamental Principles of Ottoman Architecture): a monograph in Turkish, French, and German commissioned by imperial command for the 1873 Vienna International Exposition (fig. 2, a and b). Prepared under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha (Minister of Trade and Public Works) by a cosmopolitan committee of Ottoman bureaucrats, artists, and architects, this publication indirectly responded to Orientalist discourses that denied artistic creativity to "the Turks"; its authors adopted the current European conceptualization of artistic styles as embodiments of "national character" to negotiate a higher status for Ottoman architecture.⁹ Singling out its stylistic constants, corresponding to the venerable character traits of a proto-national dynasty, they defined architectural style as a historically evolving imperial dynastic tradition, labeled "Ottoman" (*Osmanlı*).¹⁰

This "invention of tradition" attempts to rectify the prevailing pejorative assessments of "Turkish" architecture articulated in such publications as Charles Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure, faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837* (1839–49). Echoing



a



b

Fig. 2, a and b. Front and back cover of Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî = L'architecture ottomane = Die ottomanische Baukunst* (Istanbul, 1873).

the Napoleonic paradigm of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–28), which initiated an ideological discourse on the extinction of the “Arab” architectural genius in Egypt under the yoke of the “Ottoman Turks,” Texier’s book makes the following judgment on the “character of Turkish mosques” in Bursa:

For a long time it has been said that the Ottomans (*Osmanlis*) do not have an architecture particular to their nation (*nation*); being tribes with tents, they remained strangers to the art of construction, and their public edifices are the works of foreigners, Arab and Persian architects initially, and Greek architects afterwards. No other type of edifice provides better proof of this fact than their religious monuments.”¹¹

Observing that all later mosques in the Ottoman Empire “imitated” Hagia Sophia after its conversion

into a Muslim sanctuary, Texier describes two sixteenth-century examples (works of Sinan) constructed in this manner in Üsküdar:

These monuments were built in a period when Turkish architecture abandoned the Arab school, of which it had been an original reflection, only to throw itself into a bastard architecture that is neither Muslim nor Christian.¹²

Universal expositions intensified the rivalry between the “Arab” and “Turkish” schools of architecture, associated respectively with the semi-autonomous Egyptian state and its Ottoman overlord. An important turning point was the Paris Exposition of 1867, attended by Sultan Abdülaziz and the Viceroy of Egypt, İsmâ‘il Pasha, who had just received the title of Khedive as a mark of increased Egyptian autonomy. The catalogue *L'Égypte à*

l'Exposition universelle de 1867, commissioned by İsmâ'il Pasha from Charles Edmond, explicitly criticizes "the Turks" for "their inability both to invent their own art and to assimilate the art of others with intelligence and taste." The "Turkish" mosques of Istanbul are described as "mere copies of Hagia Sophia," distinguished from Byzantine churches only by minarets and walls decorated with "arabesques" and inscriptions: "After having stolen the Arab genius, [the Turks] let it die."¹³

The tripartite periodization of this catalogue, written by French savants steeped in the Napoleonic tradition of the *Description de l'Égypte*, relegates the "Muhammedan" (*Mahométane*) architecture of the "Arab race" to Egypt's medieval past, which is framed by the ancient and modern eras.¹⁴ Following a biological trajectory of birth, growth, and decay—which is reversed by artistic rebirth under the present regime—"Muhammedan" architecture enters into a period of deplorable decline with the subjugation of the Arab race by the *Osmanlis*, a "foreign race" of Turkish conquerors who from the sixteenth century onwards "remained strangers to the intellectual conquests made in the world."¹⁵ Comparing the first mosques along the Nile to the first Gothic cathedrals on the banks of the Seine, Edmond portrays medieval Egypt as the epicenter from which "Muhammedan" architecture spreads to other regions (Syria, Iran, Sicily, Africa, Spain, and Turkey).¹⁶ Likewise, the modern Egypt of Muhammad 'Ali and his grandson İsmâ'il Pasha, faithful followers of Napoleon, who made "the Oriental genius return to itself," is destined to initiate "the rest of the Orient to modern civilization."¹⁷

La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867, a catalogue commissioned from Salaheddin Bey by Sultan Abdülaziz, prefigures the *Uşûl* (written for the same sultan in 1873) by highlighting the rational construction principles of Ottoman architecture. Hence it is unlike Edmond's text, which foregrounds the ornamental character and "charming fantasy" of Arab architecture, governed by "the arbitrary and the capricious."¹⁸ Singling out the "arabesque" as the principal characteristic of Egypt's medieval "Muhammedan" monuments, Edmond asserts that they lack the "rules and principles" that govern Western architecture, for they rely on chance rather than reason.¹⁹ The "gracious geometry of imagination and the delirium of algebra" embodied in "arabesques" is, in Edmond's view, prefigured by the character of the Prophet Muhammad, which combines "enthusiasm with calculation." Imprinted with the "Arab spirit" of the "race of Muhammad," these

ornaments are characterized by the "most fantastic forms intimately blended, as if by a miracle, with the regular figures of geometry."²⁰ Salaheddin Bey's catalogue, by contrast, emphasizes the primacy of rational architectural principles to counter the widespread presumption "that there exists no Ottoman art, and that all Oriental productions are due to caprice, at times most extravagant."²¹

The contention of principled rationality is further elaborated in the *Uşûl*, which responds to depreciatory character evaluations of "Turkish" architecture colored by Western colonial ambitions in the disintegrating territories of the late Ottoman Empire, where European powers were positing themselves as protectors of the Arab artistic genius "all but extinguished" under the "barbarism" of the Turks. Its four parts consist of a historical overview of stylistic evolution; a theoretical section on fundamental architectural principles; a description of selected sultanic mosques, mausoleums, and public fountains in Ottoman capital cities (Bursa, Istanbul, and Edirne); and a chapter on the rules of ornament subordinated to architectonic forms. The *Uşûl* proudly proclaims the participation in world civilization of the Ottomans' rationalist school of architecture, which, with its flexible universal characteristics, is adaptable to the modern age. The preface of the publication states that Ottoman monuments, especially mosques, embody "architectural forms conceived in a particular style conforming to the approved dispositions of the Ottoman nation." Thanks to consistent "rules," architecture made extraordinary progress, and eminent architects like Sinan emerged, "extending their reputation throughout the world." The purpose of the *Uşûl* is to demonstrate the "superiority of Ottoman architecture" and introduce to the world its masters and masterpieces; the latter are illustrated by drawings destined to serve as a basis of instruction for "modern architects."²²

Like Edmond's catalogue, which boasts about the spread of Arab architecture from Egypt to other countries, the *Uşûl* claims that the Ottoman school of architecture was disseminated as far as India by Sinan's pupils (allegedly invited by the Mughal emperor Babur, who passed away in 1530, long before the tenure of the chief architect). According to this anachronistic claim, repeated in later publications, these pupils included Mimar Yusuf, who built the world-renowned palace-forts of Agra, Lahore, Delhi, and Kashmir.²³ The *Uşûl*'s historical overview of stylistic evolution, written by the Ottoman bureaucrat Victor Marie de Launay

(who once frequented courses in the *École des Beaux Arts*), constructs, as did Edmond's catalogue, a biological trajectory of birth, growth, and decay, followed by rebirth under the present regime.²⁴ According to de Launay, Sinan's style corresponds to a golden age falling between the rise and the decline of the dynasty, which is currently being revitalized by Sultan Abdülaziz, the patron of a "neo-Ottoman" architectural renaissance. Sinan is identified as the most ingenious of all Ottoman architects, and his codification of dynastic style coincides with the zenith of imperial glory under Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver (*le législateur*, r. 1520–66). This internally evolving style originates in fifteenth-century Bursa after initial fourteenth-century experiments with a hybrid "semi-Byzantine" manner and develops further in early-sixteenth-century Istanbul. The "school of Sinan," it is argued, is perpetuated until the mid-seventeenth century, after which, from the eighteenth century onwards, the "rationality of art" and the "purity of Ottoman architectural taste" become entirely "denatured" and "depraved" by the indiscriminate infiltration of Western influences. In this narrative of dynastic self-representation, then, the sixteenth-century purification of hybridity in Sinan's rational style gives way to a loss of purity and hence of national character, only to be revived by the "renaissance of Ottoman architecture" under the illustrious patronage of the currently reigning sultan.²⁵

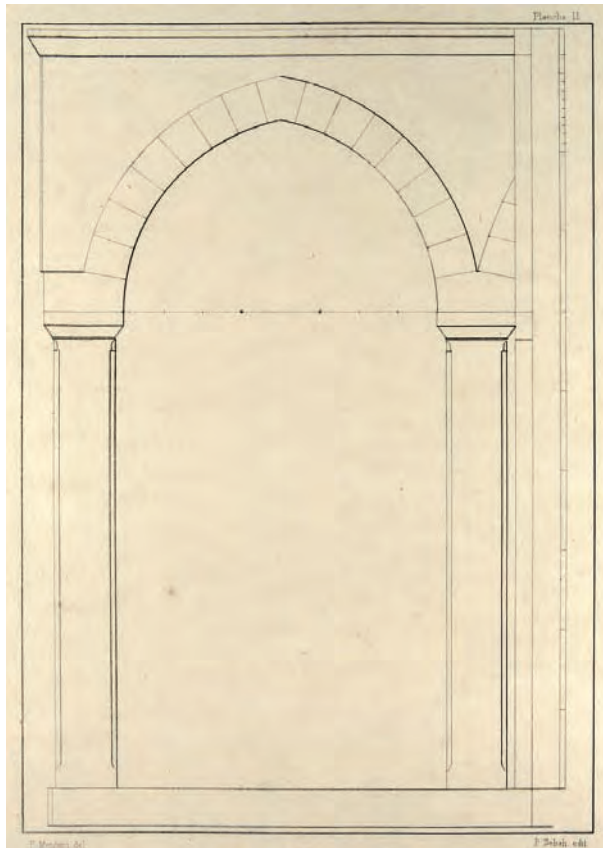
The theoretical section, written by Pietro Montani (Montani Efendi), a Levantine Italian artist-architect raised in Istanbul, portrays Sinan as the "legislator of national architecture," who renews the style developed by his predecessors "with a novel purification of forms, fixing their proportions and supplementing them with new ones."²⁶ It is Sinan who codifies the three architectural orders (corresponding to Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian) on which the proportional system of the high Ottoman style is allegedly based, orders complemented by a fourth semi-order in the "Gothic manner" that gives flexibility to details (fig. 3, a–d). The "module" used for determining the harmony of proportions in this system, which is "richer" than the Gothic mode of construction and more "elastic" than the classical orders, is derived from the width of the capital (fig. 4).²⁷ Thus the style legislated by Sinan implicitly parallels that of the high Renaissance, which is based on the module and orders. In fact, later nationalist critics of the eclectic "neo-Ottoman renaissance" style promoted by the *Uşûl* would accuse Montani Efendi of deriving the Ottoman orders from Giacomo Barozzi

da Vignola's Renaissance treatise on orders, *La regola delli cinque ordini* (Rome, 1562).²⁸

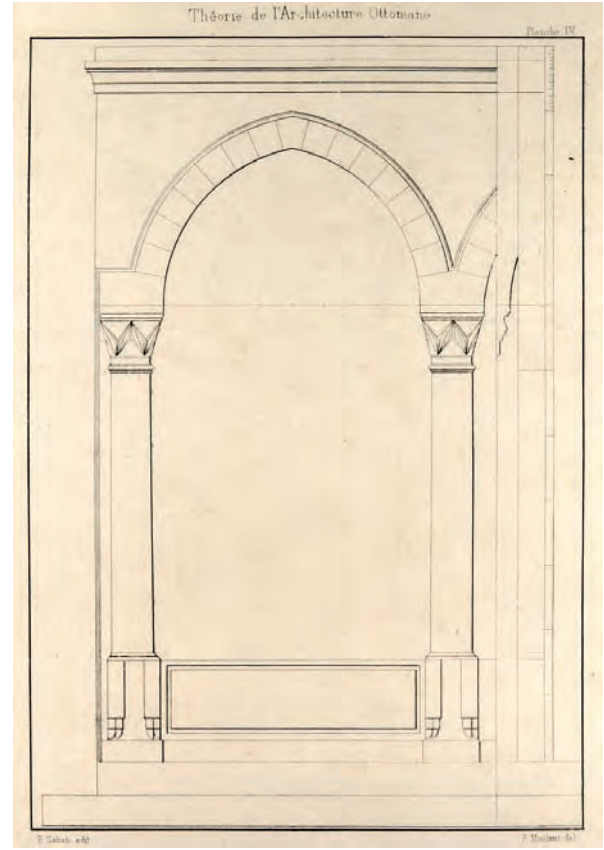
Although Montani makes no reference to the Italian Renaissance, he explicitly differentiates Ottoman architecture from styles—namely, the Byzantine, Gothic, Arab, Persian, Indian, and Chinese—that "lack orders" and rely on conventional forms whose adjunction depends on the architect's "caprice." The "principal character" of the high Ottoman style perfected by Sinan is its "noble severity." This style stands out from its Arab, Persian, and Arabo-Indian (*arabo-indians*) counterparts in its restrained richness of ornament, created by decorators conforming to the "architect's conception" and "never guided by the caprices of chance."²⁹ By implication, it is superior to other schools of Islamic architecture judged by European authors to be fancifully ornamental and hence irrational in comparison to Western architecture.³⁰

The characteristics of the high Ottoman style, which echo Western classical norms of beauty, are embodied in the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques, the masterpieces chosen by the authors of the *Uşûl* as exemplars of Sinan's incomparable "genius" (figs. 5, a–d, and 6).³¹ The monographic descriptions of these mosques emphasize two additional fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture: scenic siting and the perfect unity of the whole.³² The Selimiye, which represents the culmination of Sinan's style, is judged superior not only to the Süleymaniye but also to all other "Islamic monuments." With its "great sobriety and the exquisite purity of its ornamentation," it is a monument in which "the whole and the details are conceived in a particularly majestic, noble, and severe style" that nevertheless "does not exclude richness and above all grace." This "masterpiece par excellence of the illustrious master Sinan, the author of so many masterpieces," is therefore "rightly considered the marvel of Ottoman architecture: a marvel of appropriate proportions, of severity and majesty of style, of gracious simplicity and purity of ornamentation."³³

The *Uşûl* contributed to Sinan's international fame by publishing as an appendix the *Tezkiretû'l-Ebniye*, one of the versions of the Turkish autobiography the chief architect dictated to the poet-painter Mustafa Sa'î. (The abbreviated French and German translations of this autobiographical text include only a list of numerous collaborative monuments claimed by Sinan as his own works).³⁴ The appended autobiography is not analyzed in the *Uşûl*, which simply mentions Sinan's training in the Janissary corps prior to



a



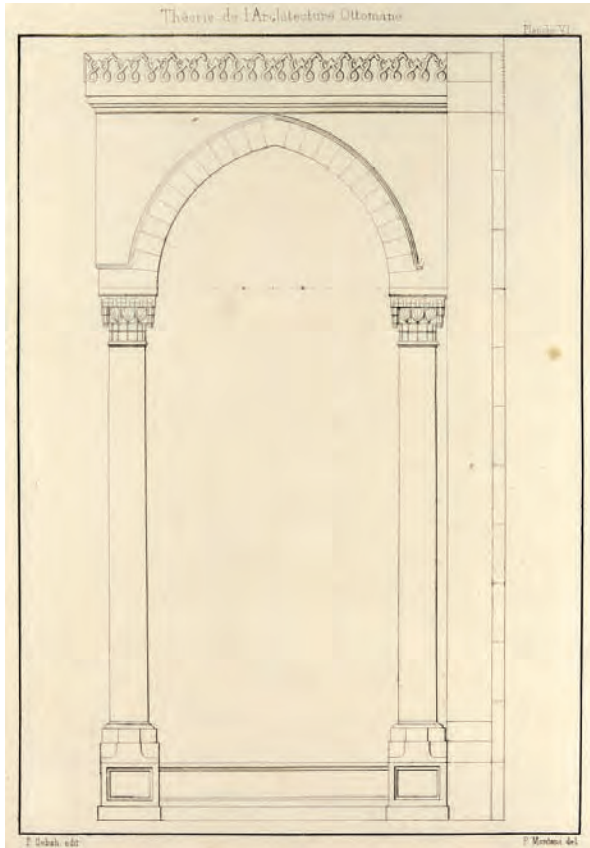
b

Fig. 3, a–d. Pietro Montani, representations of the Ottoman orders: a. *L'ordre échanfriné*. b. *L'ordre bréchiforme*. c. *L'ordre cristallisé*. d. *L'ordonnance à faisceaux*. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Théorie de l’architecture ottomane,” pls. 2, 4, 6, 3)

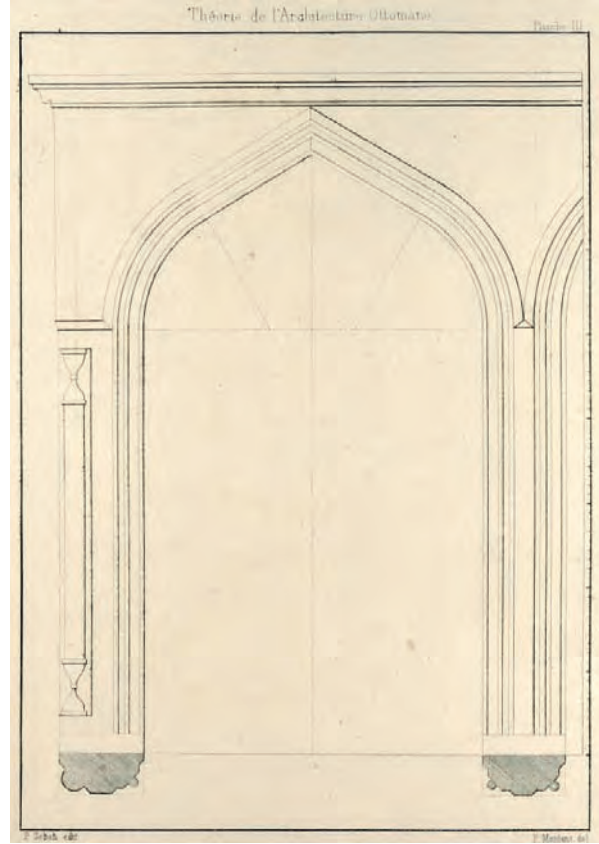
his building, over the course of his long life, countless monuments to “glorify the Ottoman dynasty, his fatherland, and Islam.” The authors of the *Uşûl* do not attempt to identify the chief architect’s ethnic origin, apparently deeming it irrelevant because of the multi-ethnic inclusiveness of the Ottoman polity.³⁵ Nor do they allude to Sinan’s competitive dialogue with Hagia Sophia in the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques, a dialogue to which the chief architect explicitly refers in his autobiographies, which also testify to his rivalry with his Ottoman predecessors and his contemporaries in Renaissance Europe. The dynastic proto-nationalism of the *Uşûl*’s narrative of stylistic evolution, tracing an internal process of purification that crystallizes in the rational school of Sinan, entirely sidesteps the much-maligned “influence” of Hagia Sophia.³⁶ As we shall see, the rationalist paradigm of

this text would leave a lasting imprint on subsequent Turkish publications, which in the wake of ethnocentric nationalism at the turn of the century began to trace the evolution of the Ottoman architectural style, perfected by Sinan, to that of the “Seljuk Turks” in Anatolia, who are hardly mentioned in the *Uşûl*.³⁷

The cult of Sinan was nurtured by his self-mythologizing autobiographies, which were likely inspired by the lives of Italian Renaissance architects and were written, according to his own words, to leave the permanent mark of his name and reputation “on the pages of time.” These widely circulating autobiographical texts, through which the chief architect self-consciously participated in the Renaissance discourse on creative genius, played a pivotal role in directing the focus of early historical studies on his life and works (fig. 7, a–b).³⁸ One such example is the late



c



d

Fig. 3.

Ottoman intellectual Ahmed Cevdet's preface to the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, another version of the chief architect's autobiographies, published in 1897. Paraphrasing the *Uşûl*'s historical overview, the preface fabricates a biography of Sinan based on a primary source in Arabic (*Quyûdât-i Mühimme*) supposedly written in the chief architect's lifetime, which not surprisingly disappeared shortly thereafter. This purported source allowed Cevdet to invent colorful details missing from Sinan's laconic autobiographies, which mention only his recruitment as a Janissary cadet (*acemi oğlan*, novice boy) from the Kayseri region, without providing clues about his ethnic origin and childhood before he converted to Islam and was trained as a carpenter at the school of novices in Istanbul. The *Quyûdât* conveniently fills in the blanks by providing Sinan's exact birthday, identifying by name his Greek father,

Christo, and describing the budding carpentry skills of the child prodigy: "When it came to games, he only derived pleasure from getting hold of carpentry tools with which he would create in their backyard now a chicken coop, now a pool fountain, occupying himself with architectural tasks like repairing water channels."³⁹ Cevdet also gives such precise information about the chief architect's physiognomy and character that one might think he knew him personally:

Sinan the Great was tall and thin, with a heavy beard and moustache, black eyes, a wheat-colored complexion, and a handsome face; he was a conversationalist, very generous, charitable to the poor, and capable of composing poetry; he knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Greek, and he was very brave and courageous.⁴⁰

This verbal portrait of the chief architect as a fully

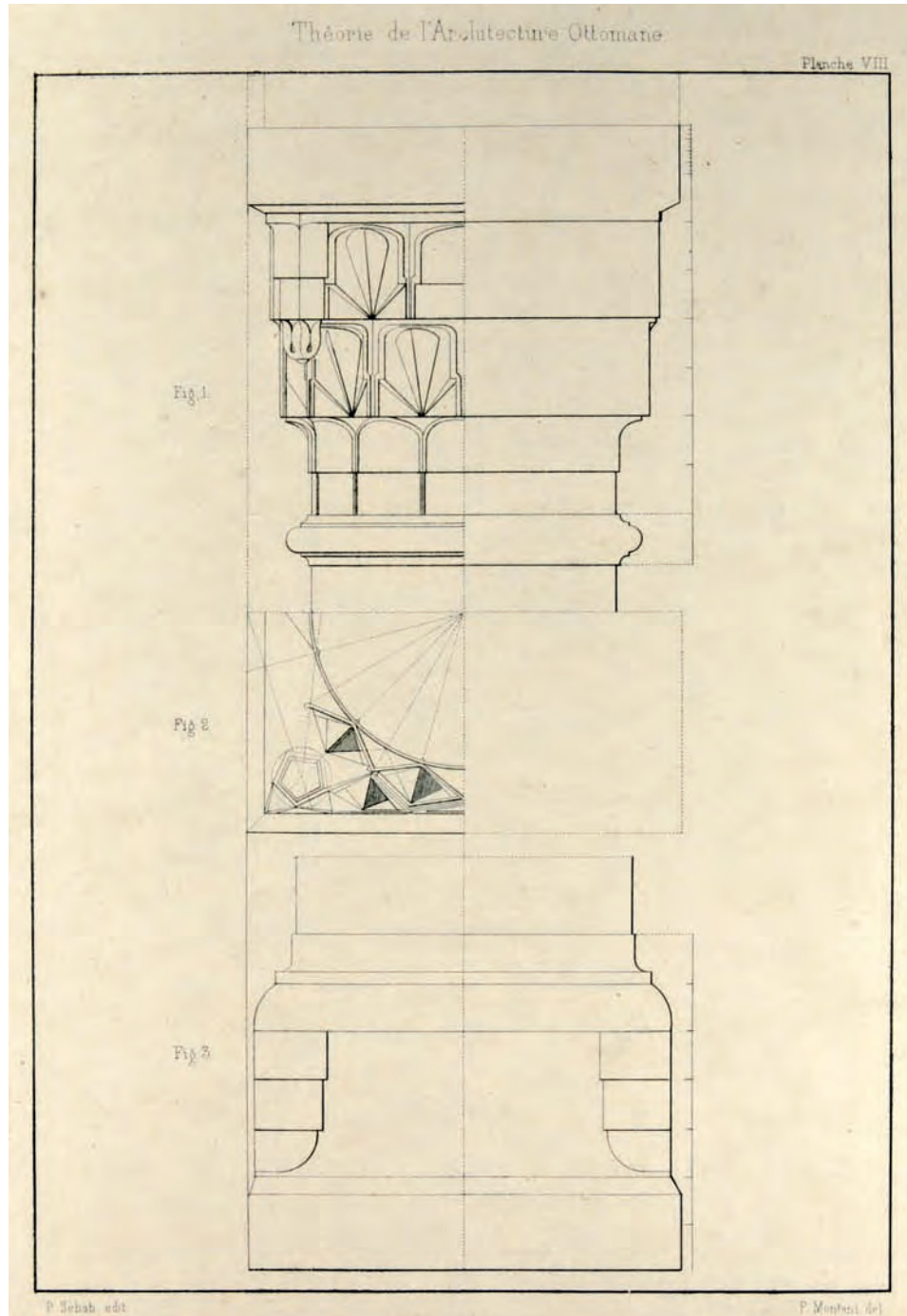


Fig. 4. Pietro Montani, capital of the crystallized order by Sinan. Top: view of the capital. Center: plan of the same capital. Bottom: base. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, "Théorie de l'architecture ottomane," pl. 8)

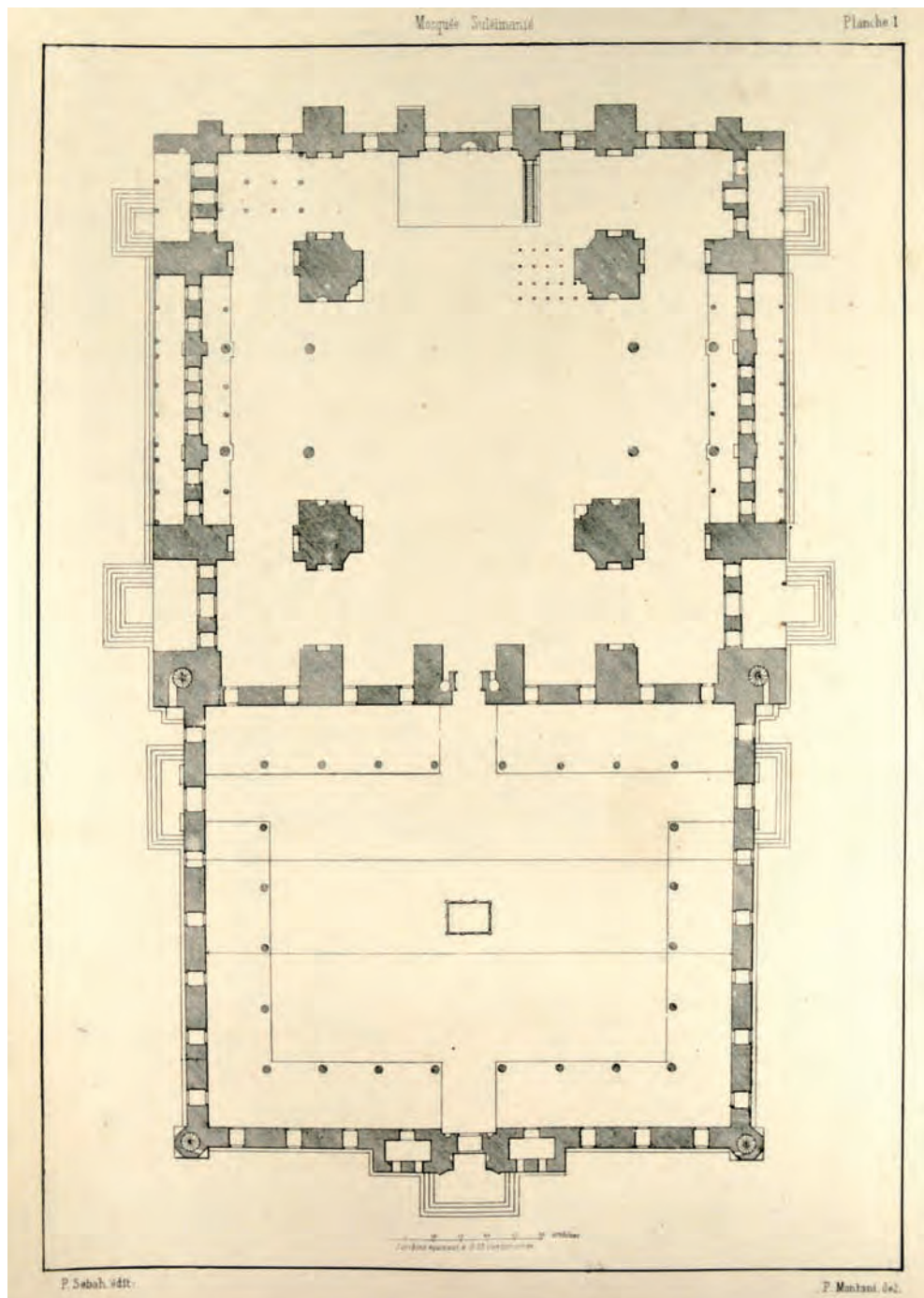


Fig. 5a. Pietro Montani, plan of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, built by Sinan in 1550–57. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Mosquée Süleïmanié,” pl. 1)

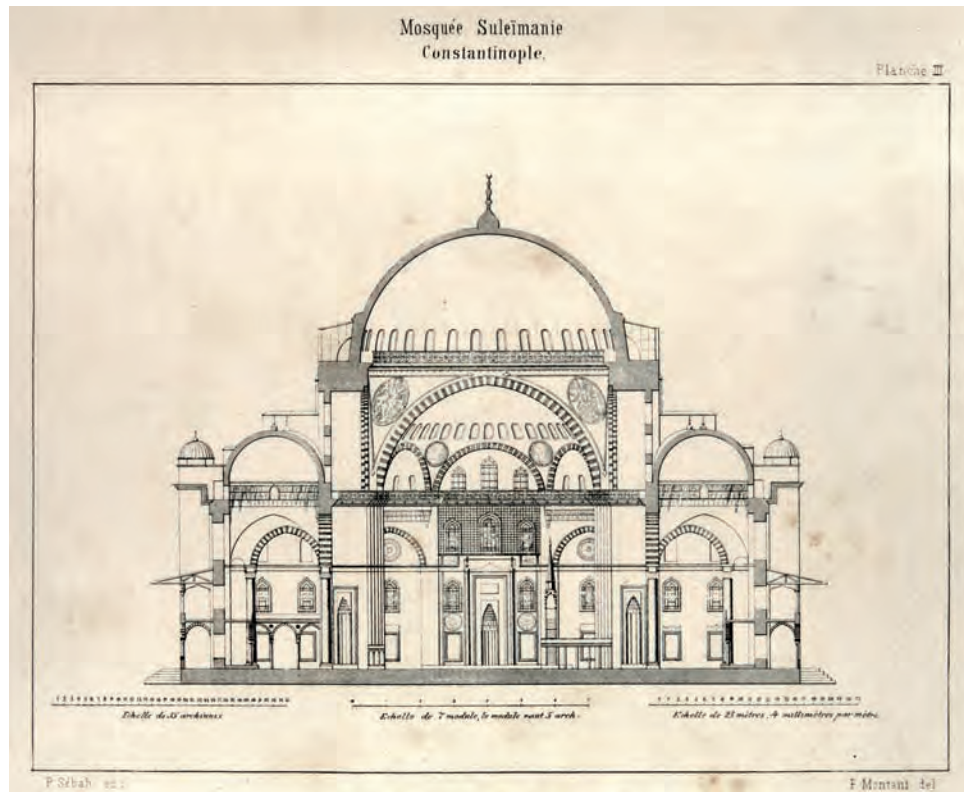
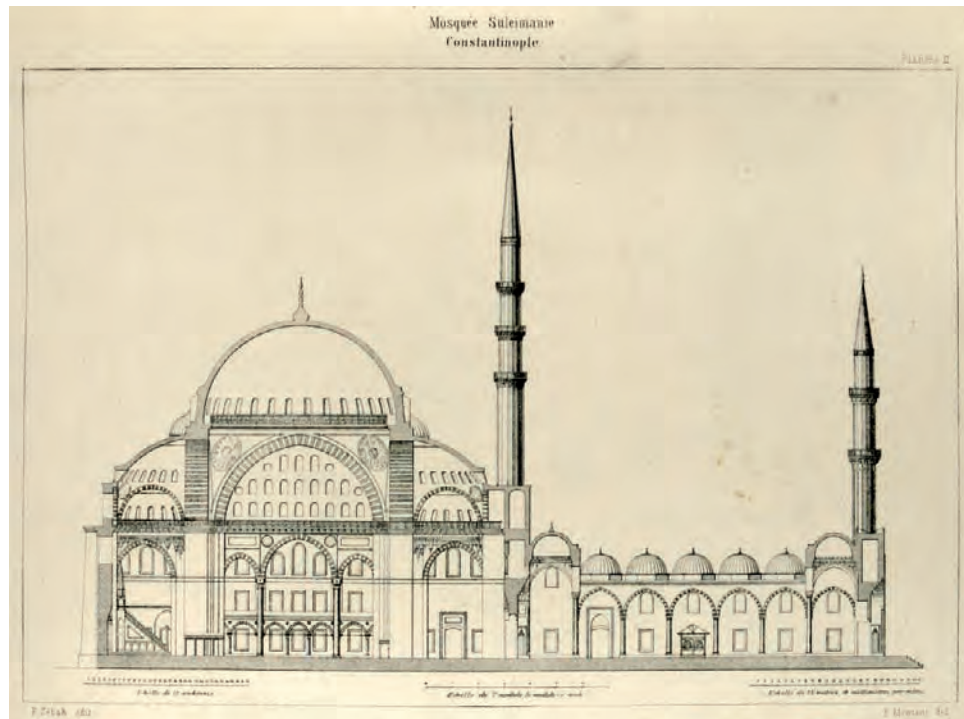


Fig. 5, b–c. Pietro Montani, sections of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Mosquée Suleïmanié,” pls. 2 and 3)

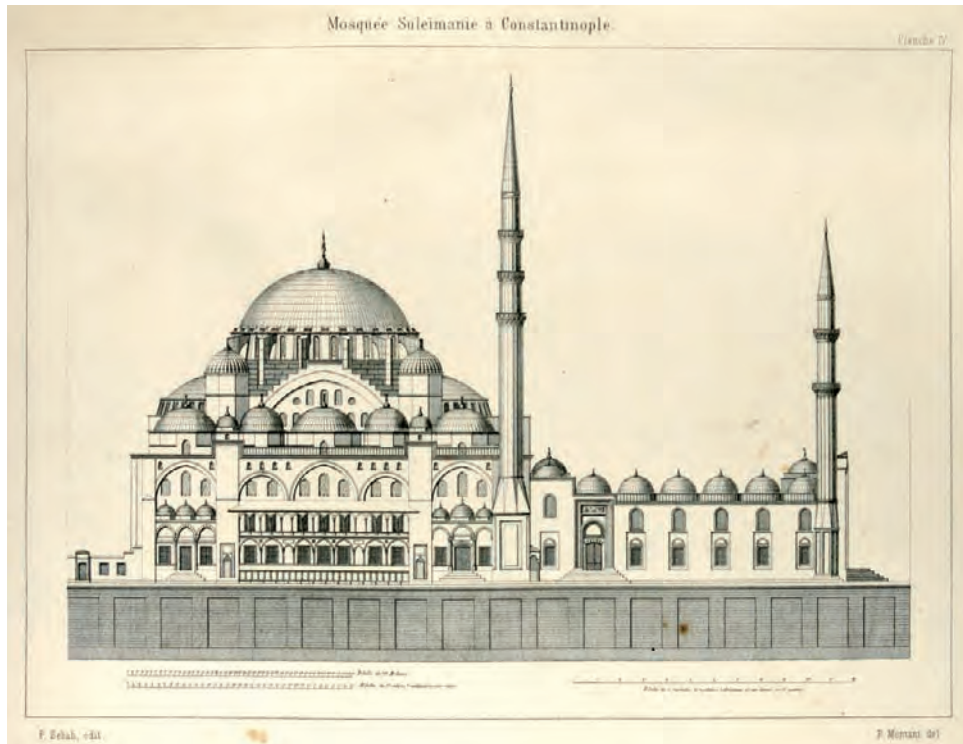


Fig. 5d. Pietro Montani, elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Mosquée Suleïmanié,” pl. 4)

acculturated Greek-born Ottoman hints at a growing anxiety about his cultural identity. Cevdet’s preface attempts to reclaim the artistic agency of Sinan as the Ottomanized chief architect of a multiethnic and multilingual empire whose monuments, in the contested terrain of architectural history, continued to be attributed to “foreign” Greek architects. For instance, Auguste Choisy’s *L’art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (1883) had recently characterized the monumental imperial mosques of “Sinan the Greek” as the last representatives of Byzantine architecture, which imitated Hagia Sophia for the “new masters” of Constantinople. Shortly thereafter, Alphonse Gosset’s *Les coupôles d’Orient et d’Occident* (1889) repeated the stereotyped view of the Ottomans as “shepherds and warriors without any art or artists of their own.”⁴¹ According to this publication, Sultan Süleyman’s “Greek architect Sinan” improved the longitudinal plan of Hagia Sophia with more “rational” solutions in centrally planned domed mosques through “his avid search for perfection, much like his predecessors from the age of Pericles.”⁴² Intensely admiring the Selimiye Mosque as the most remarkable

manifestation of Sinan’s “genius,” Gosset detected in its forms the spirit of Greek humanism: thanks to the refined taste of its details and its “observation of the principle of the Greeks that man is the king of creation,” the Selimiye’s grandiose dimensions in his opinion do not crush but rather enhance the dignity of the viewer and elevate the soul to the highest thoughts.⁴³

Die Baukunst Konstantinopels (1907), by the German architectural historian Cornelius Gurlitt, was the earliest European monograph to acknowledge the originality of the “Turkish” school of architecture that emerged after the fall of Byzantium. Written at the height of the Ottoman-German alliance, thanks to which the author obtained special permission to draw and photograph Istanbul’s mosques, this book ends with a picture of the Kaiser Wilhelm II Fountain at the Hippodrome, completed in 1901—a Byzantinizing German neo-renaissance monument commemorating the emperor’s 1898 visit to the city—which Wilhelm presented as a gift symbolizing his friendship with Sultan Abdülhamid II (figs. 8 and 9).⁴⁴ Noting the lack of

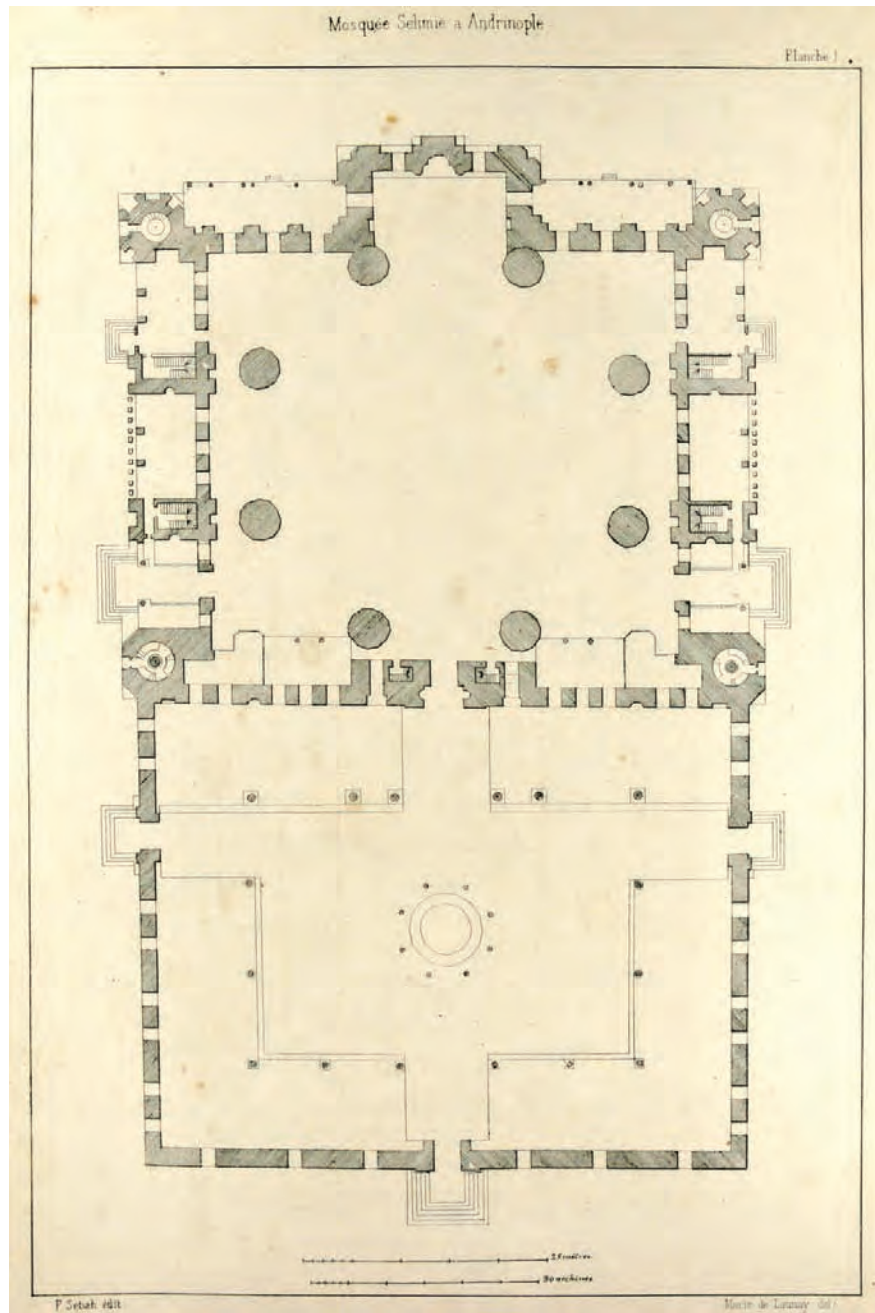


Fig. 6. Marie de Launay, plan of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, built by Sinan in 1568–74. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşul*, “Mosquée Selimié,” pl. 1)



Fig. 7, a and b. Miniature painting and detail: funeral procession of the deceased Sultan Süleyman, showing Sinan holding a wooden cubit measure and overseeing construction of the sultan's mausoleum behind the qibla wall of the Süleymaniye Mosque. Seyyid Lokman, *Tāriḫ-i Sultān Sulaymān*, ca. 1579. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. T. 413, fol. 115v. (Photo © The Chester Beatty Library)

monumentality in late Byzantine and early Ottoman domed sanctuaries, Gurlitt regards the grand scale of the imperial mosques in Constantinople as an achievement to be marveled at. Although he repeats Cevdet's account of Sinan's parentage as the Greek-born son of Christo, he attributes the success of the imperial style not to the ethnic origin of its architects but to their rigorous training in the educational institutions of the Ottoman state, which produced great statesmen and "creative geniuses" like Sinan, who commanded the guilds of building crafts as chief royal architect.⁴⁵ Gurlitt finds the domed mosques of the Ottoman capital, which in his view have not received the attention

they deserve, comparable to the grand achievements of the Italian Renaissance:

We have been enthusiastic in our praise of Italy, a country that at the end of the fifteenth century resurrected the art of ancient Rome after this achievement had lain dormant for over a thousand years. During the same period, however, buildings were erected on the Bosphorus that have been belittled for the simple reason that they were replicas of Hagia Sophia. Yet it is no less a renaissance of astounding individuality that sprang up from the soil made fertile by the spirit of ancient Greece. The revival of ancient perceptions of shape and form occurred here with the same freedom, independence,



Fig. 8. Title page from Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* (Berlin, 1907).



Fig. 9. Photograph of the Kaiser Wilhelm II Fountain at the Hippodrome, Istanbul. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 39a)

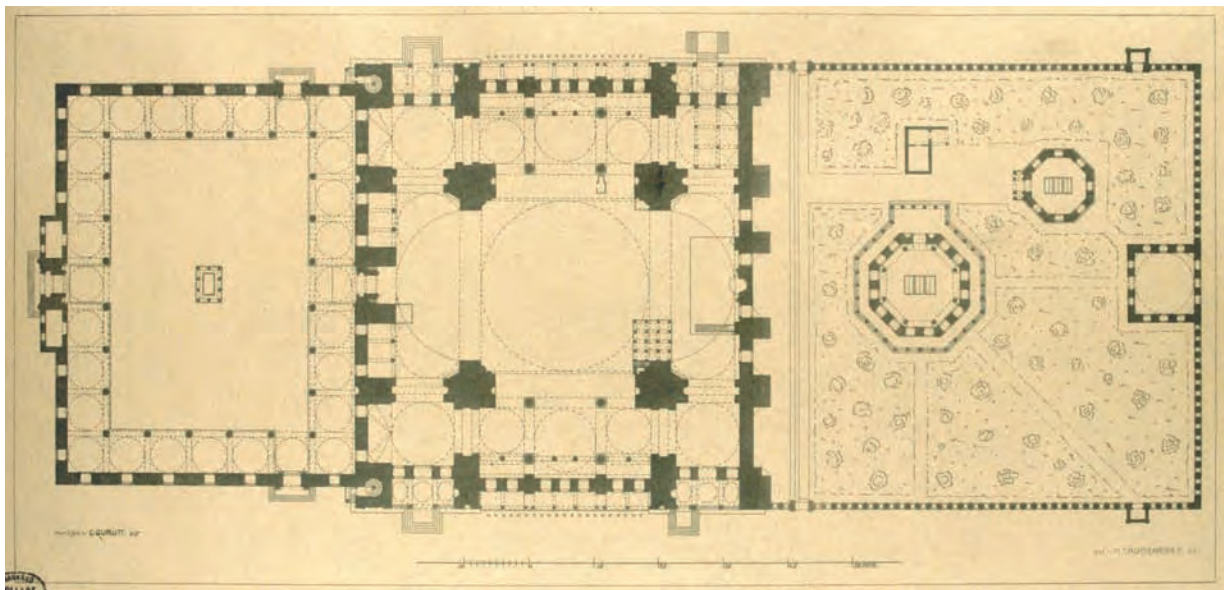


Fig. 10a. Plan of the Süleymaniye Mosque and the mausoleums of Sultan Süleyman and his wife. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19h)

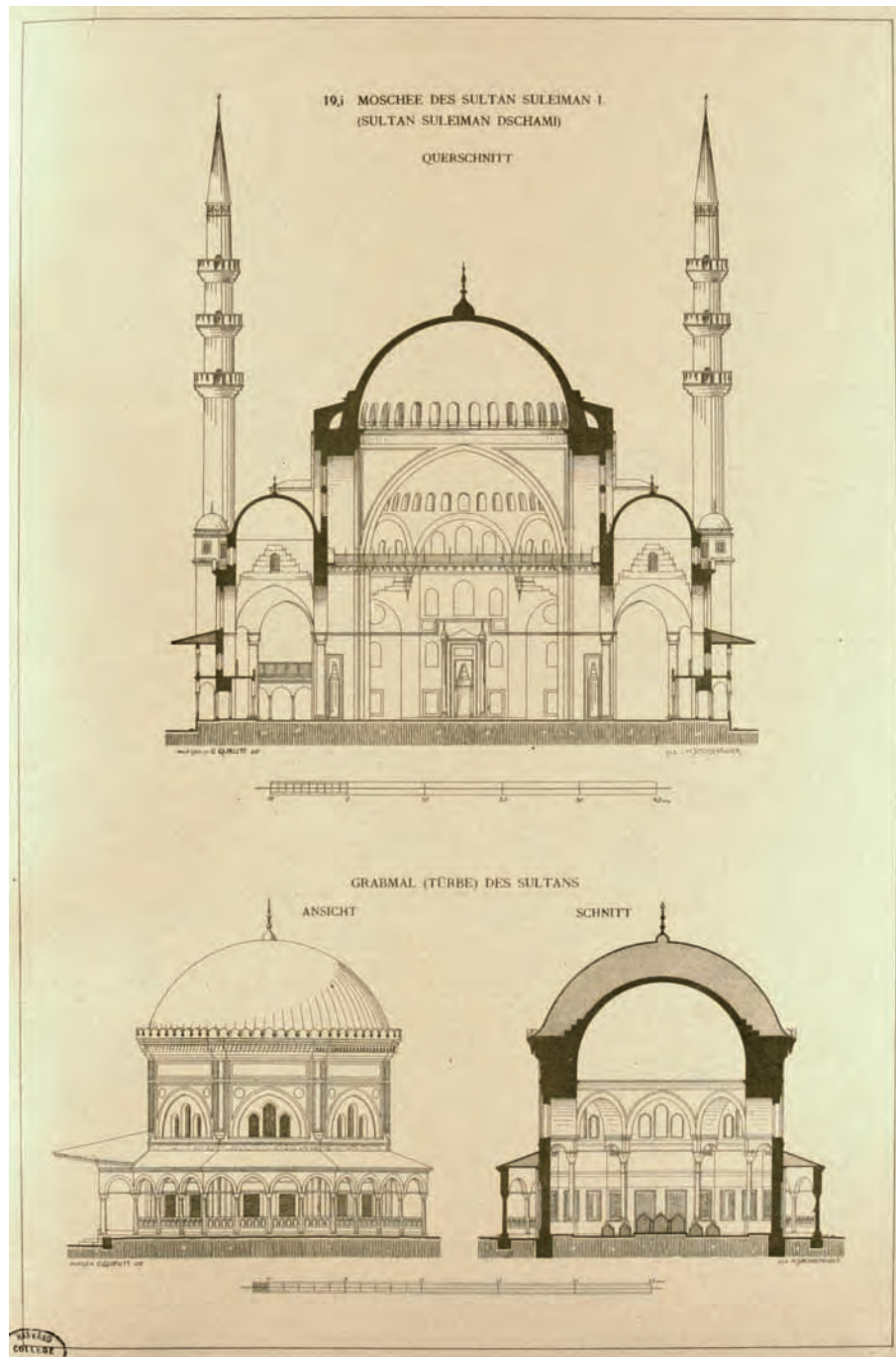


Fig. 10b. Section of the Süleymaniye Mosque and elevation and section of the mausoleum of Sultan Süleyman. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19i)

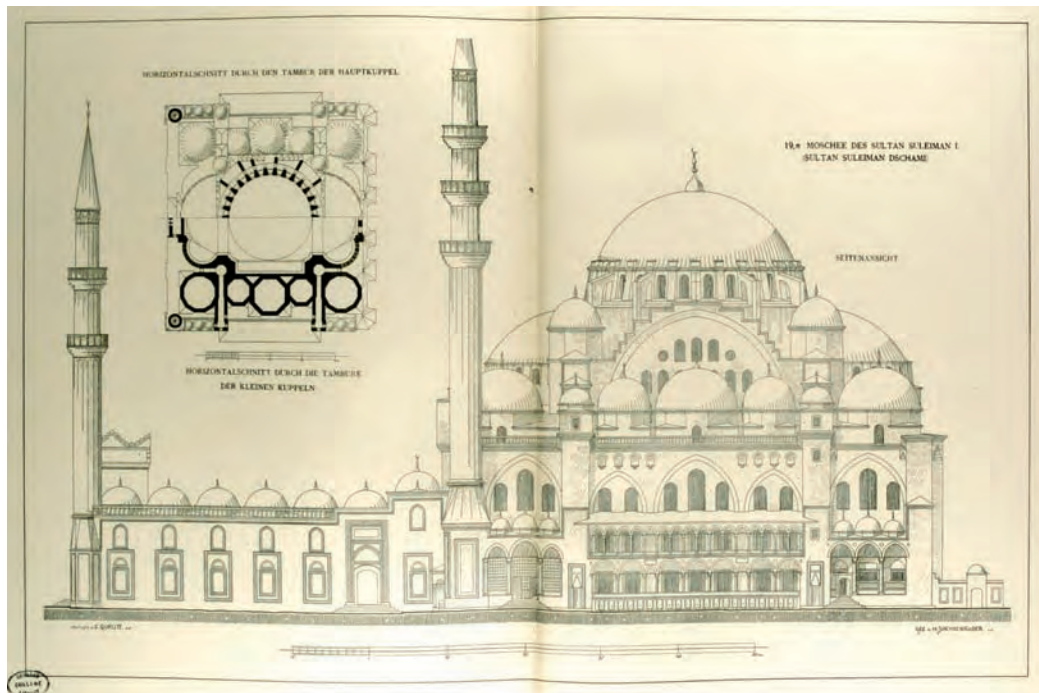


Fig. 10c. Plan of the domical superstructure and elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19n)

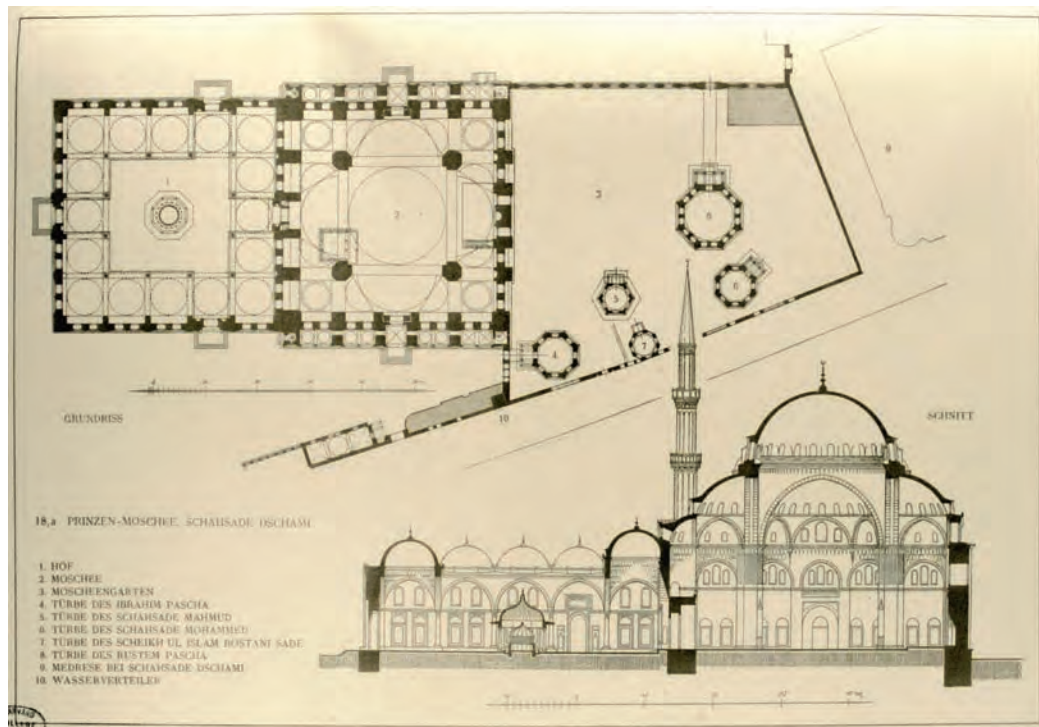


Fig. 11. Plan and section of the Şehzade Mehmed Mosque in Istanbul, built by Sinan in 1543–48. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 18a)

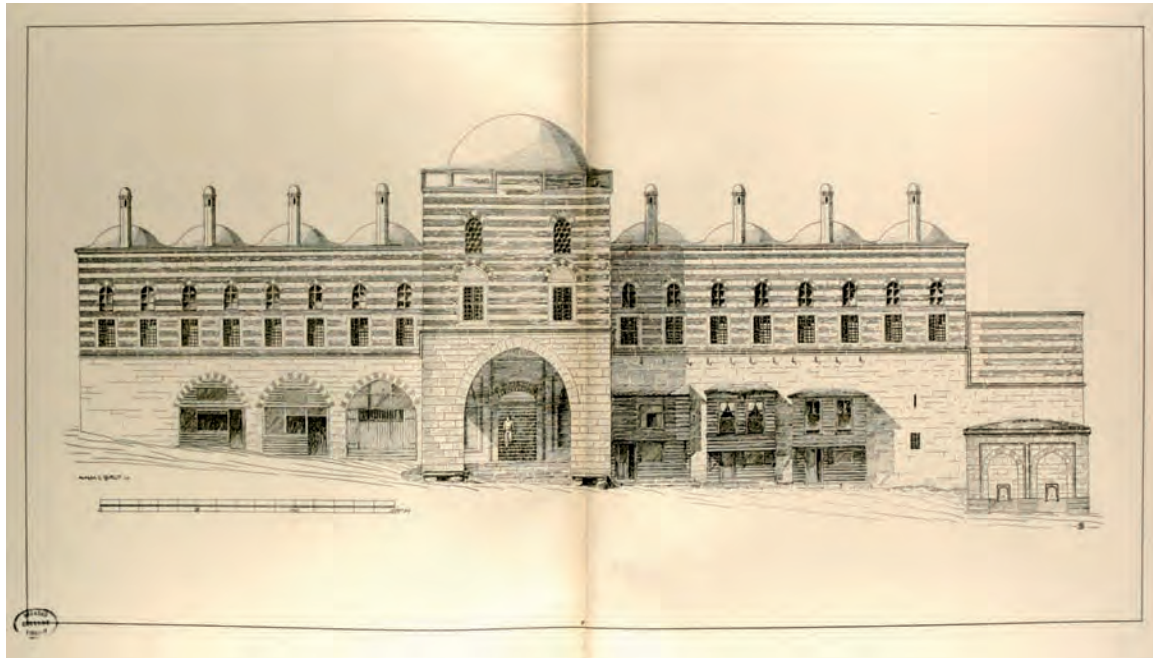
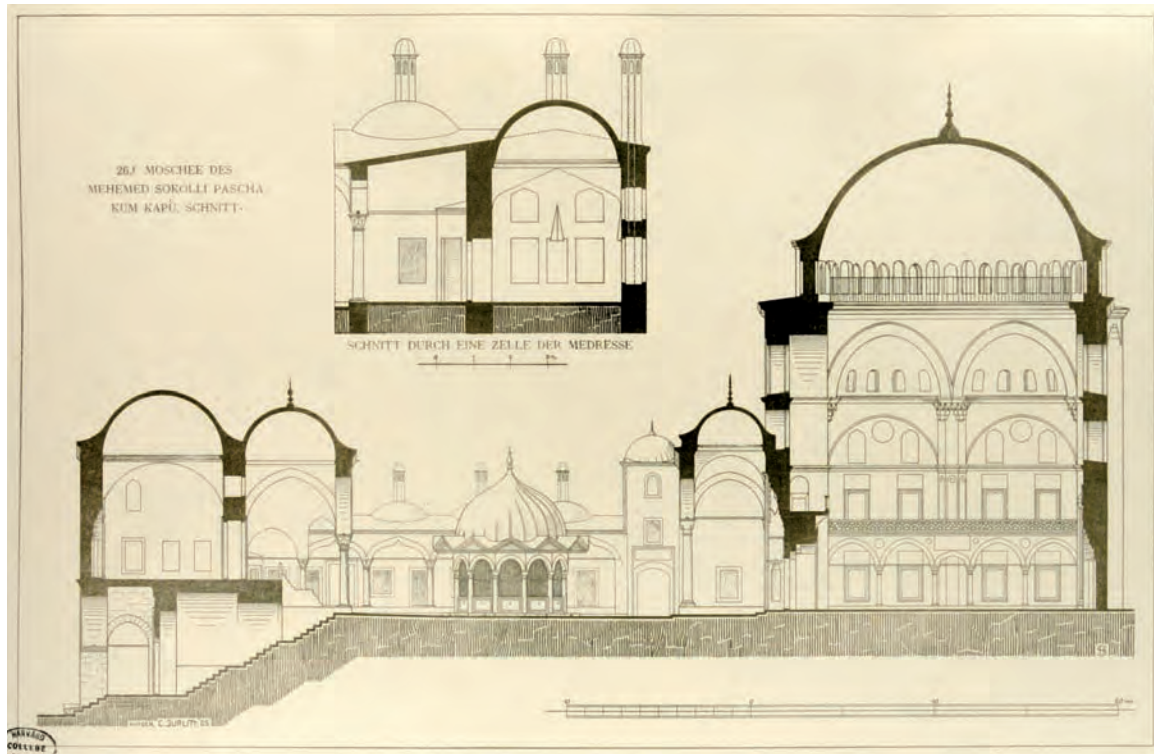


Fig. 12, a and b. Sections of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex in Istanbul, built by Sinan, 1568–71, and elevation of the north courtyard facade with upper madrasa, portal, shops, and public fountain. (After Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pls. 26f, 26c)

and boldness, with the same artistic and creative force, that was shaping the culture on the opposite shores of the Adriatic Sea.⁴⁶

Gurlitt's richly illustrated survey of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in Constantinople not only includes Sinan's major imperial complexes, which feature monumental mosques with domes raised on four piers, but also his smaller domed edifices with hexagonal and octagonal support systems (figs. 10, a–c; 11; and 12, a and b). He thus initiated the still-pervasive classification of the chief architect's mosques in terms of domed baldachins resting on varied support systems, always designed to create centrally planned communal spaces for the ritual needs of Muslim congregations. Another lasting legacy of *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* was its focus on the clarity and unity of Sinan's "conception of space," a focus resonating with the spatial preoccupations of modernist European architecture at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁷

Following his compatriot's lead, the German Orientalist Franz Babinger was the first historian to draw international attention to Sinan, with a 1914 article on the "Turkish Renaissance." In it, Babinger paid tribute to the chief architect as the Greek-born master of a sixteenth-century renaissance initiated under the patronage of Sultan Süleyman, when central-plan domed sanctuaries comparable to those of Bramante, Giuliano da Sangallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Michelangelo came into being. Babinger proposed that the "greatest Ottoman architect" Sinan, who remained practically unknown in Europe, be given deserved global recognition with a scholarly monograph on his life and works. For this urgent task Babinger enlisted the interdisciplinary cooperation of art historians, with their newly developed universal techniques of formal analysis, and Orientalist historians, who possessed the linguistic skills required for research in the "astoundingly rich" Turkish archives. As a starting point, he compiled an inventory of the chief architect's oeuvre based on Cevdet's edition of the *Tezkiretü'l Bünyân*, unsuspectingly repeating the fabricated biographical details of its preface.⁴⁸ A year later, Babinger would coin the nickname "Ottoman Michelangelo" for Sinan, who was soon transformed into the symbol of a newly born nation-state's creative spirit as the "Turkish Michelangelo."⁴⁹

TURKIFICATION OF SINAN IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA

Babinger's call for interdisciplinary cooperation was not embraced until the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923 provided a fresh impetus for the nascent field of Turcology, now actively cultivated by the new nation-state. Around that time, the Austrian art historian Heinrich Glück invited Babinger to submit an article about primary written sources on Ottoman court architects and artists for the first volume of *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* (1924).⁵⁰ Glück was a pioneer in the field of "Turkish art," launched by the studies of his teacher, mentor, and collaborator Josef Strzygowski, the director of the Institut für Kunstgeschichte at the University of Vienna, who himself had sought Asiatic origins for the "Northern" Germanic art of Austro-Hungary and Germany. Attempting to counter the Eurocentric "humanist bias" that privileged the "Southern" Greco-Roman tradition and the late antique Mediterranean origins of Islamic art, Strzygowski's controversial ethno-racial theories emphasized the westward dissemination of "Aryan" artistic forms through the nomadic migrations of the Turks, who had generally been dismissed as "barbarians." The expansive geographical scope of this pan-Germanic perspective, embracing much of Eurasia, upgraded the artistic status of Turkic peoples to that of mediators between East and West.⁵¹ Foregrounding the importance of Turko-Iranian artistic syntheses catalyzed by the Turkic migrations, Strzygowski declared that "the Turks played the same role in Asia as the Germans did in Europe."⁵² Not surprisingly, his theories struck a chord with nationalist sentiments in the newly founded Turkish Republic, which was searching for its own cultural roots in the eastern homelands of the Turks. Among Strzygowski's disciples, Ernst Diez and Katharina Otto-Dorn would eventually hold prominent teaching positions at the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara during the 1940s and 1950s, following their colleague Glück's premature death in 1930 at the age of forty.⁵³

The earliest monograph on "Turkish art" was Glück's *Türkische Kunst* (1917), based on an inaugural lecture that he delivered in Istanbul for the founding of the short-lived Hungarian Institute, which closed down in 1918 upon the defeat in the First World War of the allied Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. This booklet reflects the Institute's particular interest in Turkish culture at a time when the cultural roots of Hungary were being sought in Central Asia;

its planned publications also included monographs on Turkish architecture and translations of primary sources on the lives of Ottoman artists and architects. Glück portrays the Turks as transmitting visual culture across the Eurasian lands via westward migrations that culminated in the formation of Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman art. Arguing that successive Turkic dynasties kneaded with their own national “spirit” the diverse traditions they encountered in lands extending from China to Europe, Glück attributes originality to the artistic syntheses that emerged from this process of creative “transformation,” often disparaged as “imitation.” He highlights the agency of patrons and “national artists” like Sinan, who stamped each new artistic synthesis with the unchanging imprint of the “Turkish spirit.” Like Gurlitt, Glück credits the Ottomans with reviving the idea, dormant for a thousand years, of building monumental structures in the manner of Hagia Sophia; he views this renaissance as rooted in earlier Turkic experiments with domed spaces.⁵⁴

The role of Sinan as the creator of a new conception of centralized domed space is also articulated in Glück’s *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (1922)—an expanded version of his essay, “Türkische Dekorationskunst” (1920), which stresses the “national internationalism” (*nationalen Internationalismus*) of Ottoman architecture and architectural decoration, along with the cosmopolitanism of Istanbul’s court culture manifested by invitations extended to such artists as Gentile Bellini. According to Glück, Sinan’s national school of architecture, with its distinctive mode of decoration epitomized in floral tile revetments, has an international dimension, for it fuses Eastern and Western traditions more than any other school of Islamic architecture.⁵⁵

Emphasizing the simultaneously international and national character of “Turkish art,” Glück’s publications found an enthusiastic reception in early republican Turkey, with its modernist mission to join the European cultural sphere coupled with its desire to preserve an individual identity, increasingly defined in ethno-racial terms. Around 1926–27, Fuat Köprülü, the leading nationalist historian of Turkic literature and culture, asked both Glück and Strzygowski to contribute articles on the subject of “Turkish art” to *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (a journal Köprülü published as the director of the Turcology Institute of Istanbul University).⁵⁶ In those years, he also envisioned inviting Glück to teach at Istanbul University and sending Turkish students to study with Strzygowski in

Vienna.⁵⁷ Strzygowski’s article for *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, titled “The Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art,” adapts theories he developed in 1917 for a new audience. He not only recommends the creation in Ankara of a national museum of “Turkish art” of all periods but also announces his desire, fueled by the foundation of the republican regime, to write a grand survey of the arts of the Turks from their ancient origins to the present.⁵⁸

Glück’s article, titled “The Status of Turkish Art in the World,” similarly declares his intention to prepare a comprehensive survey in collaboration with his colleague Mehmed Aga-Oglu, an Azerbaijani Turk who trained in Turcology at the University of Moscow (1912–16) before emigrating to Istanbul. Subsequently sent to study in Germany and Austria as the future director of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul, Aga-Oglu was appointed to the position he had been groomed for upon obtaining his doctorate with Strzygowski in 1927. Glück’s article, written the same year, is a revised version of the inaugural lecture he had delivered a decade earlier at the Hungarian Institute, now inflected with a more pronounced ethno-racial emphasis.⁵⁹ It cites as new evidence for the Turkishness of Istanbul’s mosques an article published by Aga-Oglu in 1926 “disproving” the influence of Hagia Sophia on the mosque of Mehmed II (1463–70), the first in a series of sultanic complexes culminating with those built by Sinan. Glück agrees with Aga-Oglu’s assessment of this mosque as a direct descendant of the indigenous Anatolian Seljuk and early Ottoman architectural traditions. Moreover, he now claims a Turkish ethnic origin for Sinan, citing another article published in 1926 by Aga-Oglu, “proving” that the chief architect’s grandfather was a Turk.⁶⁰

The interdisciplinary collaboration between Glück and Babinger was cut short by the controversy sparked by Aga-Oglu’s article on Sinan’s ethnicity, which challenged Babinger’s subscription to the unsubstantiated view that the chief architect’s father was a Greek named Christo (a name supposedly mentioned in the *Qüyūdāt-i Mühimme*).⁶¹ Aga-Oglu based his own argument on an equally suspicious source, however—a marginal note in a manuscript by Örfi Mahmud Agha (d. 1778), the *Tārīkh-i Edirne* (History of Edirne), which happened to mention the Turkish name of Sinan’s grandfather, who allegedly trained him in carpentry:

The talented Master Sinan Agha b. Abdülmennan, who built the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, was a pious old man who lived more than a hundred years. Whenever he



Fig. 13. Portrait of Sinan, signed by the artist Hasan Rıza. (After Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey, “İrtihâlinin 339’uncu Sene-i Devriyesi Münâsebetiyle Büyük Türklerden Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennân,” *Millî Mecmua* 7, 83 [1927]: 1339)

came to Edirne, he would stay in the Mirmiran quarter, at the house of my grandfather Abdullah Agha, who was the Kethüda of the Old Palace. One night he drew the plans and calculations of the noble [Sokollu] mosque in Lüleburgaz. On that occasion, Master Sinan recounted to my grandfather how he received the tools of his trade in his youth from the workshop of his grandfather, Togan Yusuf Agha, who was a master carpenter.”⁶²

Babinger’s rebuttal in 1927 insisted on Sinan’s identity as a Greek convert (*devşirme*) and questioned the authenticity of the marginal note quoted above, written by a late-eighteenth-century author whose grandfather could hardly have been a contemporary of the chief architect.⁶³

Turkish historians subsequently demonstrated that the marginal note was indeed a forgery, perhaps perpetrated by the owner of the manuscript, the retired doctor and amateur architectural historian Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey.⁶⁴ Rifat Osman’s 1927 article in *Millî Mecmua* (National Journal), commemorating the 339th anniversary of the death of the “Great Turk Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennan” mentions not only the marginal note quoted above but also the preface of another source in the same manuscript (a composite version of the chief architect’s autobiographies) according to which Sinan was not a convert (*devşirme*) but instead came to Istanbul with his father, a scribe in the retinue of an officer sent to recruit Christian Janissary cadets from Kayseri. Rifat Osman points out that the information provided by the latter source is at odds with other versions of Sinan’s autobiographies, which refer to his Christian *devşirme* origin. Hoping that new sources discovered in the future might resolve such contradictory evidence, he ridicules those who wish to invent a non-*devşirme*, Muslim identity for Sinan.⁶⁵ The same article furthermore brings to light an “authentic” portrait of the venerable chief architect in old age, signed by the late artist Hasan Rıza, who is said to have copied it from an Italian engraving made during the sitter’s lifetime (fig. 13). This visual counterpart to Cevdet’s “verbal portrait” of Sinan is yet another manifestation of the obsession with the persona of the beloved national architect.⁶⁶

Rifat Osman dedicated his article to the recently deceased Mimar Kemalettin Bey, a leader of the “First National Movement” in architecture, which rejected the eclectic revivalist style promoted by the *Uşul* in favor of a more purist Turkish idiom inspired by Seljuk and Ottoman forms. An ardent admirer of Sinan, Kemalettin not only named one of his sons after the chief architect but also wished to be buried next to him. As the director between 1909 and 1919 of constructions and restorations at the Superintendency of Charitable Foundations (Evkaf Nezareti), Kemalettin trained a generation of architect-restorers (such as Sedat Çetintaş, Ali Saim Ülgen, and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi), who were among the first to restore and prepare measured drawings of Ottoman monuments and to write on national architecture.⁶⁷ Emerging during the first decades of the twentieth century, this indigenous tradition of architectural historiography, much like the scholarship of art historians belonging to Strzygowski’s circle, was dominated by formal analysis.⁶⁸ It was largely the product of individuals



Fig. 14. Map of Central Asia showing the place of origin and spread of the Turks. (After Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk San'atı* [Istanbul, 1928], 12, fig. 5)

trained as architects and artists, who elaborated on the rationalist paradigm of the *Uşûl* with new observations based on the first-hand study of national monuments, and was often fuelled by critical responses to the “detractors” of “Turkish art.”

A pioneer of this native tradition of nationalist historiography was Celâl Esad (Arseven): a polymath educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul (founded in 1883), where the *Uşûl* was being used as a textbook.⁶⁹ His *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul* (1909) is the earliest book by a Turkish author on the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments of the imperial capital: appended to it is a short biography of Sinan, identified as the son of Christo. Its section on Ottoman architecture, mostly derived from the *Uşûl*, aims to demonstrate the distinctive “national character” of “Turkish art,” which is “in Europe falsely considered a

servile imitation of Persian, Arab, and Byzantine art.”⁷⁰ Between 1920 and 1941, Arseven intermittently taught courses on architectural history and urbanism at the Academy of Fine Arts, where he developed the conceptual framework of his second book, *Türk San'atı* (Turkish Art), published in 1928. This is the first survey by a Turkish scholar to trace the eastern Turkic origins (fig. 14) of the art and architecture of “Turkey” (Türkiye), the shrunken territory of the new nation-state. Criticizing the European concept of “Islamic art” as tantamount to classifying the whole Western tradition as “Christian art,” Arseven once again seeks to disprove the presumption that the Turks merely copied “Arab, Persian, and Byzantine art.” He argues that it is a “national duty” to rectify the lack of recognition of “Turkish art” and proposes the establishment of a committee to remedy the paucity of documentation.⁷¹

Arseven cites the works of Strzygowski, Glück, Diez, and Aga-Oglu as models for future research on the “national” (*millî*) and “individual” (*şahsî*) character of “Turkish art.”⁷² He adopts and illustrates with a map (fig. 14) their paradigm of migrations that give rise to original artistic syntheses created by the interaction of foreign and national artists under the patronage of Turkish dynasties. Nevertheless, he rejects the “exaggerated role” attributed by European scholars to Byzantine and Armenian elements in the Anatolian Seljuk synthesis and approvingly cites Aga-Oglu’s view that Hagia Sophia exerted no influence on the mosque of Mehmed II in Istanbul.⁷³ Arseven’s *Türk San’atı* traces the evolution of “Turkish art” in three phases, from ancient and medieval Asiatic origins to the present. In his opinion, the latest Anatolian phase, encompassing the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, constitutes a “continuous style” culminating with Sinan’s masterpieces, which are “without doubt” the highest achievement of “Turkish art.”⁷⁴

Arseven refers to Sinan as the “greatest master of Turkish architecture,” who perfects the “classical style” of the “Ottoman Turks” (a still-prevalent denomination that anachronistically ethnicizes the Ottomans). He considers there to have been only two unrivaled architectural geniuses of the sixteenth century, “Sinan in the East” and “Michelangelo in the West.” He is the first to use the term “classical period” for the zenith of Ottoman architecture, which achieves “simplicity and beauty” by passing previous foreign influences through a corrective “filter.” Thanks to its harmonious volumetric massing and the subordination of its ornament to structural rationalism, the “purified” classical Ottoman synthesis is superior to the hybrid medieval style of the Anatolian Seljuks, which is characterized by unseemly heavy proportions and an exaggerated decorative emphasis. Arseven’s preoccupation with “purification” echoes the general obsession of an entire age in which late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalisms exalted ethnic/national purity (in such realms as race, language, history, culture, and art) as an ideal.⁷⁵ Moreover, his teleological view of the Seljuk period as a less developed precursor of the Ottoman era, within which the essentialized “classical age” reigns supreme, finds a direct corollary in nationalist history writing in the early Turkish Republic. In an expanded edition of his book Arseven later explains that he chose the term “classical style” (*klâsik üslûb*) because in Europe it denotes a “high style” based on rational principles consistently applied to plans, ele-

vations, and ornament “rescued from exaggerated forms.” The distinctive characteristics of this style—refinement, simplicity, rationality, sincerity, nobility, and dignity—are none other than the ones highlighted forty-five years earlier in the imperial discourse of the *Uşûl* as markers of proto-national dynastic identity; they are now recast as Turkish qualities embodying a modernist spirit awaiting reinvigoration under the Westernizing Republic of Turkey.⁷⁶

Criticizing the predominant focus of the *Uşûl* on mosques, Arseven draws attention to their multifunctional dependencies, which embody urban design principles, and to secular building types. He declares that the modern age must invent an entirely new, nonrevivalist art inspired by the national “spirit” of the past, which since the eighteenth century, with the infiltration of foreign European influences, has steadily declined. Arseven’s modernist discourse is built into his elaborate periodization of Ottoman architecture (slightly revised in the 1939 French edition of his book, indicated in brackets), which culminates in the “New Turkey Period”: he labels these “Bursa Period, 1325–1480” [“Style de Brousse, 1325–1501”]; “Classical Period, 1480–1603” [“Style classique, 1501–1616”]; “Renovation Period, 1603–1702” [“Style classique rénové, 1616–1703”]; “Tulip Period, 1702–30” [“Style Tulipe, 1703–30”]; “Baroque Period, 1730–1808” [“Style Baroque, 1730–1808”]; “Empire Period, 1808–50” [“Style Empire et pseudo-Renaissance, 1808–84”]; and “Revivalist Period, 1850–1923” [“Style néo-classique, 1875–1923”].⁷⁷ This dynamic succession of period-styles, echoing those of Europe and integrated with the evolutionary rhythms of Western civilization, stands in marked contrast to the essentialist frameworks of Orientalist publications that denied modernity to the “Islamic other.” By adapting the *Uşûl*’s rise-and-decline paradigm to the new context of the Turkish Republic, Arseven attempts to legitimize the progressive modernist agenda of the nation-state on both the political and the artistic front.⁷⁸

Although Arseven notes the dissemination of the “classical style” in the Balkans and the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (and supposedly as far as India by way of Sinan’s students), his book focuses on monuments within modern Turkey.⁷⁹ The geographical spread and regional diversity of the Ottoman architectural heritage over three continents would also be distorted by the nationalist historiographies of other nation-states (both Christian and Muslim) that had partitioned the empire’s formerly unified territories;

these new polities tended to delegitimize the Ottoman past by casting it as an artistically inferior period of detested foreign “occupation.” By contrast, the Anatolia-centered secular Republic of Turkey, founded on the contracted heartlands of the empire with a revolution that terminated the Ottoman regime, stood out as the only modern nation-state to embrace the architectural legacy of the past: the “Rumi” legacy of a multinational dynastic empire, which now came to be reconceptualized as “Anatolian Turkish.”⁸⁰

With the inauguration in 1931 of the Turkish History Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), an institution created to construct a nationalist historiography demonstrating “the service of the Turks to civilization,” the subject of “Turkish art” moved to center stage of official attention.⁸¹ In 1935, the director of the society, Afet [İnan], proposed the publication of a monograph on the national chief architect, and her proposal was approved by the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], who wrote the instruction: “Make Sinan’s statue!” (fig. 15). Atatürk also expressed his desire that the Süleymaniye Mosque be restored and its multifunctional dependencies transformed into a commemorative urban complex named “Sinan Sitesi” after the chief architect. This desire would be realized only partially: the mosque was renovated and one of its madrasas converted into a public manuscript library. The long-delayed statue, not sculpted until 1956, was ceremonially erected in front of the Ankara University Faculty of Language and History-Geography during the four hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the Süleymaniye Mosque (fig. 16).⁸²

After Atatürk’s death in 1938, the Sinan monograph failed to materialize due to the Second World War, although several publications eventually grew out of it from the 1960s through the 1980s.⁸³ Planned as a two-volume work in French and Turkish, the book had been assigned to an interdisciplinary committee of prominent historians, anthropologists, and architectural historians. Like the multilingual *Uşûl*, it was to be an official publication commissioned by the state to address an audience both at home and abroad. The first volume, on historical context, would include sections on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cultural history of the Ottoman Empire, the Janissary institution, the ethnology of Muslim and Christian Turks in Anatolia, the ethnic origin of Sinan, his private and public life, the inventory of his monuments, critical editions of his autobiographies and *waqfiyyas*, the school of Sinan and architects trained by him, and

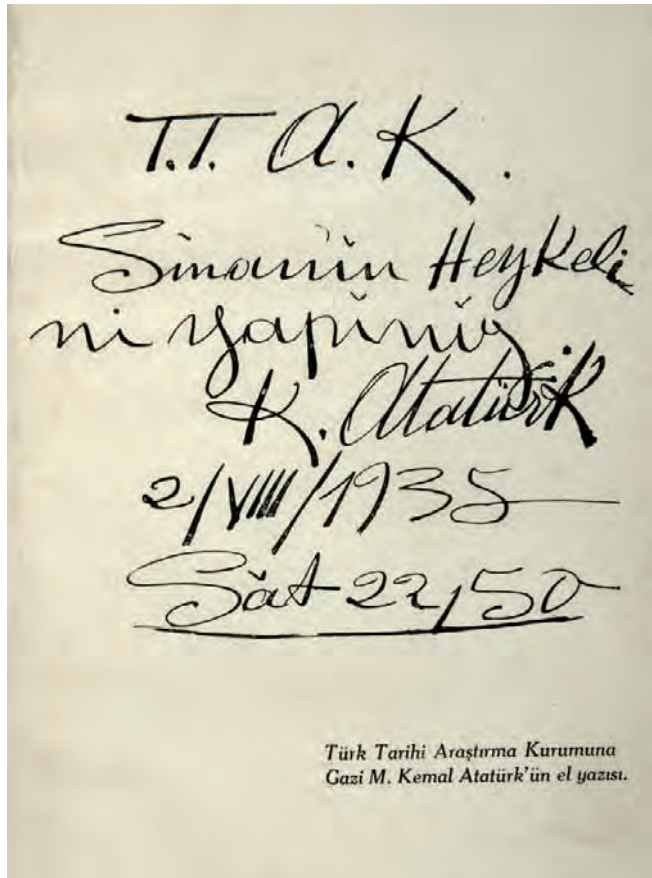


Fig. 15. Atatürk’s handwritten instruction to the Turkish History Society, dated Aug. 2, 1935: “Make Sinan’s statue!” (After Afet İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* [Ankara, 1956], frontispiece)

the monuments of his students in India. The second volume, on architectural history, would be illustrated with specially prepared drawings and photographs; it would feature chapters on architecture as a fine art, the art-historical analysis of Sinan’s works, their comparison to contemporary monuments of world architecture, and their interpretation in Turkish and European publications and would end with a comprehensive bibliography.⁸⁴

A bilingual brochure published in 1937, on the occasion of the Second Congress of Turkish History, included abstracts written by the respective supervisors of each volume, the historian Fuat Köprülü and the French architectural historian Albert-Louis Gabriel.⁸⁵ Trained as an architect-archaeologist, Gabriel taught in the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University between

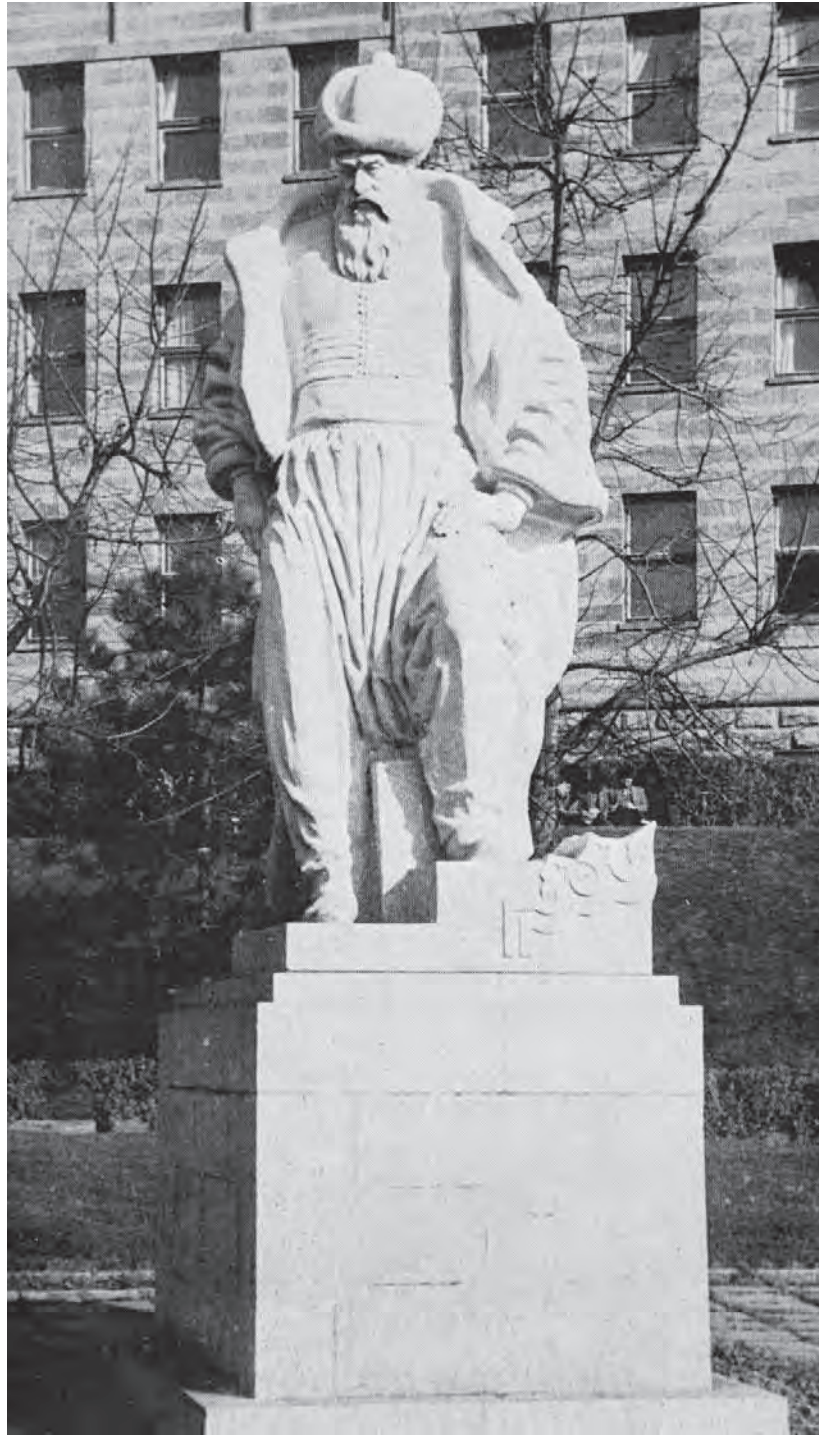


Fig. 16. Marble statue of Sinan, sculpted by Hüseyin Ankay in 1956 (After İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, pl. 4]

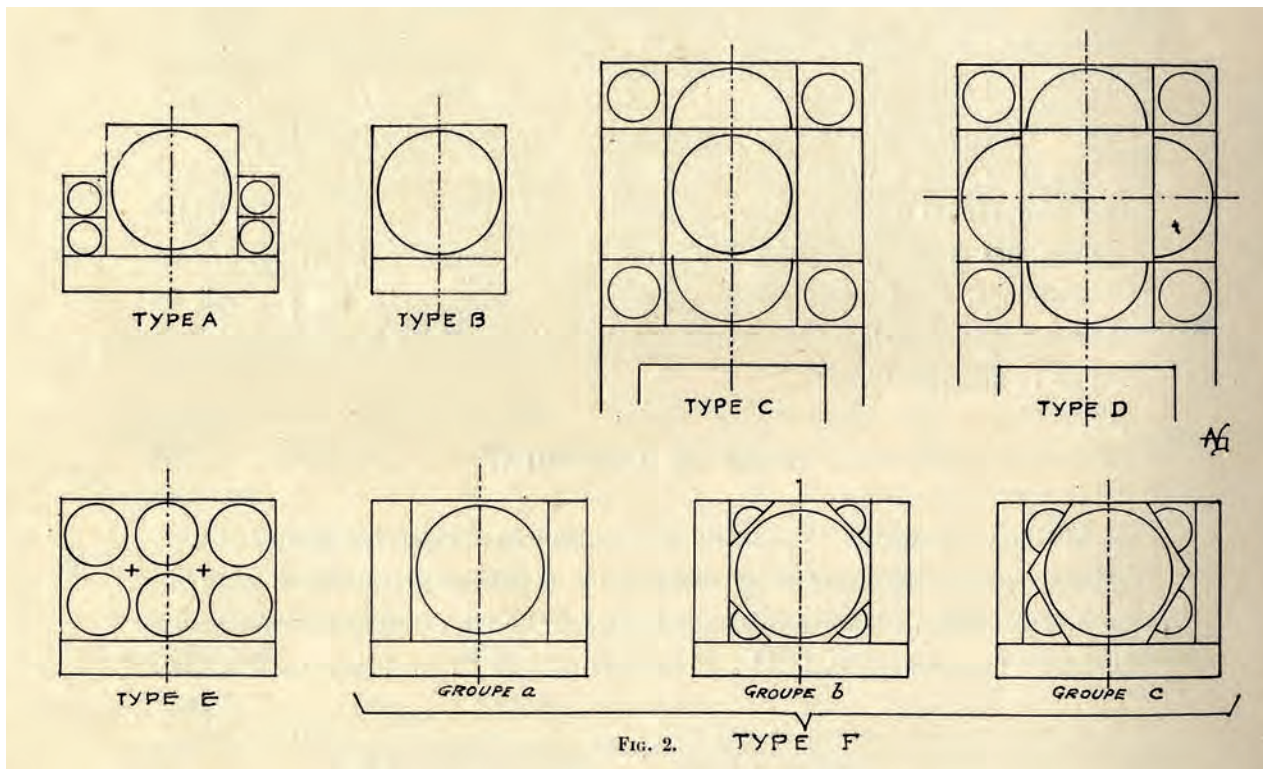


Fig. 17. Typological chart of mosque plans. (After Albert Gabriel, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria* 7 [1926]: 362)

1926 and 1930 and subsequently served as the first director of the French Institute of Archaeology until 1956. He was a trusted friend of Köprülü and the celebrated author of *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (1931–34).⁸⁶ His abstract explains that the volume on architectural history was to show how Sinan's works embody "national traditions and constitute an integral part of the Turkish patrimony." Despite the geographical spread of his works in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria, the monograph would focus on Sinan's masterpieces in Edirne and particularly in Istanbul, without neglecting provincial monuments. Major mosque complexes were to be fully documented and complemented by selected examples of other building types such as masjids, madrasas, caravansarays, bridges, and fountains. (The absence from this list of Sinan's palaces and kiosks was perhaps due to the paucity of surviving examples, which enhanced the traditional focus on public monumental architecture.) The evolution of the chief architect's style would be traced to Anatolian Seljuk and early Ottoman prototypes in order to identify the "original character" of his works, along

with their "eminent place in global art history." His masterpieces, erected via a sophisticated centralized "organization of labor," would be presented not only as the manifestations of a single architect's extraordinary talent but also as "the symbol of the fundamental characteristics of the Turks and their highest aspirations." The analysis of Sinan's oeuvre would thus bring to light a great achievement in the art of humankind, reflecting "not only the genius of an individual man, but also the eternal virtues and merits of a nation."⁸⁷

The monograph, then, envisioned the chief architect's simultaneously global and national style (representing the supreme embodiment of the merits of a dynastic empire in the *Uşûl*) as a collective artistic achievement of the Anatolian Turks. Gabriel had written an article along the same lines in 1936, glorifying Sinan as a "creative genius" whose masterpieces, imprinted by the "Turkish spirit," were far from pastiches of Hagia Sophia. Ten years earlier, he had detected in the chief architect's oeuvre an ethos comparable to that of the European Renaissance, rooted in



Fig. 18. Sinan's signature and the imprint of his seal on an archival document. (After Fuat Köprülü and Albert Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri = Sinan, sa vie, son oeuvre* [Istanbul, 1937], back cover)

the reinterpretation of antique models from the past in "modern works."⁸⁸ According to Gabriel's abstract, his "rigorously documented" volume, which would feature contributions of other architects-cum-architectural historians (S. Çetintaş, A. S. Ülgen, and S. H. Eldem), aimed to disprove "prejudiced" assessments by non-experts, based on "false postulates." Its architectural drawings, to be prepared with "scrupulous exactitude," would probably have featured comparative typological charts, like those included in Gabriel's 1926 article classifying the plan types of Istanbul's mosques, which initiated the taxonomical gaze of subsequent studies (fig. 17).⁸⁹ The clear-cut separation of historical documentation and formal analysis into two

volumes, each assigned to a different group of specialists, echoes the division of labor Babinger had previously envisioned for his own unrealized Sinan monograph. Such a nonintegrated approach, relegating to historians the study of texts as repositories of background information, would largely be maintained by future generations of formalist architectural historians, whose primary methodological tool became that of style and typology.

Köprülü's abstract explains the purpose of the historical volume: to analyze, on the basis of written sources, the organization of labor and the political, cultural, and socio-economic contexts within which "our national architecture and great national architect" flourished. Sinan's biography would be derived from his autobiographies and other primary sources, reproduced in an appendix (fig. 18). The planned inclusion of a section on the ethnology of Anatolia signals the official agenda of propagating Sinan's identity as a Christian Turkish *devşirme* who converted to Islam upon being recruited as a Janissary cadet. In 1936 a member of the historical committee, Ahmet Refik (Altınay), had published an imperial decree dating to 1573, which recorded the Turkish names of some of Sinan's Christian relatives living in the villages of Kayseri.⁹⁰ At the 1937 Congress of Turkish History, another member of the historical committee, Hasan Fehmi Turgal, brought to light additional documents showing the prevalence of Turkish names in the Christian village of Ağırnas, in Kayseri, where, according to archival sources, Sinan was born.⁹¹ The historian Rıfki Melul Meriç, who had been appointed to write Sinan's biography for the historical volume, used these documents in a 1938 article to support the view that the chief architect was recruited from Ağırnas as a Christian Turk. He convincingly demonstrated the unreliability of texts used (and almost certainly invented) by Cevdet and Osman Rifat to construct fictive biographies of Sinan. Nevertheless, Meriç's own assertion that Turkish names were adopted only by the Christian Turks of the Kayseri region, and not by their Greek and Armenian neighbors, was at best an unsubstantiated hypothesis. The search for the controversial ethnic origin of Sinan (whether Greek, Armenian, or Turkish) was largely a misguided exercise, given the racial pluralism of the Ottoman state. The still-unresolved controversy is based on the assumption of an "ethnic purity" difficult to imagine in the intermixed Greek, Armenian, and Christian Turkish populations

of the Kayseri region, whose shared naming practices further complicate the problem.⁹²

The ongoing preoccupation with the Turkishness of Sinan and of his style is manifested in a fictionalized biography of him written “in the manner of a historical novel” by Afet İnan, the director of the Turkish History Society, who had initially conceived the monograph project. Even though Meriç had proved the fabricated nature of documents “discovered” by Cevdet and Rifat Osman, she indiscriminately uses them to embellish the childhood portrait of the national genius as a Christian Turk.⁹³ She imagines in vivid detail how Sinan’s grandfather Doğan Yusuf Agha interrupts his work on carpentry and holds the newborn baby in his arms, as his tears of joy fall and dry on the infant’s cheeks. Instead of merely constructing chicken coops and fountains, little Sinan absorbs artistic influences from the physical landscape of the Anatolian terrain, such as the powerful silhouette of Mount Erciyes, whose form he later mimics in the mountainlike pyramidal massing of the Süleymaniye Mosque (fig. 19). Another influence on his style, constituting a geographically and ethnically defined Anatolian Turkish synthesis, is the cultural landscape of Seljuk monuments in nearby Kayseri and Konya, which Sinan avidly studies and sketches whenever his grandfather goes to repair their woodwork (fig. 20). On these occasions, the talented boy helps the old man, who in turn teaches him history lessons. At the Karatay Khan, for instance, he tells Sinan: “This building is a monument of our ancestors, the Seljuks. Like us they, too, came from the east. They settled here, built these monuments, and left them to us.” As Sinan prepares to leave Ağırnas for Istanbul with his father Katip Abdülmennan (the scribe of a Janissary recruitment officer), his grandfather kisses his forehead and encourages him to build masterpieces that emulate Seljuk monuments in the sultan’s service: “Our tribal ancestors came here in migrations. We kept alive our lineage with our names and mother tongue. Now most of these Turks are accepting the religion of Islam and creating civilized works (*medenî eserler*). I want to see you also as a person serving this race and the Turkish being!”⁹⁴

In promoting its racial theories, the Turkish History Society went so far as to exhume Sinan’s body from his tomb in 1935 to measure his skull. In 1944, the architect Bedri Uçar proudly announced that the Society’s anthropological research had proven Sinan’s skull to be characteristic of the “brachyce-

phalic Turkish race” (*Brakisefal Türk ırkı*).⁹⁵ In those years such architectural journals as *Arkitekt*, *Mimarlık*, and *Mimar* continued to regularly commemorate Sinan, on the anniversary of his death, as the role model of modern successors “bearing the blood and genius of the master.”⁹⁶

In their readings of Sinan’s architecture through the lens of modernism, highlighting its perfect balance between form and function along with its “rationalism” and “purism” transcending decorative impulses, these professional journals would leave an imprint on subsequent scholarship. The European professors of architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul also inscribed the chief architect’s works within modernist narratives.⁹⁷ For instance, a 1938 textbook on global architectural history, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Knowledge of Architecture), written by the German architect Bruno Taut for the students of the Academy, presents a functionalist interpretation of Sinan’s style, characterizing it as achieving an ideal harmony between proportional form and rational construction. Taut regards Roman and Byzantine architects as mere engineers in comparison to Sinan, who as a genius of the art of proportion aestheticizes engineering technique both internally and externally in his domed mosques. Visually improved by soaring minarets, Hagia Sophia is only a “prelude” to the mosques of Sinan, under whom domed construction reaches the highest degree of development and flexibility in world history.⁹⁸

Sinan also occupies a prominent position in another textbook for Turkish students, written by Ernst Diez soon after he founded (in 1943) the art history department of Istanbul University, where he taught courses on Islamic and Turkish art. Translated into Turkish by his pupil Oktay Aslanapa (who had just received a doctoral degree at the University of Vienna), it was published in 1946 under the title *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (Turkish Art: From the Beginning to the Present). Its preface laments the lack of a comprehensive survey comparable to Arthur Upham Pope’s *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (1938–39). Diez explains that his own modest volume aims to supplement the only existing survey of “Turkish art,” written by Arseven, which had been reprinted in 1939 in a revised French edition with new drawings, charts of typologically classified mosque plans, and additional photographs. Diez’s textbook reproduces some of these charts (fig. 21) and supplements them with others. Like his Turkish predecessor, he criticizes the mono-



Erciyeş'in Ağırnas'tan görünüşü
(Ressam Ahmed Çalışel 1955)



Süleymaniye'nin bu resimdeki dış hatlarıyla, Ağırnas'tan Erciyeş'in görünüşündeki silüeti ilgiyi çekecek durumdadır (Foto: Prof. Dr. Fazıl Noyan)

Fig. 19. View of Mount Erciyes from the village of Ağırnas, Sinan's birthplace, painted by Ahmed Çalışel in 1955, compared to a photograph showing the silhouette of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, frontispiece)



Fig. 20. Photographs of the Sultan Khan in Aksaray, Konya. (After İnönü, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, 23)

lithic term "Islamic art" and traces the evolution of the Turkish "national style" (*millî üslup*) in architecture and the arts from ancient Asiatic tribal origins to the present, focusing primarily on the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman periods.⁹⁹

Unlike Arseven, however, Diez (who was initially trained as a Byzantinist before turning to the study of Islamic art) aims to integrate the Turkish artistic tradition within a more universal Mediterranean perspective. In his book, written during the Second

World War, he explicitly rejects a race-based definition of "national style" and regards sultanic mosques built after the conquest of Constantinople as "the children of Hagia Sophia." It is the adoption of this monument by the sultans as a "symbol of imperial rule" that engenders a renaissance in the Golden Horn, born from the eastern Roman architectural tradition and characterized by an innovative conception of space and light that represents the last step in the evolution of Islamic mosque architecture. Elabo-

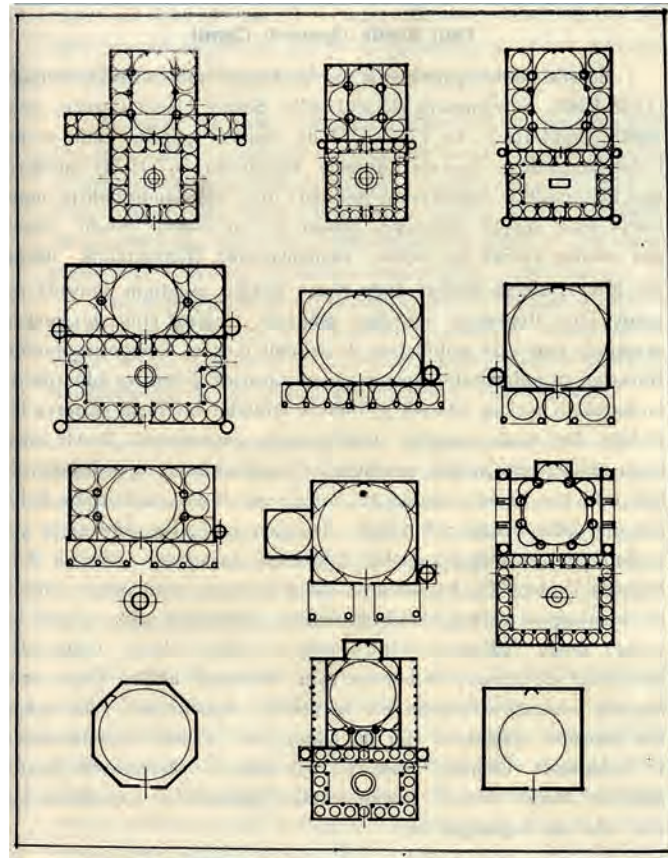


Fig. 21. Typological chart of Ottoman mosque plans by Arseven. (Reproduced in Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* [Istanbul, 1946], 169, fig. 123)

rating on the “Turkish Renaissance” paradigm initiated by Gurlitt and further developed by Glück (with whom, in 1925, he had coauthored *Die Kunst des Islam* in the Propyläen Kunstgeschichte series), Diez argues that the Ottomans, whose empire approximated that of the Romans, needed “architectural representation” on a monumental scale, unlike their Anatolian Seljuk predecessors, who were content to build relatively small structures. In his view, the imperial “state architecture” of the Ottomans is not purely Turkish but rather a creative synthesis of Byzantine, Iranian, and Islamic traditions.¹⁰⁰

Referring to Sinan as the “greatest Turkish architect,” Diez accepts the “evidence” presented by Aga-Oğlu concerning the chief architect’s ethnic origin as a Turk (although in a later article, published after he left Turkey, he states that Sinan was either Greek or Armenian, but more likely Armenian).¹⁰¹ Like Gurlitt, Diez classifies the plan types of the chief archi-

tect’s mosques as variations of square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems.¹⁰² He observes that the “classical style” of the school of Sinan, “a term used by Turkish scholars,” presents parallels with sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance architecture, even though artistic exchanges with the West were not as strong at that time as in later periods. This is an allusion to the term *klâsik üslûb*, coined by Arseven, who wrote that the school of Sinan was “an entirely separate movement from the European Renaissance, for art in Turkey had not yet submitted itself to any foreign influence.” Unlike his Turkish colleague, Diez emphasizes the shared roots of Ottoman and Italian Renaissance architecture in the Roman imperial tradition and attributes their similarities to a “period style” (*Zeitstil*) mediating between “East and West.”¹⁰³

Pointing out that Ottoman architects “gazed with one eye to Hagia Sophia and the other eye to Europe,” Diez ranks the perfectly centralized early-seventeenth-

century Sultan Ahmed Mosque, built by a student of Sinan in a style comparable to the “European Baroque,” above all other sultanic mosques in Istanbul. Despite the innovations of this mosque, however, he observes that Sinan’s successors perpetuated his legacy until the mid-seventeenth century, when reactions to his “serious style” opened the gate to detrimental European influences manifested in the hybrid works of non-Turkish architects (Italian, Greek, and Armenian), which hastened the demise of “national architecture.” Admitting that he has not visited the Selimiye in Edirne due to the war, Diez states his preference for the spatial effect of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque over that of Hagia Sophia or the Süleymaniye, an effect that to him demonstrates the superiority of a centralized plan with four half domes over a layout with only two half domes (fig. 22).¹⁰⁴ This judgment subverts the dominant view that the “classical style” of Sinan’s mosques, reaching perfection in the Selimiye, represents the highest achievement of Ottoman architecture. Diez was so heavily criticized by Turkish scholars for foregrounding the influence of Hagia Sophia and emphasizing the Armenian and Byzantine ingredients of Anatolian Seljuk architecture that he left for Vienna in 1948.¹⁰⁵

The revised and expanded edition of his book, prepared in 1955 by Aslanapa (now the coauthor), omits controversial passages such as those espousing the Turkish ethnic origin of Sinan and characterizing sultanic mosques as the “children of Hagia Sophia” and more emphatically stresses Italian Renaissance parallels. The new edition includes additional sections on the Karamanid principality (based on a book Diez coauthored with Aslanapa and Koman in 1950) and other monuments from the Beylik period that diachronically bridge the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The Beylik-period monuments of Western Anatolia, with their new emphasis on space, classicizing motifs inspired by local antique ruins, and Italianate features disseminated by trade relations, are seen as having initiated a fourteenth-century “renaissance” that constitutes yet another trans-Mediterranean “period style.”¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the fifteenth-century mosque of Mehmed II, now identified as the first monumental central-plan structure after Hagia Sophia, is credited with launching in Istanbul a “renaissance of antique architecture” parallel to that of Rome. Sinan’s subsequently built central-plan domed mosques are likewise compared to projects developed in Rome for St. Peter’s. The expanded section on Edirne refers

to the Üç Şerefeli Mosque (commissioned by Mehmed II’s father prior to the encounter with Hagia Sophia) as one of the precursors of Sinan’s “classical style,” which reaches its climax with the Selimiye, a masterpiece that “overshadows all monuments in the world, including the Pantheon and St. Peter’s in Rome.”¹⁰⁷

The continuing anxiety about “influence” and the preoccupation with Turkishness, however, hindered further research on intercultural exchanges and artistic parallels with Italy. The intentional cross-references of Sinan’s sultanic mosques to Hagia Sophia also resisted in-depth analysis. The stifling political correctness of nationalist discourses had the effect of marginalizing the architectural history of the “lands of Rum,” situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, as a narrowly circumscribed field increasingly dominated by native scholars. Whether conceptualized as an Anatolian Turkish synthesis confined to the territorial borders of the nation-state, or as a pan-Turkic synthesis rooted in distant Asiatic origins, the “classical style” of Sinan was often framed within separatist narratives of architectural nationalism.¹⁰⁸

The need to demonstrate the national character of “Turkish art” is reiterated in Arseven’s three-volume *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar* (History of Turkish Art: From Its Origins to the Present), published in fascicules between 1954 and 1959 as an expanded version of his 1939 *L’art Turc*. The preface announces the foundation in 1951 of the Institute of Turkish Art History at the Fine Arts Academy to further cultivate this undervalued field. The first two volumes, on architecture and architectural ornament, are once again dominated by the Ottoman period.¹⁰⁹ Arseven revises his former periodization by giving an even more prominent position to the “classical style” (now dated between 1501 and 1703) codified by Sinan. He no longer regards the Sultan Ahmed Mosque as the initiator of the “renovation period”; instead, it represents a less successful continuation of Sinan’s style, which impresses Europeans thanks to its decorative exuberance (apparently an allusion to Diez’s professed preference for the “Baroque” character of this mosque).¹¹⁰

Arseven censures Diez’s definition of sultanic mosques as the “children of Hagia Sophia” and his negative assessment of the Süleymaniye as “untenable views regrettably included in a textbook that instills Turkish youth with an inferiority complex.” He states that Sinan did not “imitate” Hagia Sophia, but rather “corrected and improved its errors and shortcomings”

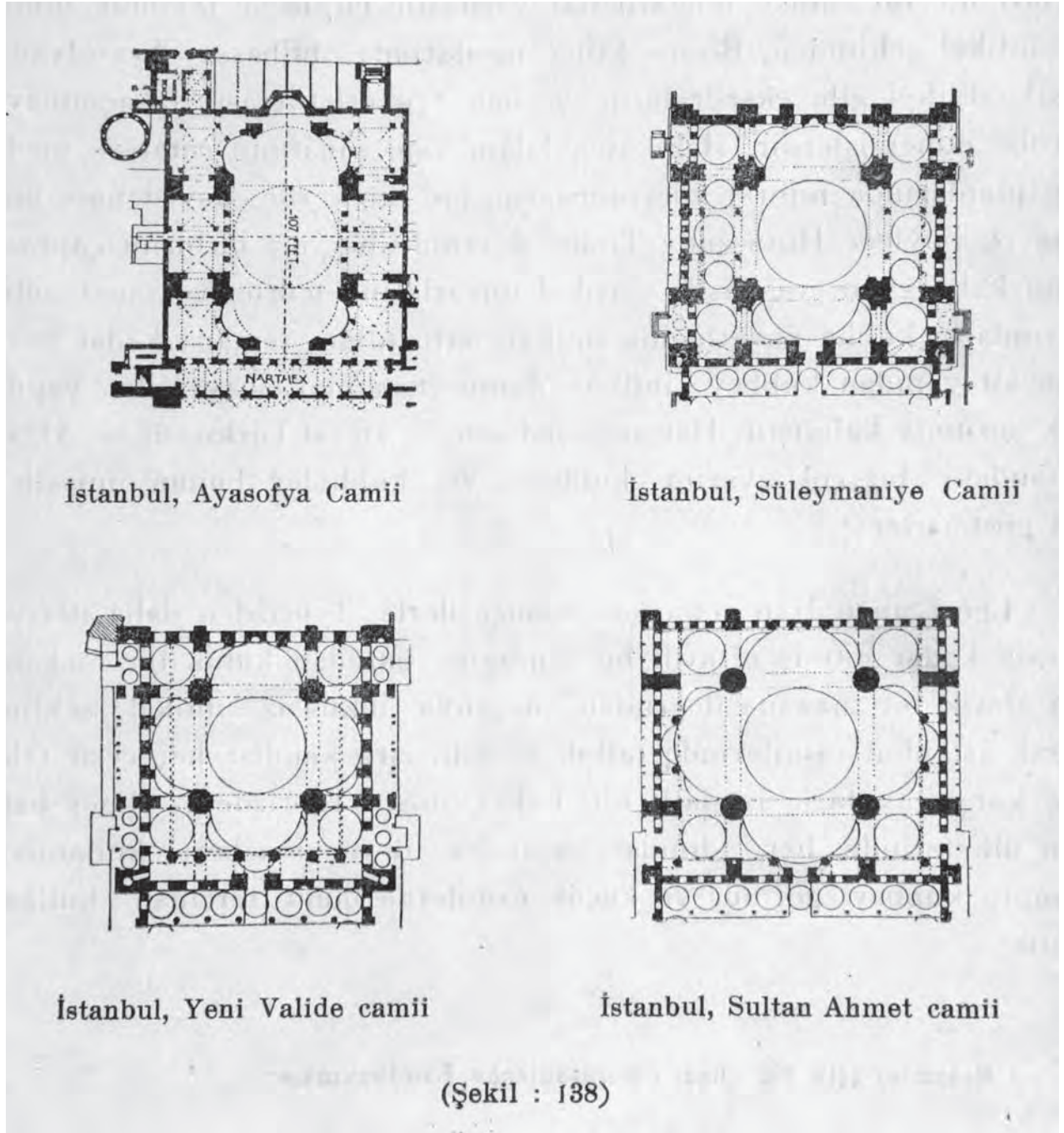


Fig. 22. Typological chart comparing the plans of the Ayasofya, Süleymaniye, Yeni Valide, and Sultan Ahmed mosques in Istanbul. (After Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* [Istanbul, 1946], 196, fig. 138)

in masterpieces that brought the internal evolution of Turkish architecture to its highest point of maturity. Nor was Sinan influenced by the European Renaissance manner, which only infiltrated the national tradition of architecture after the eighteenth century: "In the meantime, Turkish architecture evolved according to its own character, following traditions developed in Anatolia" and some ideas inspired by the dome of Hagia Sophia. Accepting the official view of Sinan's origin as a Christian Turk, Arseven argues that his architectural genius could not have soared to such heights without the contributions of his predecessors and talented assistants, whom he directed in the manner of an "orchestra conductor."¹¹¹ Like the unrealized monograph commissioned by the Turkish History Society, Arseven's revised book represents Sinan's oeuvre as an embodiment of national values that the Turks should be proud of: a collective achievement reflecting the "highly refined aesthetic sensibilities" of the society in which the chief architect flourished.¹¹²

The 1950s marked the emergence of specialized architectural history books that initiated a break between architecture and the arts; this dichotomy thereafter became normative in most surveys.¹¹³ The earliest monograph on the chief architect, *Sinan: Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, was published in 1954 by the Vienna-trained Swiss architect Ernst Egli, a former professor of the Academy of Fine Arts. Tracing the specifically Turkish character of Sinan's mosques to the cube-and-dome combination in Anatolian Seljuk architecture, Egli argues that "Hagia Sophia came less as a revelation than as an incentive for further effort." Commenting on the futility of the debate on ethnic origin, he positions Sinan's works within the Turkish-Islamic cultural sphere, for "no one can deny that he grew up in Turkish surroundings, or that his career was confined to the Turkish-Ottoman and Islamic worlds."¹¹⁴

Another monograph, published in 1958, is Doğan Kuban's *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde İç Mekân Teşekkülü: Rönesansla bir Mukayese* (Formation of Inner Space in Ottoman Religious Architecture: A Comparison with the Renaissance). Kuban, who was trained as an architect at Istanbul Technical University (where he subsequently became a renowned professor and the chair of Architectural History and Restoration) explains in his preface that he adopts an "empirical method" of formal comparison to demonstrate the distinctive character of Ottoman mosques, which depart from the "predominantly decorative approach of Islamic

architecture" in their original "conception of space." Distancing himself from discourses on the origins of the "classical style" of Ottoman architecture, he criticizes both the biases of Western scholars (who consider this style an imitation of Hagia Sophia, constituting an inferior branch of Islamic architecture) and the chauvinism of nationalist paradigms that insist on tracing its roots to ancient Asiatic sources. He contends that one must first understand the nature of the "Seljuk-Turkish" and "Ottoman-Turkish" architecture of Anatolia before attempting to search for distant origins in the East.¹¹⁵ Kuban's preference for defining the "character" of the classical Ottoman style as an Anatolian Turkish synthesis stamped by an early modern Mediterranean spirit is nevertheless implicitly embedded in a discourse of national identity. His comparison between Ottoman and Italian Renaissance religious monuments aims to highlight their differences rather than the parallels attributed by Diez to a *Zeitstil* shared across the Mediterranean. These differences, according to Kuban, underscore the separate identity of classical Ottoman architecture as an independent regional-geographical synthesis that, contrary to Diez's view, is not "influenced" by Europe.¹¹⁶

Focusing on the contemporaneous development of light-filled, domed central-plan religious monuments in Renaissance Italy and the Ottoman Empire, Kuban's comparative analysis of inner space highlights the uniqueness of Sinan's mosques, with their hemispherical superstructures resting on square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems and their rational construction system minimizing the role of ornament. Kuban argues that since the Italian Renaissance and the Ottoman architectural traditions both synthesize diverse influences (including Byzantine and medieval prototypes), each synthesis must be judged positively on its own terms. His comparative strategy thus vindicates the original character of Ottoman religious architecture by giving a new twist to the rationalist paradigm of the *Uşûl*, embraced in Arseven's definition of the "classical style." Kuban's Turkification and Anatolianization of the Ottoman architectural synthesis is further crystallized in a 1967 article titled "Mimar Sinan and the Classical Period of Turkish Architecture," which portrays the chief architect as the "symbol of the classical period of Anatolian Turkish architecture" and a "central issue of national culture." Aiming to show how Sinan "combined a national synthesis with a universal world view" that bridged Asia and Europe, this seminal article sets the tone for Kuban's

future monographs on the chief architect, which reject biased Western interpretive frameworks in favor of an “empirical” method of formal analysis.¹¹⁷

CANONIZATION OF SINAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After the 1950s the linear evolution of national architecture from the Seljuk and Beylik periods through the Ottoman period became normative in surveys of Turkish art and architecture, which canonized Sinan’s “classical style” as the undisputed apex of artistic achievement in the “lands of Rum,” whose focal point was modern Turkey. Dedicated to Albert Gabriel, “the great friend of Turkey and eminent historian of its art,” Suut Kemal Yetkin’s *L’architecture turque en turquie* (1962) is one of the surveys in which the tripartite periodization Seljuk–Beylik–Ottoman is naturalized as a teleological, uninterrupted diachronic sequence, with its discontinuities, ruptures, and external connections deliberately masked. As Robert Brunschvig’s preface aptly notes, this sequential scheme, which rarely refers to parallels with other regions and nearly denies “foreign influences,” contributes to the homogeneity of the subject, constituting an “orthogenetic” evolution with “ethnic and geographic” determinants.¹¹⁸

Aslanapa’s *Turkish Art and Architecture* (1971), published soon after he founded the chair of Turkish and Islamic Art at Istanbul University in 1963, inserts the same tripartite scheme within a broader Islamic geography encompassing other “Turkish” dynasties (Karakhanid, Ghaznavid, Great Seljuk, Zengid, Tulunid, Mamluk): a pan-Turkic gaze that departs from his teacher Diez’s legacy of emphasizing European Renaissance parallels.¹¹⁹ Godfrey Goodwin’s *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (1971), on the other hand, adopts the *Uşûl*’s paradigm of dynastic evolution by inscribing the “classical style” within a biological scheme of rise-and-decline in which Sinan’s works occupy the highest point.¹²⁰ The chief architect also forms the central focus of a 1975 multi-author survey, *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (The Development of Turkish Architecture and the Architect Sinan), edited by Metin Sözen, which subdivides the “architecture of Turkey” into three periods: Pre-Sinan, Sinan, and Post-Sinan.¹²¹

The graduation of the chief architect to international fame was signaled by the emergence of lavishly illustrated coffee-table books, such as Henri Stierlin’s

Soliman et l’architecture ottomane (1985), which, after briefly tracing the evolution of Seljuk and early Ottoman architecture, primarily focuses on the “style of Sinan.” It ends with a chapter on the “apotheosis of the Selimiye,” which represents the “affirmation of an entirely Turkish style” and constitutes a masterpiece that “comes closer to the monuments of the Italian Renaissance than to those of classical Byzantium.”¹²² Commemorating the 400th anniversary of the chief architect’s death, Aptullah Kuran’s 1986 *Mimar Sinan* (translated in 1987 as *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*) is the first scholarly monograph to present a chronologically organized stylistic analysis of Sinan’s oeuvre, to which is appended a catalogue of his complete works as listed in the autobiographies.¹²³ The late 1980s and 1990s also saw an unprecedented boom in the publication of monographs and conference proceedings on the chief architect, which raised Sinan scholarship to a sophisticated level of formal analysis that muted earlier ideological controversies.¹²⁴ The sterilized narratives of these studies have tended to recycle old information in new guises, without advancing fresh interpretive perspectives. Often concentrating on canonical “masterpieces” and adopting a linear model of stylistic evolution perfected in the centralized plan of the Selimiye mosque, they generally overlook Sinan’s experimentation with varied spatial concepts and minimize the aesthetic role that his autobiographies assign to ornament and epigraphy. Kuban even goes so far as to argue that “decoration had absolutely no influence on the architectural design” of Sinan, whose style “reflects a purism that is not to be seen in Europe until the twentieth century.”¹²⁵

Perpetuating formalist methodologies launched by the founding figures of the field of “Turkish art,” these books are only rarely informed by text-based research and interdisciplinary approaches.¹²⁶ Just as interest in Sinan has faded among historians, monographs by architectural historians have generally remained out of touch with new empirical and theoretical developments in the field of Ottoman history, where for quite some time such essentialized constructs as the rise-and-decline paradigm and the “classical age” have been critically scrutinized. With a few exceptions, these monographs interpret Sinan’s works as self-referential manifestations of his creative genius, playing down the agency of his patrons along with the historical, socio-political, economic, religious, cultural, and aesthetic contexts in which the individualized programs and

codes of his “classical style” came into being.¹²⁷

As noted in recent revisionist critiques of Ottoman architectural historiography, the disjunction between architecture and history has facilitated the appropriation and instrumentalization of Sinan’s legacy for different purposes.¹²⁸ When considered as part of an international Islamic visual tradition, the chief architect’s oeuvre has once again been admired for its formal qualities and inventively varied domed spaces transcending the specificities of meaning negotiated in particular contexts, whether interpreted from a secular perspective or as a timeless spiritual expression of God’s oneness (*tawhid*).¹²⁹ The abstraction of Sinan’s works into an autonomous evolution of style and plan types has thus lent itself equally well to diverse visions of universalism, divorced from context. Nevertheless, the lingering echoes of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms have continued to persist beneath the innocuous veneer of formal autonomy.

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NOTES

1. For the “Rumi” identity of the Ottomans, see Cemal Kafadar’s essay in this volume and Tülay Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York, 2006), 85–109.
2. Sinan’s conscious dialogues with early Ottoman, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architecture are discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, “Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–80; idem, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London and Princeton, 2005), esp. 77–103, 135–47.
3. For revisionist attempts to “re-orient” Renaissance visual culture by exploring its global interactions with the Islamic lands and the New World, see Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650* (New Haven and London, 1995); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London and New York, 1996); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 1996); Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven, 2000); idem, “Venice between East and West: Marc’Antonio Barbaro and Palladio’s Church of the Redentore,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, 3 (2003): 306–25; Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford, 2002); Gerald MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (London, 2005).
4. Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York and Oxford, 1985), 453–83. The most recent exception is a survey that integrates Islamic monuments from different periods within chronologically ordered synchronic chapters following a “timeline” model: see Francis D. K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture* (New Jersey, 2007). The Ottoman Empire is represented here (437–40, 529–31) with selected buildings (including the Süleymaniye complex, built by Sinan), grouped in two chapters on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the standard classification of “Islamic Art” under “The Middle Ages,” often following “Early Christian and Byzantine Art,” see H. W. Janson, *History of Art* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, and New York, 1973), 185–94; Horst de la Croix, Richard G. Tansey, and Diane Kirkpatrick, *Gardner’s Art through the Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1:354–77; Frederick Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976), 1:280–92.
5. Cited from the ninth edition of Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (New York and London, 1924), 784.
6. Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (1976), 1:280, 288. The revised fourth edition of Hartt’s survey omits the quoted passage and explains that the “Ottoman Turks” were not “overwhelmed” by Hagia Sophia because their “architectural code” was firmly established when they conquered Constantinople. Sinan is now identified as a “genius” who carries “Ottoman architecture to the height of its classical period.” See idem, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1993), 1:309–11. The emulation of Hagia Sophia in Renaissance Italy is discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 88–92.
7. James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1855), 1:464, cited in Stephen Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–1950,” in Stephen Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections* (London and New York, 2000), 6–7. Thanks to their Indo-European racial origin, “Persian” and “Indian” art were ranked above that of the “Semitic Arabs” and “Turks.” For the denial of the “Turks” artistic sensibility colored by “Turkophobia” based on Enlightenment critiques of “Oriental despotism,” see the essays of Rémi Labrusse in the forthcoming Louvre Museum exhibition catalogue *Purs décor? Arts de l’Islam dans les collections des Arts Décoratifs* (Paris, 2007).
8. It is beyond the purview of this paper to consider the implications of new interpretive horizons and revisionist critical perspectives that have recently begun to emerge in this unusually fertile field. For new critical perspectives on the historiography of Ottoman architecture, see Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity,” 85–109, and the proceedings of a conference on the seven-century-long “supranational heritage” of Ottoman architecture, which expose the limitations of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms: Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, eds., *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı “Uluslarüstü Bir Miras”* (Istanbul, 1999).
9. Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi‘mār-i ‘Osmānī = L’architecture Ottomane = Die ottomanische Baukunst* (Istanbul, 1873). For this text and its authors, see Ahmet

- Ersoy's essay in this volume and his dissertation, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000). Nineteenth-century theories linking styles with racial or national characteristics are discussed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London, 2004), 36–58.
10. The French version of the *Uşûl* often substitutes "turque" for "ottomane." The early Ottoman architecture of Bursa is identified as "Turkish" in Léon Parvillée, *Architecture et décoration turques au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1874).
 11. Cited from the second edition of this work: see Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure: Description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1862), 125. For the French discourse on the decline of "Arab art" in Egypt under "Turkish rule" see Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh's essay in this volume.
 12. These two monuments are the royal mosque complexes of Mihrûmah Sultan and Nurbanu Sultan [Atik Valide] in Üsküdar: see Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 79, 126.
 13. Charles Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), 183; discussed in Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley, 1992), 37–39.
 14. The section on antiquity was written by the Egyptologist Auguste Mariette (Marianne-Bey), that on the middle ages by the historian and archaeologist Charles Edmond, and that on the modern period by Figari-Bey and J. Claude. The medievalization of the Islamic architectural heritage of Cairo is analyzed in Nezar AlSayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat, eds., *Making Cairo Medieval* (Lanham, MD, 2005); also see Watenpaugh's essay in this volume.
 15. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 203–5.
 16. *Ibid.*, 10, 182.
 17. *Ibid.*, 200–201.
 18. Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), discussed in Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 39–40. This catalogue, generally attributed to Salaheddin Bey, was actually authored by Marie de Launay, who later wrote the historical overview of the evolution of Ottoman architecture in the *Uşûl*: see Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 164; Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 176–77.
 19. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 176–80.
 20. *Ibid.*, 144, 180.
 21. Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 30. The Ottoman exhibits in Paris included plans and elevations of the principal mosques of Istanbul (by Pietro Montani) and of Bursa (by Bontcha): *ibid.*, 139. It was Montani who subsequently wrote the section in the *Uşûl* on the fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture.
 22. Prisse d'Avennes's 1877 book, for example, aimed to trace the "formation, flowering, and decay of Muslim civilization in Cairo" up to the arrival of the French armies who rescued the Arabs from Ottoman rule, "an epoch during which artistic inspiration was all but extinguished under the Turkish yoke" and whose few architectural works of merit reflected "the supreme protest of Arab genius against barbarism." See Achille-Constant-Théodore-Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art as Seen through the Monuments of Cairo from the Seventh Century to the Eighteenth*, trans. J. I. Erythrapis (London, 1983); Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, vii.
 23. Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 6, 11a. Later publications (discussed below) that repeat this unsubstantiated claim include Ahmet Cevdet, ed., *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* (Istanbul, 1315/1897), 13. Seemingly noting the chronological discrepancy, Franz Babinger writes (without citing a source): "Yusuf, his [Sinan's] favorite pupil, is said to have been the architect of the palaces in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, which were built by the Emperor Akbar": see his entry in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed. (henceforth *EII*) (Leiden, 1927), s.v. "Sinān." Chaghtai identifies the architect of the Taj Mahal as Ustad Ahmed, the son of Sinan's pupil Mimar Mehmed Yusuf; he also states that Mimar Mehmed Yusuf built the fort of Shahpur at Gulbarga (Deccan) in 1555: see Muhammad A. Chaghtai, *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra* (Brussels 1938), 122, 146, cited in Suut Kemal Yetkin, *Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1970), 198.
 24. For Marie de Launay's education and his measured drawings of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, published in the *Uşûl*, see Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 160, n. 87.
 25. Marie de Launay et al. *Uşûl*, 3–7, 66a. The decline begins with the arrival of French engineers, sculptors, and decorators during the reign of Ahmed III (1703–30) and continues with the Europeanizing works of the Armenian architect "Rafael" and his students. For the decline discourse, see Shirine Hamadeh's essay in this volume.
 26. Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 12, 14.
 27. *Ibid.*, 12–14. Montani is credited with the discovery that Ottoman architects, "like the architects of antiquity," employed a system of modules to establish the proportions of their edifices, a system already observed in the Yeşil Cami of Bursa before the sixteenth-century invention of orders in Istanbul: *ibid.*, 26a. Especially from the 1830s onwards, the Westernizing Ottomans, hoping to get themselves accepted and credentialized as Europeans, began to represent their cultural identity as parallel to yet distinct from those of modern Western European nations: Halil Berktaş, "Between the First and the Third Divisions: Ottoman Late Imperial and Modern Turkish Nationalist Reactions to the Possibility of Relegation," a paper read at a Central European University (CEU) conference titled "Europe's Symbolic Geographies," Budapest, May 28–29, 2004.
 28. Mimar Kemalettin's 1906 essay, titled "Mî'mârî-i İslâm" (Architecture of Islam), asserts that the *Uşûl* should be banned from use as a textbook in architecture schools because its leading theorist, Montani Efendi, derived the Ottoman orders from Vignola's treatise. Kemalettin criticizes the use of both of these illustrated texts in the education of architects, to whom he recommends the first-hand examination of national monuments and their decoration. Celâl Esad Arseven also opposed the use of the *Uşûl* as a textbook: see İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* (Ankara, 1997), 17, 25–26, 72–73.
 29. The French text identifies the "caractère principal" of Ottoman monuments as "sévérité noble," translated into Turkish as "austere (*mehîb*) grace (*leâfâfet*)." To avoid monotony, Sinan was "sober" in his use of tile revetments produced in Iznik; he limited them to clearly defined fields. The truth-

- fulness-to-materials principle is observed in the floral motifs of Iznik tiles that “imitate the fossilized imprint of ancient plants on stone” (*les vestiges que la végétation antédiluviennne a laissé empreints sur la pierre*): see Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 11–12, 14–17, 73a. The seventeenth-century collapse of the “national” tilemaking industry in Iznik is attributed to civil wars: *ibid.*, 6, 25a. Diverse patterns of floral Iznik tiles (*faiences murales*) from the sixteenth-century monuments of Istanbul are illustrated in the final section on Ottoman ornament (pls. 1–22).
30. For nineteenth-century European discourses on the “arabesque” and the ornamental character of Islamic architecture, see the chapter “Ornamentalism and Orientalism” in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA, 1995), 61–109. German histories of world architecture considered Islamic architecture inferior to that of Europe because it was not built according to classical norms; although “the decorative details of Islamic buildings were accepted as beautiful, in their entirety the buildings were seen as bizarre and lacking coherent structure”: see Annette Hagedorn, “The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in Vernet, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 117–27. Ahmet Ersoy’s essay in this volume draws attention to the parallel between the *Uşûl*’s rationalist paradigm and that of Léon Parvillée’s *L’architecture et décoration turques*, published the following year (Paris, 1874), despite the preface in the latter, by Parvillée’s mentor Viollet-le-Duc, which questions the very existence of a distinctive tradition of “Turkish art.”
 31. Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 31–42.
 32. *Ibid.*, 31, 26a.
 33. *Ibid.*, 40–42. There are no elevations and sections of the Selimiye in the *Uşûl*, nor are its decorative details illustrated. Its ground plan is complemented by an elevation drawing of the forecourt’s north portal.
 34. This text had been anonymously printed in Istanbul around the mid-nineteenth century. Together with its longer version, titled *Tezkiretül-Bünyân*, it circulated widely in manuscript form throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which time both texts were cited by various Ottoman authors. For the five versions of Sinan’s autobiography and their audiences, see *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, introductory notes, critical editions, and translations by Howard Crane and Esra Akın, edited with a preface by Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2006).
 35. Sinan built no fewer than seventy-six mosques “pour l’honneur de l’Empire Ottoman, sa patrie, et la glorification de l’Islam”: see Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 34, 42. The statement quoted above is omitted from the Turkish translation.
 36. For Sinan’s competitive dialogues with the Byzantine and Ottoman past and his contemporary European rivals see n. 2 above and my preface, “Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan’s Autobiographies,” in Crane and Akın, *Sinan’s Autobiographies*, vii–xvi. The domical superstructures of the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques are not indicated on the ground plans published in the *Uşûl*, an omission that deemphasizes their parallels with Hagia Sophia: I owe this observation to Paolo Girardelli.
 37. An important turning point for the rise of Turkish ethnic nationalism was the blow inflicted on pluri-ethnic Ottomanism upon the 1913 defeat in the Balkan War: see Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü* (Istanbul, 1983), 35–36. An early discussion of Anatolian Seljuk architecture appears in Mimar Kemalettin’s 1906 essay, which derives its evolutionary scheme of Ottoman architecture (now labeled “Turkish”) from the *Uşûl*: see n. 28 above. Kemalettin elaborates on the *Uşûl*’s rationalist paradigm by highlighting the fundamental distinction between “Turkish” and “Arab” architecture. Asserting that the Arabs were merely good decorators, he argues that the Turks structurally perfected the Byzantine tradition of construction by creating monumental domed edifices imitating Hagia Sophia: “But this imitation by the Turks is to be considered highly extraordinary. The Turks appreciated the inventiveness of Hagia Sophia’s style of construction and improved it.” See Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin’in Yazdıkları*, 34–36. Kemalettin’s later publications increasingly foregrounded the Turkishness of Ottoman architecture, and he altogether denied foreign influences, including that of Hagia Sophia, in an article that he wrote just before his death in 1927: Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin’in Yazdıkları*, 12–13, 201–2.
 38. For the five versions of Sinan’s autobiography, see n. 34 above. The likelihood that Sinan’s autobiographies were inspired by the lives of Italian Renaissance artists and architects is discussed in my preface, “Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan’s Autobiographies,” vii–xvi.
 39. Ahmet Cevdet, ed., *Tezkiretül-Bünyân*, 1–13. Mehmed Aga-Oğlu expressed doubts about the reliability of the *Quyûdât*, the whereabouts of which Ahmed Cevdet could not remember twenty-five years after he wrote his preface: see “Herkunft und Tod Sināns,” *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926): 858–66. The anachronisms and errors of the *Quyûdât* were further exposed in Rifkî Melûl Meriç, “Mimar Sinan’ın Hayatı,” *Ülkü* 63 (1938): 195–205. It is dismissed as a forgery in İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, “Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir,” *Tarih Hazinesi* 6 (1951): 289–93.
 40. Cevdet, *Tezkiretül-Bünyân*, 13.
 41. Auguste Choisy, *L’art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (Paris, 1883), 139–41, 174. Choisy judged the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as a “magnifique” edifice constituting the last offspring of Hagia Sophia: “il marque la dernière forme que revêtait l’idée mère de Sainte-Sophie”: *ibid.*, 141. See also Alphonse Gosset, *Les coupôles d’Orient et d’Occident* (Paris, 1889), 131.
 42. Gosset, *Les coupôles*, 142.
 43. *Ibid.*, 146–47.
 44. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1907). Prior to Gurlitt’s monograph, and shortly after publication of the trilingual *Uşûl*, Friedrich Adler (1827–1908), an architect and professor at Berlin University, wrote an article on major mosques in Istanbul: “Die Moscheen zu Constantinopel: Eine architektonische baugeschichtliche Studie,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 8 (1874): 65–66, 73–76, 81–83, 89–91, 97–99. Another early publication in German was Armin Wegner, “Die Moschee Sultan Selim’s II zu Adrianopel und ihre Stellung in der osmanischen Baukunst,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 25 (1891): 329–31, 341–44, 353–55. Gurlitt, who was a professor at the Königlich Sächsisch Hochschule zu Dresden, obtained permission to survey Istanbul’s mosques via the diplomatic mediation of the German ambassador von Bieberstein. For the fountain of Kaiser Wilhelm II, see Afife Batur,

- "Alman Çeşmesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1993), vol. 1. 208–9.
45. Cornelius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı*, trans. Rezan Kızıltan (Ankara, 1999), 59, 66, 96.
 46. Ibid., xvii. Gurlitt wrongly presumed that the centralized quatrefoil plan of Mehmed II's mosque (1463–70), featuring a dome surrounded by four half domes, reflected its original form. In actuality, this was the plan of the mosque as it was rebuilt in 1767, following an earthquake; the original had only a single half dome, above the mihrab. Attributing this monumental mosque complex to the Greek architect Christodoulos (sources have shown that the actual architect was named Atik Sinan), Gurlitt characterized it as a monument with a "renaissance" spirit, built at a time when no such grand edifices were being created in Italy: *ibid.*, 57–58.
 47. Besides Sinan's "conception of space" (also emphasized in the German architect Friedrich Adler's 1874 article cited in n. 44 above), Gurlitt noted the organic character and lightness of the domes in Sinan's mosques, the elegance of their internal and external columnar arcades, and their distinctive decorative elements, such as stained-glass windows, woodwork inlaid with mother-of-pearl, bold inscriptions monumental in scale, and naturalistic floral tile revetments forming "picture panels": *ibid.*, 70–73, 97–102. Adler admired Ottoman architecture and drew inspiration from it for his work as an architect; he was fascinated by the ornamental plainness and clear conception of space in mosque interiors (*klare, übersichtliche Raumgestaltung, der es selbst bei grosser Schmucklosigkeit in ornamentalem wie koloristischen Sinne an wehevoller Stimmung nicht gebricht*) and the "spatial unity" (*Einfachheit der Raumidee*) and "purist character" (*puristischer Charakter*) of Sinan's monuments: see Hagedorn, "Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 122–23.
 48. Franz Babinger, "Die türkische Renaissance: Bemerkungen zum Schaffen des grossen türkischen Baumeisters Sinan," *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients* 9 (1914): 67–88.
 49. Franz Babinger, "Ein osmanischer Michelangelo," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Sept. 7, 1915, no. 248, 1. Morgenblatt. The appellation "osmanischen Michelangelo" also appears in *idem*, "Sinan's Todesjahr," *Der Islam* 9 (1919): 247–48. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Babinger replaced this nickname with "Michael Angelo of the Turks": see his entry "Sinan" in *EII*. Sinan is identified as "Michelangelo der Osmanen" in K. Otto-Dorn, "Sinan," *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 31 (Leipzig, 1937), 84, and as the "Michelangelo dell'architettura turca" in Giovanni Di Giura, "Il Maestro dell'architettura Turca: Sinan," *Rassegna Italiana* 45, 230 (1937): 539. Also see the biographical novel by Veronica De Osa, *Sinan: The Turkish Michelangelo* (New York, 1982).
 50. The interdisciplinary collaboration between these two scholars is mentioned in Heinrich Glück, "Die bisherige Forschung über Sinan," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926): 854. See Franz Babinger, "Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte," *Jahrbuch des asiatischen Kunst* 1 (1924): 31–41.
 51. Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Leipzig, 1917). Strzygowski regarded the migrations of two nomadic races, the ancient Turks of the "Altaic sphere" and the Scythians of the "Aryan sphere," as the mechanism of artistic dissemination from North to South. For his diffusionist theories and formalist methodology, see Oya Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume; Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 70–73, 85–87; Margaret Olin, "Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski," in *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, ed. Penny Schine Gold and Benjamin C. Bax (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000), 151–70. Strzygowski declared that "it is the duty of the North to trace its culture back to Armenia, Persia, and India": cited in Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven, 2001), 155.
 52. Josef Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33, publ. 1935): 1–80.
 53. For the biographies and publications of Strzygowski, Glück, Diez, and Otto-Dorn, see Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkarlar: Österreichische Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei* (Istanbul, 1993), 24–27, 31–38, 39.
 54. Heinrich Glück, *Türkische Kunst*, Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel, Heft 1 (Budapest and Istanbul, 1917), also discussed in Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume. For the Hungarian Institute and the search for Central Asian origins in Hungary, see Yaşar Çoruhlu, "Macar Enstitüsü," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993–94), vol. 5, 234, and Tarık Demirkan, *Macaristan Turancıları* (Istanbul, 2000).
 55. Heinrich Glück, "Türkische Dekorationskunst," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 23 (1920): 46; *idem*, *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1922), 3–10. Glück also wrote a book on Anatolian Seljuk art, *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien* (Leipzig, 1923). His special interest in cross-cultural artistic exchanges between the Ottoman and European courts is reflected in his "16.–18. Jahrhunderten Saray Sanatı ve Sanatçılarıyla Osmanlıların Avrupa Sanatları Bakımından Önemi," which is included with essays by J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, and Fuat Köprülü in a collection titled *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, trans. A. Cemal Köprülü (Istanbul, n.d. [1974]), 119–49.
 56. Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," and Heinrich Glück, "Türk Sanatının Dünyadaki Mevkii," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33, publ. 1935): 1–80, 119–28. For these articles, also see Oya Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume. The scholarship of Fuat Köprülü and his republican ideology are analyzed in Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*.
 57. See Fuat Köprülü, "Türk Sanatı," reprinted in Strzygowski et al., *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, 183–89. For Köprülü's personal interest in the scholarship of both of these scholars see *ibid.*, v–xv.
 58. See Strzygowski et al., *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, 96–98.
 59. *Ibid.*, 180–81. Aga-Oğlu (d. 1949) belonged to the Ağaoğlu family, whose members played a prominent role as politicians and intellectuals in republican Turkey, as did other Turkish émigrés educated in Russia (such as the Turcologists Zeki Velidi Togan and Yusuf Akçura, who espoused pan-Turkism). While serving as curator of the Islamic art collection at Çini Kiosk in the Topkapı Palace in 1927, Aga-Oğlu taught courses on Islamic art at the Darülfünun as associate professor; the following year he was appointed director of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. He moved to the Detroit Museum

- in 1929 and was appointed to the chair of Islamic art history at Michigan University in 1933. For his biography, see Semavi Eyice, "Mehmet Ağaoğlu," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (1988), 466. For influential Turcologists who emigrated from Russia to Turkey see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 31–47, and François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura, 1876–1935* (Paris, 1980).
60. The two articles by Aga-Oğlu cited by Glück are "Herkunft und Tod Sināns" and "Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister," *Belvedere* 46 (1926): 83–94. The second article demonstrates that the plan of Mehmed II's mosque did not originally feature four half domes (as Gurlitt had thought: see n. 46 above) but overlooks structural innovations introduced in this pioneering mosque that were inspired by the encounter with Hagia Sophia, such as the half dome over the mihrab and window-pierced tympanum arches resting on freestanding colossal columns. Aga-Oğlu's view is contradicted by the Ottoman historian Tursun Beg's chronicle of Mehmed II's reign, which acknowledges that this mosque was built "in the manner of Hagia Sophia" and incorporated "modern features constituting a fresh new idiom unequalled in beauty": cited in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 84.
 61. Aga-Oğlu, "Herkunft und Tod Sināns."
 62. Ibid., 862, n. 1. Aga-Oğlu says he obtained a photographic reproduction of the manuscript from its owner, Rifat Osman Bey. Photographs of the marginal note are reproduced in A. Süheyl, "Mimar Sinan," *Mimar* 4 (1931): 117; Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 290.
 63. Franz Babinger, "Zum Sinān-Problem," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 30, 7 (1927): 548–51. Also see Babinger's entry "Sinān" in *EII*, which insists that the chief architect was "the son of Christian Greeks." He adds: "His non-Turkish origin (*mühtedi*) is beyond question and is never in dispute, either among his contemporaries or among all serious Turkish scholars."
 64. Meriç, "Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı," 199, and Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 293. Konyalı believes that Rifat Osman forged (or had someone else forge) this marginal note, on which water was sprinkled so as to make it appear old.
 65. Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey, "İrtihâlinin 339'uncu senesi devriyesi münâsebetiyle büyük Türklerden Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennân," *Millî Mecmua* 7, 83 (1927): 1335–48; the marginal note and preface are mentioned on 1337, n. 1. The author explains that some individuals are upset by Sinan's *değişirme* origin and the claim that he was the son of Christ.
 66. Ibid., 1339. Rifat Osman points out that unlike this authentic portrait others "seen in some publications are imaginary."
 67. For Kemalettin's biography, publications, and works, see Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 1–29, and Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* (Ankara, 1981). For Ayverdi's life and books on Ottoman architecture, see *Eksrem Hakkı Ayverdi Hâtıra Kitabı* (Istanbul, 1995). The writings and drawings of Çetintaş are discussed in Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* (Istanbul, 2004).
 68. For the formalist methodology of Strzygowski and his students, see Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume.
 69. Arseven's earliest essays on national architecture (1906–7) echoed the thoughts of Kemalettin: see Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 27. For Arseven's biography and publications, see Banu Mahir, ed., *Celâl Esad Arseven Anısına Sanat Tarihi Semineri Bildirileri* (Istanbul, 2000). The architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who between 1924 and 1928 was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts (modeled on the École des Beaux Arts in Paris) describes the drawing methods that focused on the Ottoman and Greco-Roman orders. For the latter, Vignola's treatise was used as a guide: see Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 55–56. Both Kemalettin and Arseven opposed the use of the *Uşûl* as a teaching tool: see n. 28 above.
 70. Published with a preface by the Byzantinist Charles Diehl: see Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris, 1909), 151–55.
 71. Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Türk San'atı* (Istanbul, 1928), 3–10.
 72. Ibid., 6. Arseven emphasizes the "racial character" (*'ırkın seciyesi*) of "Turkish art"; he also refers to the publications of C. Gurlitt, A. Gosset, L. Parvillée, H. Saladin, G. Migeon, and G. Marçais.
 73. Ibid., 145–51. Much like Arseven, early-twentieth-century Turkish historians attempted to disprove the view, prevalent among European scholars, that Ottoman institutions, in an Islamic guise, entirely imitated those of Byzantium; to counter this view they stressed the seamless continuity of the Ottoman Empire with former "Turkish" states in Anatolia, namely, the Rum Seljuks and Beyliks: see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, esp. 23, 30–35, 46–47, 62–80.
 74. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 7–11.
 75. Ibid., 147, 150–54. Arseven's account of the evolution of the "classical style," invented by the architect of the mosque of Bayezid II and perfected by Sinan, is based on the *Uşûl*, although the term "classical" is not used in that source. Remzi Oğuz Arık, who was sent by the Turkish state to study archaeology in Paris, similarly disparages the "tumultuous confusion" (*hercümerce*) of Anatolian Seljuk architectural ornament, which becomes "cleansed/purified" (*tasfiye*) and "codified" (*nizama girmiş*) in the "dignified" Ottoman "classical age" (*klâsik çağ*). See his "Selçuklu Sanatına bir Bakış," *Şadırvan* 1, 6 (1949): 6. For the widespread acceptance of national "purity" and "purification" as positive ideals in interwar Europe, see Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York, 1998).
 76. Arseven refers to the characteristics of the "classical style" as: *nezâket, sâdelik, mantıq-i insânî, şamîmî, aşîl, vaqûr; sâdelik ve mantıq; necîb ve aşîl; şamîmîyet, mantıq*: ibid., 6, 93–94. For his definition of the term "classical style," see Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, n. d. [1954–59]), 1:300. I would like to thank Halil Berktaş for his insightful comments on a previous version of this paper, which alerted me to the striking parallels between early republican texts on history and on art/architectural history, particularly the teleological treatment of the Seljuk period as "pre-Ottoman" history and the essentialized idealization of the Ottoman "classical age." For nationalist history writing in the early Turkish Republic see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet*

- İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*; the contentious historiography on the rise of the Ottoman state is analyzed in Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*.
77. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 94–95, 172–76; idem, *L'art turc: Depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Istanbul, 1939), 73, 179–80. Arseven criticizes both the eclectic revivalist style promoted by the *Uşul* and the old-fashioned style of the “National Movement.” For his defense of modernism see Sibel Bozdoğan’s essay in this volume.
 78. The rise-and-decline paradigm of nationalist architectural historiography has been linked with the ideology of the republican nation-state in recent critiques, but without reference to its roots in the *Uşul*. For these critiques see Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity,” 85–109, and the essays of Ayda Arel, Uğur Tanyeli, and Ayla Ödekan in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı “Uluslarüstü Bir Miras,”* 30–33, 43–49, 56–59.
 79. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 95.
 80. Ottoman monuments outside Turkey have generally been treated separately, in specialized regional monographs. For the widespread perception of Ottoman rule as a period of “decline and decay” and “detested alien domination” see Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York, 2000).
 81. The Society planned the publication of a comprehensive national history, *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (Outline of Turkish History), with a section called “Türklerin Medeniyete Hizmetleri” (The Service of the Turks to Civilization), which included monographs on Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. It is unclear whether the monographs titled *Osmanlı Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1932) and *Osmanlı Türk Mimarlığı* (Ankara, 1934) were authored by S. H. Eldem or S. Çetintaş: see Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 13. As part of the same series, Arseven wrote monographs titled *Türklerde Mimarî* (Ankara, 1932) and *Türklerde Mimarî: Eti ve Selçuk Mimarîleri* (Istanbul, 1934). The latter covers the “Turkish” architecture of the Hittites and the Seljuks in Anatolia in keeping with the Turkish History Thesis developed by the Society: see n. 95 below.
 82. See, Afet İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (Ankara, 1956), rev. 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1968), 66–74. The marble statue was modeled on the physiognomy of Ahmet Öztaş, a Turkish stone mason residing in the village of Ağırnas in Kayseri, who claimed to be a descendant of Sinan. At Afet İnan’s suggestion, Sinan’s self-proclaimed relative and his two sons were invited to the ceremony in Ankara so that onlookers could compare the statue with its “living model.” The 400th anniversary of the Süleymaniye’s inauguration was commemorated in 1957 by two stamps, depicting the mosque and Hasan Rıza’s portrait of Sinan.
 83. The unrealized two-volume Sinan monograph triggered several publications by the Turkish History Society after a long period of gestation: an incomplete edition of the chief architect’s autobiographies, prepared by Meriç; the account books of the Süleymaniye complex and imperial decrees related to its construction, edited and analyzed by Barkan; and Ülgen’s architectural drawings of Sinan’s works, prepared between 1937 and 1962. Revised versions of these drawings were included in Aptullah Kuran’s *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986). See Rıfkı Melül Meriç, *Mimar Sinan Hayatı, Eseri, Eserlerine Dair Metinler* (Ankara, 1965); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1972–79); Ali Saim Ülgen, *Mimar Sinan Yapıları* (Ankara, 1989).
 84. The outline of chapters is provided in İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 63–66. For the committee, which included F. Köprülü, A. Refik, R. M. Meriç, Ö. L. Barkan, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, H. F. Turgal, İ. A. Kansu, A. L. Gabriel, S. Çetintaş, A. S. Ülgen, S. H. Eldem, and Y. Akyurt, see Fuat Köprülü and Albert Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri = Sinan, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Istanbul, 1937), 2; Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, vii–viii.
 85. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*.
 86. On p. 2 of the brochure, Köprülü refers to Gabriel as a “true friend of our nation” and his “intimate friend.” For Gabriel and his publications, which generally espoused the relative independence of Turkish architecture from foreign influences and emphasized the primacy of Turkish architects, see the catalogue of an exhibition curated by Pierre Pinon, titled *Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Geziçi = Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur* (Istanbul, 2006). In a later essay, Gabriel points out that archival documents “have furnished proof of the preponderance of Turkish workmanship in the mason’s yard of the Süleymaniye,” where Christians constituted the majority of masons (a relatively unskilled trade), and that “many more Muslims were employed in the crafts that required not only technical skill but also artistic sensitivity.” He attributes to “deeply seated prejudices” the view that “the contribution of the Turks” to the great achievements of Ottoman architecture was “negligible”: see Albert Gabriel, “Ottoman Schools,” *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 10 (New York, 1965), 852–73.
 87. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*, 5–6. Not surprisingly, an offshoot of the Sinan monograph project is the eminent economic historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan’s study of the centralized construction industry during the erection of the Süleymaniye complex. On the basis of archival documents, this study disproves the contention of Western scholars that Ottoman monuments were entirely created by non-Turkish and non-Muslim builders: see Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550–1557)*. On this point also see Gabriel’s view, cited above in n. 86. In a long article published in the journal *Ülkü* in 1937–38, Barkan had stressed the uniquely Turkish non-feudal mode of labor organization under the Ottoman timar system, praising the imperial regime as a centralized, statist, and virtually planned economy: see “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Çiftçi Sınıflarının Hukukî Statüsü,” reprinted in Ö. L. Barkan, *Türkiye’de Toprak Meselesi: Toplu Eserler I* (Istanbul, 1980). I am grateful to Halil Berktaş for this reference, which is analyzed in his “The ‘Other’ Feudalism: A Critique of 20th-Century Turkish Historiography and Its Particularization of Ottoman Society” (PhD diss., Birmingham University, 1991).
 88. Albert Gabriel, “La maître architecte Sinan,” *La Turquie Kematiste* 16 (1936): 2–13; idem, “Les mosquées de Constantinople,” *Syria* 7 (1926): 353–419. Gabriel’s 1926 article notes the Renaissance spirit of Sinan’s architecture (419): “L’esprit qui se manifeste dans son oeuvre n’est point sans analogie avec celui de la Renaissance occidentale...il semble bien que son inspiration ait été guidée par des principes comparables à ceux de la Renaissance. Négligent les productions du moyen

- âge byzantin, il a étudié, dans Saint-Sophie, un édifice tout imprégné encore du génie antique...les architectes turcs savaient, dès le XVI^e siècle, s'inspirer du passé pour créer des oeuvres modernes." Also see his "Sainte-Sophie, source d'inspiration de la mosquée Süleymaniye," *Vie Congrès international d'études byzantines, Alger, 2-7 octobre 1939: Résumés des rapports et communications* (Paris, 1940), 230-31.
89. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*, 5-6; Gabriel, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," 353-419.
 90. Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Türk Mimarları* (Istanbul, 1936). This document is summarized in an earlier booklet, in which Sinan's birthplace is identified as the village of Ağırnas in Kayseri: see idem, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1931), 44-45. The same document is cited in an article that identifies Sinan, the grandson of Doğan Yusuf Ağa, as a Christian Turkish *değişirme*: see Enver Behnan Şapolyo, "Mimar Sinan Nerelidir?" *Uludağ* 1, 3 (1935): 27-29.
 91. Documents cited in İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 76.
 92. Meriç, "Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı," 195-206. The controversial official view also ignored the fact that, according to a seventeenth-century source on the "Customs of the Janissaries," both Christian Turks and Turkish-speaking Christians were traditionally excluded from recruitment as Janissary cadets. For this source, the *waqfiyya* of Sinan, and an evaluation of the controversy, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 13-14, 42-43, 129-30, 147-52.
 93. In her preface, Afet İnan mentions the prevalence of Turkish names among the Christians and Muslims who had migrated to the Kayseri region in the Byzantine period. A visit to Ağırnas prompted her to write this childhood biography of Sinan "in the manner of a historical novel" (*tarihi roman üslubu*): see İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1956 and 1968). An earlier version of the biography, published in the newspaper *Ulus* (Apr. 9, 1949), is criticized for its anachronisms in Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 289-93.
 94. İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 11-23.
 95. Bedri Uçar, "Büyük Türk Mimarı Koca Sinan," *Mimarlık* 1, 3 (1944): 4. A committee formed by the Turkish History Society exhumed the body on Aug. 1, 1935 for anthropological examination, and the next day Atatürk wrote his instruction that Sinan's statue be made: see Selçuk Mülayim, *Ters Lale: Osmanlı Mimarisinde Sinan Çağı ve Süleymaniye* (Istanbul, 2001), 142, n. 120. The works of the Swiss physical anthropologist Eugene Pittard had an enormous impact on Afet İnan. The Turkish History Thesis, developed by the Society between 1929 and 1937, attempted to differentiate from the "yellow race" the white "brachycephalic Turkish race," which originated in Central Asia and founded the earliest autochthonous state in Anatolia (the Hittites): see Bertkay, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 47-63; Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de 'Resmî Tarih' Tezinin Oluşumu* (Istanbul, 1996).
 96. Behçet Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," *Mimar* (1933).
 97. Sinan's reception through the lens of modernism is discussed in Bozdoğan's essay in this volume. Ernst Egli, a former professor at the academy, wrote: "His [Sinan's] greatness lay in the complete harmony in his work between form and content; his uniqueness lay in his ability to transform the strictly individual aspects of the commissions given to him into something of enduring and universal value. That is why his work is today as alive as ever. It preserves the immortal features of the past." See Ernst Egli, "Sinan the Architect," *Landscape* (Spring 1958): 6-11.
 98. Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Istanbul, 1938), 71-72, 145-59. Taut's book was translated into Japanese in 1948 and into German in 1977: see Sibel Bozdoğan, "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936-38," in *The Education of the Architect*, ed. M. Pollak (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 163-92. Taut proposed an unrealized project, perhaps inspired by Atatürk's vision of resuscitating the Süleymaniye as a complex renamed after Sinan: a garden terrace, to be called the "terrace of those who admire the Süleymaniye," that would overlook the mosque complex from the adjacent campus of Istanbul University. See an interview with Bruno Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara," *Her Ay* (Istanbul), Feb. 1, 1938, 95. A booklet published a year later highlights the modernist urban design principles of Sinan's mosque complexes: see Ziya Kocainan, *Mimar Sinan ve XXnci Asır Mimârisi* (Istanbul, 1939).
 99. Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar*, trans. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul, 1946), i-ii. See Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford and London, 1938-39), analyzed in Kishwar Rizvi's essay in this volume. Suut Kemal Yetkin's opening speech at the First International Congress of Turkish Art criticized *A Survey of Persian Art* for its identification of Ghaznavid, Seljuk, and Timurid monuments commissioned by Turkic patrons as Iranian works: see *Milletlerarası Birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi, Ankara 19-24 Ekim 1959, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler* (Ankara, 1962), 1-7. The same speech praised Strzygowski, Glück, and Gabriel as "friends of Turkish art."
 100. Diez obtained his doctorate in Graz, having written his dissertation on the paintings of the Vienna Dioscorides manuscript. Inspired by Friedrich Sarre, he turned to the study of Islamic art at the Berlin Museum. He subsequently joined Strzygowski's institute at Vienna University in 1911, leaving in 1926 for Bryn Mawr College, where he taught for a decade. He returned to Vienna University in 1939 and moved to Istanbul University in 1943. See Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri*, 24-25; Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 6-7, 27, 138-39, 170, 192-98. Diez's expression "children of Hagia Sophia" recalls Choisy's statement quoted in n. 41 above. His synthetic view of Ottoman art parallels Halil İnalcık's formulation of the Ottoman imperial system as a synthesis of Turkic, Islamic, and Byzantine traditions in *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London, 1973). I thank Halil Bertkay for pointing out the contrast of İnalcık's perspective with that of Köprülü, who (like Arseven) denied Byzantine influences and stressed the uninterrupted continuity between the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman states: see Bertkay, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 63-64, 80.
 101. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 141-45; idem, "Der Baumeister Sinan und sein Werk," *Du Atlantis* 25, 4 (1953): 183.
 102. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 146-58.
 103. Ibid., 232; Arseven, *L'art turc*, 173. Diez perceptively notes the "dualism" of Istanbul's Ottoman mosques, which feature pointed Islamic arches in their substructures and Roman-Byzantine round arches in their hemispherical domical superstructures: see *Türk Sanatı*, 194. He argues that Ottoman

- architecture, in its inability to proceed beyond the Gothic mode of construction, was unlike the Italian Renaissance style, which revived the classical orders; this does not diminish its greatness, however, for it dared to challenge Hagia Sophia's construction method and dome size: *ibid.*, 197–98. Worth pondering is the striking parallel between Diez's conception of a Mediterranean *Zeitstil* and the pan-Mediterranean perspective of Fernand Braudel's famous *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, which was first published in Paris in 1949 but was based on an outline already written in 1939. I owe this observation to Halil Berktaş, who discusses the influence of the Annales school in Turkey in his *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 83–85.
104. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 183–84, 190, 232, 235.
 105. For the polemic led by T. Öz, S. Çetintaş, and E. H. Ayverdi, see Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 38–39.
 106. Oktay Aslanapa and Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul, 1955), 97–112. This revised edition omits the controversial reference to Sinan's Turkish ethnic origin: see 145.
 107. *Ibid.*, 128–32, 138–41, 150–51.
 108. For the tensions between these two divergent views on what constitutes “national style,” and a less vocal third perspective that interprets Ottoman architecture as a pan-Islamic tradition embodying timeless spiritual principles, see the essays of Doğan Kuban, Oluş Arık, and Turgut Cansever in the proceedings of a symposium titled *Mimaride Türk Üslubu Semineri* (Istanbul, 1984), 7–30.
 109. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar*, 1:5–11, 2:658–75.
 110. *Ibid.*, 1:237, 374–87. The Üç Şerefeli Mosque and that of Mehmed II are identified as “proto-classical” precursors of the “classical style,” which is characterized by light-filled unified spaces generated by monumental hemispherical domes resting on square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems: *ibid.*, 278–301. For the earlier view that the Sultan Ahmed Mosque initiates the “renewal period” (*teceddüd devri*) in which “new proportions and new characteristics” are introduced, see Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 158–60.
 111. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 1:216, 335–36; 2:760–70.
 112. *Ibid.*, 2:767.
 113. Examples include Ulya Vogt-Göknıl, *Türkische Moscheen* (Zurich, 1953); *idem*, *Les mosques turques* (Zurich, 1953); Kurt Erdmann, *Zur türkischen Baukunst seldschukischer und osmanischer Zeit* (Istanbul, 1958); Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times, 1071–1923* (London, 1959).
 114. Ernst Egli, *Sinan: Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit* (Zurich, 1954); *idem*. “Sinan the Architect,” 6–11. An early monograph on Sinan's works, written by a Turkish historian, is İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri* (Istanbul, 1950).
 115. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde İç Mekân Teşekkülü: Rönesansla bir Mukayese* (Istanbul, 1958), 3–8. For Kuban's career and publications see Zeynep Ahunbay, Deniz Mazlum, and Kutgün Eyüpgiller, eds., *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan* (Istanbul, 1996).
 116. Kuban, *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde*, 92–93.
 117. Doğan Kuban, “Mimar Sinan ve Türk Mimarisinin Klasik Çağı,” *Mimarlık* 5, 45 (1967): 13–47. Kuban prefers to examine Sinan's architectural style “empirically, without recourse to Western criteria,” in *idem*, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye* (Istanbul, 1997), 201–12. He is suspicious of the “semantic” readings very much in vogue in contemporary art-historical theory, in which new meanings are sought “in the artistic object quite beyond the ‘formal-functional’ level.” For Kuban's views on the shared artistic heritage of the Turks before their migration to Anatolia see *idem*, *Batıya Göçün Sanatsal Eylemleri (Anadolu'dan Önce Türklerin Sanat Ortaklıkları)* (Istanbul, 1993).
 118. Suut Kemal Yetkin, *L'architecture turque en turquie* (Paris, 1962), 1–2. Yetkin also wrote books on Islamic art and architecture: *İslâm Sanatı* (Ankara, 1954) and *İslâm Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1965).
 119. Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London, 1971). For Aslanapa's biography and publications see Selçuk Mülayım, Zeki Sönmez, and Ara Altun, eds., *Aslanapa Armağanı* (Istanbul, 1996). His subsequently published books include a survey of Ottoman architecture and a monograph on Sinan: Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1986) and *Mimar Sinan* (Ankara, 1992).
 120. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971).
 121. Metin Sözen et al., *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1975).
 122. Henri Stierlin, *Soliman et l'architecture ottomane* (Paris, 1985), 206–7.
 123. Aptullah Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986); *idem*, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, DC, and Istanbul, 1987).
 124. These include studies by R. Günay (1987, 1998); A. Petruccioli, ed. (1987); A. R. Burelli (1988); Z. Sönmez, ed. (1988); S. Mülayım (1989); J. Erzen (1991, 1996); J. Freely and A. R. Burelli (1992); L. Bartoli, E. Galdieri, F. Gurrieri, and L. Zanghieri (1992); O. Aslanapa (1992); M. Sözen (1992); G. Goodwin (1993); U. Vogt-Göknıl (1993); A. Aktaş-Yasa, ed. (1996); H. Egli (1997); S. Bayram, ed. (1998); D. Kuban (1997, 1999). For the full references of these books, see the bibliography of my *Age of Sinan*, 567–74.
 125. Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, 233.
 126. Until quite recently the unparalleled wealth of documentation in the Turkish archives remained largely untapped by architectural historians, who have also tended to find Ottoman narrative primary sources tangential to their concerns. For example, Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, 1–15, dismisses as “too prosaic” Sinan's autobiographies, written by Sa'î in what Kuban deems “second-rate verse and prose.”
 127. Recent exceptions with contextual readings emphasizing primary written sources include Jale Nejdert Erzen, *Mimar Sinan: Estetik Bir Analiz* (Ankara, 1996); Stéphane Yerasimos, *La mosquée de Soliman* (Paris, 1997); Mülayım, *Ters Lâle*; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*; and J. M. Rogers, *Sinan* (Oxford, 2006).
 128. See the essays of Arel, Ödekan, and Tanyeli in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı “Uluslarüstü Bir Miras,”* 30–33, 43–49, 56–59. Criticizing nationalist paradigms and the rise-and-decline narrative that has privileged the “classical style” to the detriment of others, this revisionist volume seeks to initiate a “supranational” global perspective in future studies on the

Ottoman architectural heritage. Unlike the flourishing field of Ottoman history, where self-reflective critiques initiated in the 1980s have led to innovative readings of the past, architectural historians started only in the late 1990s to question the inherited ideological premises of their field, its methodological impasses, and its exclusions (such as non-monumental architecture, female and sub-imperial patronage, the voices of non-Muslim and “heterodox” Muslim communities, regional and provincial subcultures, and cross-cultural exchanges). Other recent critiques of nationalist historiography include Uğur Tanyeli’s preface in Erzen, *Mimar Sinan*, i–v, and Artan’s “Questions of Ottoman Identity.”

129. For the view that Sinan deserves to be called the “son of

Islam” and that his legacy belongs to the universal Islamic civilization rather than being subject to the “exclusive ownership of a city, a dynasty, or a republic,” see Gulzar S. Haider, “Sinan—A Presence in Time Eternal,” *Afkar Inquiry* 3, 2 (1986): 38–44. A recent monograph published by Albaraka Türk presents Sinan’s oeuvre as a timeless architectural expression of the Islamic concept of *tawhid*: see Turgut Cansever, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 2005). Global surveys of Islamic architecture that focus on the formal values of Sinan’s works include John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (New York, 1977) and Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York, 1994).

WESTERNIZATION, DECADENCE, AND THE TURKISH BAROQUE: MODERN CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

French engineers called in by Mahmud I [r. 1730–54] to work on the water system brought along with them sculptors, decorators, and draftsmen who introduced the Louis XV and Baroque styles to the capital. They thus laid the groundwork for the degeneration of the Ottoman style. Gradually, Ottoman artists began to adopt these fashionable European decorative idioms, which were vulgarly called “à la franka.” It took no time before they forgot the principles of Ottoman [architecture]. Ignoring even the fundamentals of this art, builders mixed all the styles, bringing about nothing but ugly and disparate [monuments]. Such is the Nuruosmaniye Mosque [fig. 1]...such is also the Lâleli Mosque [fig. 2]: both of them belong to this period of decadence.¹

This passage is taken from the architectural historian Celâl Esad Arseven’s first book, *Constantinople de Byzance à Istanbul*, published in 1909 with the mediation of the German Orientalist Charles Diehl. The two-volume work, on Byzantine and Ottoman art, is a translation by the author of a series of essays that had appeared in the journal *İkdam* between 1906 and 1907. The excerpt constitutes the core of Arseven’s short exposé on the architectural production of the eighteenth century. Essentially an explanation of the nature of what he terms “la dégénérescence de l’art ottoman,” it brings out two themes that became paradigmatic of the historiography of the period over the course of the next eighty years: decadence, and European influence, which would be revalorized in the 1970s as “Westernization.”

Indeed it is not an exaggeration to say that until the 1980s most of the scholarship on the eighteenth century has been preoccupied with these two concepts. This preoccupation has been guided by two premises, the first based on a belief in the higher values of the “national” character of Ottoman art in the “classical period,” and the second founded on the presumption that until the eighteenth century Ottoman art had retained its necessary “ethnic purity” and had not engaged in any dialogue with European art.



Fig. 1. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, 1749–55. (Author’s photo)

As we shall later see, while these premises remained fixed in place until the 1980s, “decadence” and “European influence” acquired different connotations over the years, becoming ideologically charged with varying meanings that, at times, seemed to resonate with the complex and multifarious discourses often lumped under the label “Turkish nationalism.”

It is true that, on the whole, the eighteenth cen-



Fig. 2. Lâleli Mosque, 1759–63. (Photo: Walter B. Denny)

tury has received relatively little scholarly attention, caught as it is between the glorious classicism of the sixteenth century and nineteenth-century modernization. But to a certain degree it has partaken of both the revisionist historical narrative of the late Tanzimat period and the construction of the early republican nationalist discourse—more often than not in its capacity as the *bête noire* of Ottoman and Turkish architectural heritage and largely at the hand of Celâl Esad Arseven, who between 1909 and 1952 published at least five revised editions and expansions of *Constantinople*. This is not to say that Arseven's continuously changing interpretations of the eighteenth century were but a reflection of, or entirely shaped by, official narratives and a long history of Turkish nationalist ideologies. But they sometimes intersected with the broader intellectual discourses that took form in the course of his productive years as a historian of Ottoman/Turkish architecture.

This essay will focus largely on Arseven's writings. Unfortunately, this early phase of eighteenth-century historiography has been entirely eclipsed from the

scholarship since the publication in 1954 of Doğan Kuban's *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme* (An Essay on Turkish Baroque Architecture), the first book devoted in full to the eighteenth century.² Cumulatively, however, the writings of Arseven set the main parameters of the narrative that came to dominate the scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century, parameters that to a certain degree remain dominant today. They also reveal and elucidate the different significations with which such concepts as “decadence,” “Westernization,” and “the Turkish Baroque” were associated in the early republican period, before they were eventually instituted and mainstreamed.

In the epigraph quoted above, Arseven equates “decadence” and “degeneration” with the intrusion of European, and therefore foreign, elements into the Ottoman architectural idiom. This equation, neither new nor unusual, was integral to the contemporary European art-historical discipline and the Orientalist scholarship with which we know, judging from the book's introduction, that Arseven was conversant.³ Only two years before the publication of *Constantinople*, the French Orientalist Henri Saladin, in his *Manuel d'art musulman*, had vigorously condemned the rapid decadence of the Ottoman architectural tradition—decadence that he saw as having begun in the middle of the eighteenth century, and that in his view was exacerbated by “the mediocrity and ignorance of the European artists to whom sultans and high officials appealed.”⁴ As a result, European features of mediocre quality began to “disfigure and corrupt” (*dénaturer*) the spirit of Ottoman architecture.⁵ In this case, decadence was not attributed simply to foreign insemination, but also to the incompetence of European artists and their indiscriminate employment by Ottoman patrons.

The belief in the foreign (Western) contamination of Ottoman art (and, more generally, “Islamic” art) from the eighteenth century onward is one that would remain relatively unshaken in European scholarship, as evidenced, for example, in the work of the German art historian of the Vienna school, Ernst Diez. In his *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (Turkish Art from Its Beginnings to the Present), published in 1946, Diez wrote of the “abundant and heavy...baroque decoration” that brought about a degenerate and bastard, or, more literally, lineage-less (*soysuz*) style.⁶ Nine years later, in his second book on Turkish art, *Türk Sanatı*, coauthored with his student and assistant Oktay Aslanapa, Diez reiterated this sentiment, merely substituting *melez* (hybrid) for the earlier *soysuz*.⁷

Celâl Arseven's earliest assessment of the eighteenth century no doubt converges with the Orientalist and the European art-historical discourses; although he acknowledges that every artistic tradition is often subject to foreign influences he does not depart radically from the Orientalist presumption that Ottoman art is a self-contained tradition that should remain impervious to foreign intrusion and "penetration." However, as Sibel Bozdoğan has suggested in relation to his later writings,⁸ Arseven's premises are, already in 1909, undeniably nationalistic in character and consonant with European nationalist historiographic practices. Specifically, they are in tune with one of the most notable cultural products of the late Tanzimat ideology of dynastic nationalism, the *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî* of 1873.⁹ For Arseven, if the intrusion of European elements into Ottoman architecture ushered in a process of decadence, it was first and foremost because they stripped this architecture of its "fundamental principles": those that, he explains, "preserve the specific characteristics of a national style...in the same way that natural laws perpetuate the resemblance between two plants of the same family and the physiognomy of men of the same race."¹⁰ In other words, he deplores not simply the loss of the principles of Ottoman art but also the loss of its national distinctiveness. This is the central theme of his introduction to the 1909 edition, a remarkably avant-garde attack on European scholarship concerning "Islamic art" that he would continue to expand and embellish in the years to come.

While Arseven's critique of the "décadence" of the Ottoman style and his ironic contempt for its "pompons et rocaille"¹¹ extend to the second half of the nineteenth century, to include what he derides as the "pseudo-renaissance" of the Abdülaziz era, his views are perfectly in line with those advanced by advocates of this "pseudo-renaissance," namely, the cosmopolitan authors of the *Uşûl*. These authors had declared, "It is by reviving the sane and vigorous traditions of the great masters of Ottoman architecture that contemporary artists...managed to recapture the purest sources of national art."¹² In reality, much of Arseven's brief section on the eighteenth century is but a reiteration of ideas already articulated in the *Uşûl*, which was in its time the only example of an indigenous disquisition on Ottoman architecture. The excerpt quoted in the epigraph echoes almost verbatim the following statement from the *Uşûl*:

Under the influence of French painters and sculptors... [who] tagged behind the engineers brought over by [Ahmed III] for the execution of special works, Ottoman artists gradually adopted the European styles of ornament. One step further and they were setting out onto this disgraceful path where soon, fall after fall, they descended into a profound oblivion of any rational notion of art and any purity of taste.¹³

Arseven is equally in agreement with the authors of the *Uşûl* in attempting to exempt the first decades of the eighteenth century from the disgraceful descent. According to the *Uşûl*, this descent, which began sometime in the seventeenth century, had been briefly interrupted by a moment of "regeneration" beginning with Ahmed III's accession to power in 1703 and lasting through the 1730s—that is, some ten years into the reign of Ahmed's successor, Mahmud I. For the authors of the *Uşûl* especially, what characterized these four decades was the uncanny dexterity that architects displayed in the realm of surface ornament: the highly ornamented public fountains of the 1720s and early 1730s stood out as monuments to the excellence of Ottoman "national industries." Two out of the eight monographs included in the treatise (mostly devoted to such grand monuments as the Green Mosque of Bursa, the Süleymaniye, and the Selimiye) are dedicated to the fountains of Saliha Valide Sultan at Azapkapı (1732) and of Ahmed III near the Bab-ı Hümayun (Imperial Gate) of the Topkapı Palace (1729), over which "all the national industries lent a hand to the imperial architect to create a marvel, or rather, an assemblage of a thousand marvels" (figs. 3 and 4).¹⁴ As Ahmet Ersoy remarks in his study of the *Uşûl*, while its authors promoted mainly the sixteenth-century Ottoman "classical" style, which they considered to be the "epitome of rational principles," they also expressed particular interest in the more hybrid styles of the fifteenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth.¹⁵ In this respect, it is significant that one of the centerpieces of the Ottoman pavilion at the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition was chosen to be a replica of the fountain of Ahmed III mentioned above.

While Arseven's *Constantinople* does not reflect the same enthusiasm for the style of these fountains, which he qualifies as "bâtard," they occupy a significant part of his short section on the eighteenth century and are repeatedly praised for the magnificence of their decoration.¹⁶ More importantly for Arseven, the first forty years of the century, in contrast to the later decades,



Fig. 3. Fountain of Saliha Sultan at Azapkapı, 1732. (Author's photo)

had managed to retain the essential forms of Ottoman “national architecture.”

The break between these two periods became formalized in the first revised edition of *Constantinople*, titled *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art), published in Ottoman Turkish in 1928.¹⁷ There Arseven introduces a full-fledged periodization (generally accepted by scholars until the early 1980s) in which the eighteenth century begins with the *Lâle Devri* (Tulip Period). This designation had become popular following the publication in 1915 of *Lâle Devri*, an account by the historian Ahmet Refik of the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). The second period is the *Barok Devri*, which stretches until 1807, the end of the reign of Selim III (1789–1807). In the most general terms, what distinguished these two periods, according to Arseven, was that the first drew on Eastern visual traditions whereas influence during the second came from the West:

During the period of Ahmed III, [Ottoman architecture] leaned toward Seljuk and Persian idioms, departing from classical forms...[and] a new style came to life. As [the architects] aimed to impart the arts with new energy and vitality, they broke out of the specific rules that had been laid out [for them]...in search of new canons. Until [the end of] this period, Turkish inspiration came from the East. From this point onward, as [European] people and goods infiltrated the city [of Istanbul], they began to exert an influence on those [architects] in search of innovation, and provided them with new [working] elements...A Baroque style appeared in buildings...and so did curls and twists and curvilinear forms...But this Baroque did not exactly resemble its European counterpart. [Architects] included details specific to a Turkish taste, and a Turkish Baroque [style] took shape.¹⁸

This is the most neutral assessment of eighteenth-century architecture that Arseven would ever make;



Fig. 4. Fountain of Ahmed III at Bab-ı Hümayun, 1729 (Author's photo)

indeed, it is one of the most neutral statements made on the subject in the first hundred or so years of the historiography. There are no references to the bastardized style of the early decades, nor the slightest insinuation of a stylistic decadence prompted by the adoption of European styles; the running theme is rather about innovation and a new surge of energy. Nor is external “influence,” be it Eastern or Western, regarded as a sign of submission by a passive Ottoman receiver incapacitated by the intrusion of so many foreign currents—an interpretation widespread in the later scholarship, to which I will return. Instead, in an overtly nationalist tone, Arseven talks of what we would now call an indigenous process of reinterpretation of the European Baroque, carefully relocating this Baroque within the sphere of Turkish “national” art and thereby divesting it of its “foreign” corrupting potential. The eighteenth century emerges as a period of creativity and individuality with the capacity to bring fruitful change to a great Ottoman artistic tradition.

How can we understand the shift of tone and interpretation between 1909 and 1928? It might be proposed that, with the increase after 1923 of the official Kemalist discourse, hammering at the necessity of following the Western model of civilization, the old equation between European (visual) imports and decadence became obsolete. But this does not seem to apply to the few contemporaneous voices who expressed their sentiments about eighteenth-century architecture, notably Arseven's older contemporary, Mehmed Ziya Bey, a fervently nationalist historian and poet. In his historical and topographical work *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi*, written between 1920 and 1928, Mehmed Ziya Bey maintains the decadence narrative of the *Uşûl*, describing a process of architectural stagnation and decline (*fitret ve inhîtat*) that began under Ahmed III and casting blame on ignorant foreign architects who brought in a strange (*acib ül-şekil*) European fashion called the Rococo.¹⁹ This narrative would survive into the 1930s, possibly as a form of lament by the “modernists” over a process of Westernization that had remained incom-

plete and thus incapable of filling the gap left by the loss and forsaking of a great tradition.²⁰

But Arseven's 1928 pronouncement is far more ambiguous. What can we make, for example, of his ambivalent assessment—that the Baroque is not necessarily a sign of decadence, but neither is it fully Western—that recalls the intellectual haziness of the late Tanzimat vis-à-vis the West? Was his effort to resurrect the eighteenth (and the nineteenth) century an attempt to save the entire tradition of Ottoman architecture from protracted collapse at a time when his own architectural universe and the eclectic revivalist style that characterized it continued to hark back to the Ottoman past?²¹ In other words, was his effort to redeem the whole history of Ottoman architecture merely a way to situate his own contemporary world within a dignified historical continuum, characterized by a dynamic ability to regenerate itself internally?

Certainly, the attempt to locate Arseven's revised interpretations within the wide and heterogeneous range of nationalist discourses is to some degree inevitable. But the danger of explaining his shifting positions strictly from the amorphous lens of nationalism, and of undermining thereby his intellectual autonomy, becomes clearer as we start looking at the entire corpus of editions of his *Türk Sanatı*. And it is tempting to simply accept and appreciate the author's continual rethinking and revision of his previous arguments: in his next editions, appearing in the 1930s, he adopts yet another surprisingly new position.

L'art turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, published in 1939, and an undated edition of *Türk Sanatı* that in all likelihood provided the basis of the French edition and must have been published in the mid-1930s²² focus through and through on the concept of rationalism. This concept had first been expressed in the *Uşûl* with respect to national Ottoman art prior to the eighteenth century, and in the 1920s Arseven had taken it up in the same context.²³ But for the first time Arseven now introduces the notion of rationalism in his assessment of the eighteenth century. One wonders whether his new thinking was tainted by the intellectual climate of the early 1930s, in which rationalism acquired a new resonance and became a leit-motif of the republican project of rewriting the history of Turkish modernization. As Bozdoğan points out, this was a moment when

...much intellectual effort was devoted to demonstrating the compatibility of Turkish culture with universal civi-

lization...It was argued that modernism, far from being an alien import, was in fact the uncovering of what was already rational and modern in Turkish culture, forgotten behind layers of obscurantism and backwardness.²⁴

Arseven was personally invested in the ideologically charged Turkish History Thesis, as he acknowledges obliquely in his revised introductions. There he praises Mustafa Kemal for instigating new research on the nation's history and its history of art, and he refers to the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (The Turkish Historical Society), founded in the early 1930s, as one of the two umbrella organizations that sponsored the new historiographic efforts.²⁵

The degree to which the intellectual environment of the 1930s was fundamental to reshaping Arseven's architectural thinking on the eighteenth century is a matter of conjecture. Even if the centrality of rationalism in his new editions is in line with the official republican discourse, his brand of rationalism is a rather idiosyncratic one that serves to redelineate his old concept of decadence. Indeed, his idea of decadence, previously associated with the emergence of the Baroque in the 1740s, now acquires a completely different inflection and is identified with the ornamented idiom of the first decades of the century, the so-called Tulip Period (figs. 5 and 6). From the beginning of the eighteenth century onward, he writes,

Fantasy dominated the minds [of artists], and they ceased to be rational (*zihinlere fantezi hâkim oldu, artık rasyonel olmaktan çıktı*). Buildings became more frivolous and less sober. Facades were filled with ornament. A love of detail emerged, and harmony was neglected. Architects fell into a kind of artificiality or mannerism (*sunilik*) that recalls Indian and Persian works. *Fantaisie* gradually gained ground, and, thus, an artistic decadence began.²⁶

Although the term *rasyonel* appears for the first time in the 1930s editions, one can already detect in the 1928 text comparable sentiments about the "irrationality" of architecture in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Indeed, if we reconsider the seemingly neutral passage cited earlier in relation to Arseven's views about the virtues of the Turkish national style, his description of the "Baroque" style of the reign of Ahmed III as "lean[ing] toward Seljuk and Persian idioms [and] departing from classical forms" can be safely read as a euphemism for irrationality. For the "national character" of Arseven's Ottoman architecture²⁷ lies precisely in its having rid itself of the "pomp and excessive ornamentation" of its Seljuk



Fig. 5. Fountain of Ahmed III at Bab-ı Hümayun, detail. (Author's photo)



Fig. 6. Fountain of Mahmud I at Tophane, 1732, detail. (Author's photo)

predecessor and having developed a pure and logical, or rational, style (*debdebe ve fazla süslerden tecerrüd etmesi, sâdelik ve mantık içinde en güzel ü bedîî formülleri bulmuş olmasıdır*).²⁸ "The sense of originality of Turkish artists," he wrote elsewhere, "is to the highest degree about purity/pleasantness (*nezâhet*), simplicity/purity (*sâdelik*), and reason/logic/rationality (*mantık*)."²⁹ While Arseven was, in all likelihood, inspired by the *Uşûl*'s early emphasis on the rationality of Ottoman architecture, his conception of the rational is far more exclusive, confined as it is to sixteenth-century classicism. By contrast, for the authors of the *Uşûl*, rationality remained integral to the early-eighteenth-century idiom. Keen on advocating the ornamental virtuosity of this period, they managed to harmonize it with an understanding of rationalism by which ornament was to remain subordinate to tectonics—an understanding inherent to the contemporary European debate on rationalism. Thus, they argued, in the great fountains of the 1720s and 1730s, ornament was "chiseled into the surface" and was therefore only secondary to form and structure.³⁰

While in the last edition of *Türk Sanatı*, published in 1952, the rational/irrational dichotomy remained key to characterizing Turkish art, it lost its relevance with regard to the eighteenth century. Particularly striking about this expanded edition, the voluminous, 800-page *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar* (Turkish Art History from Its Origins until Today),³¹ is that it strives to present the eighteenth century in a more favorable light. The so-called Tulip Period, now appraised in direct relation to the classical period, is no longer irrational, but eccentric or mannered and playful (*inhinalı ve oynakdır*). Its forms, compared to the male forms of the classical period, are feminine, as is the Corinthian order in comparison to the Doric. Flowers and twigs, Arseven explains, replaced the muqarnas and the heavy and sober decoration of the classical style, imparting buildings, even tombstones, with a "coquettish and cheerful air" (*şuh ve neşeli bir şekil*).³² The Baroque period (which he now considers to extend into the middle of the nineteenth century) not only continued this sense of playfulness but introduced the fashion for frivolous (*hafifmeşreb*) dec-

oration.³³ More important, the author cautions, more forcefully now, against designations of the Baroque as a Western (*frengi*) or a decadent style. Instead, he states, it should deserve a place in “our national history of Turkish art.”³⁴

While, as noted above, Arseven’s work in general had little impact beyond his own time, these cautionary words about the place of the Baroque in Ottoman and Turkish historiography would somehow persist another thirty years, during which all attention centered on the scope and significance of European influence. In fact, his remarks were appropriated as early as two years later by Doğan Kuban in his *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme*, the book that brought the eighteenth century into the fold of Ottoman architectural scholarship. Though Kuban nowhere refers to the work of Arseven, the main parameters of his arguments clearly derive from his predecessor. Kuban’s book, in short, is an essay about the nature of European influence and the extent to which the eighteenth century should be regarded as decadent. Yet his conception of decadence bears little resemblance to earlier ones; circumscribed within the broader context of Ottoman political decline that began following the empire’s military defeat in Vienna in 1683, what Kuban terms “the spirit of decadence” is no longer a process instigated by the penetration of Western ideas, but rather one that made such penetration possible and, to a certain degree, inevitable.³⁵ To Kuban, political decline, compounded by the incompetence of Western architects who brought in foreign styles, largely determined the architectural production of the eighteenth century, which, save for a few “sempatik eserler” (pleasing works), was on the whole of mediocre quality.³⁶ Overlooking earlier forms of artistic interaction between the Ottomans and Europe, Kuban argues that the adoption of European elements was but a by-product of Ottoman political decline and constituted an acknowledgment of Europe’s superiority, whereas previously, when the Ottomans had had no fear of Europe, they had shown little interest in things European.³⁷

Less than a year later, however, Kuban’s interpretive tone had changed. In an article addressed to an international (mostly Western) audience, published in French in the journal *Palladio*, he wrote about the “favorable climate” of political, trade, and diplomatic exchange between the Ottomans and Europe that brought to Istanbul European artists and, along with them, new styles and creative impulses.³⁸ Forsaking

earlier notions of decadence and decline, Kuban here examines the extent of these influences and, like Arseven before him, emphasizes the national character of what he now prefers to call the Rococo, on account of its superficial, ornamental character.³⁹ The Nuruosmaniye Mosque, previously derided (following Arseven’s *Constantinople* and the works of Orientalist scholars) as a bizarre-looking monument that heralded the decadence of Ottoman architecture, is now extolled as “a Baroque gem” and “the most magnificent Baroque monument in Istanbul.”⁴⁰ Kuban’s later publications, between the 1980s and 2004, largely reiterate these views. Alternatively presented as Baroque or Rococo, European influence, which by 1996 he redubs “Westernization,” is the consistent framework of inquiry within which he explores architectural change, and the product of a new and overarching inclination toward the West that began at the dawn of the eighteenth century.⁴¹

But by 1996, the concept of Westernization had already taken on a life of its own, emerging as the central paradigm in the little flurry of publications that came out between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. The titles of articles and book chapters that appeared in the course of this decade are telling: Ayda Arel’s *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (The Period of Westernization in the Architecture of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul); Ülkü Bates’s “The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture”; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu’s “Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century”; Michael Levey’s “Intimations of Rococo”; and Godfrey Goodwin’s “Baroque and After.”⁴² This apparent urge to historicize Turkish modernization and fit it into a historical continuum reaching back to the early eighteenth century extended to the historiography on painting and literature as well.⁴³ Like Kuban’s, all these works relied almost exclusively on European-language sources and drew extensively on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travel literature. Over time, they also formed a chain of transmission, which explains in part why the literature of the 1970s and 1980s is so extremely consistent, and why even certain historical anecdotes, which can be traced back to eighteenth-century European travelers but for which we have no other evidence as yet, are perpetuated and acquire the status of historical fact.⁴⁴

Ultimately, this also explains why, despite the recent emergence of works that do not partake of the dominant Westernization narrative and offer instead new

research directions and methodologies,⁴⁵ public perceptions of the eighteenth century have not drastically changed since the 1950s. Indeed, the paradigm of Westernization, anticipated by Arseven and consecrated in the work of Doğan Kuban, continues to survive in specialized studies and textbook surveys as well as in the more widely read literature on Ottoman culture and history. What unites all these works is their prevailing assumption that admiration for and interest in European culture did not begin until the turn of the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ Following the (otherwise outdated) political decline thesis, they tacitly accept the idea that from the beginning of the eighteenth century onward, the cultural regeneration of a militarily ailing empire could occur only by its turning to Europe. In the dominant narrative of Ottoman architectural history today, the eighteenth century inaugurates a new era of peace and diplomacy with Europe that is contrasted with the warring and depressed atmosphere of the previous decades. Against this backdrop, the ruling elite's cultivation of a new westernizing outlook is perceived as the chief impulse that gave shape to the architectural and cultural horizon of the time.

There is no doubt that the Ottomans' increasing diplomatic contact with Europe in the aftermath of the 1699 treaty of Karlowitz accelerated the infiltration of Western artistic knowledge, ideas, motifs, and techniques.⁴⁷ As every scholar has pointed out, Neoclassical, Baroque, and Rococo elements gradually permeated the architecture of Istanbul in particular, especially from the 1750s on. But did this trend necessarily signal a sudden inclination toward Westernization, in the sense of an all-encompassing interest in emulating the West? And how exceptional was it to the history of Ottoman architecture? While artistic and cultural exchange certainly intensified from the turn of the eighteenth century onward, the virtually continuous artistic contact between Ottomans and Europeans for more than two centuries prior to 1700 cannot be ignored.⁴⁸

The treatment of Westernization as at once a symptom of the empire's decline and a preface to the Western-dominated modernization reforms of the nineteenth century is firmly crystallizing the problematic belief that Westernization was, and had to be, the principal agent of architectural change in the eighteenth century. Not only does this belief simply disregard the more complex and extensive character of architectural developments, but it also precludes the possibility that locally circumscribed factors could effect any form of

change. Doubtless some transformations were brought about by a wider exposure to foreign ideas and material culture, but what was most distinctive about the eighteenth century was its unprecedented receptiveness to all sorts of artistic innovations that included not only Western details, but Safavid Persian and Mughal Indian elements as well. And that receptiveness, in turn, was primarily nurtured by a long process of transformation in the social order, by changing patterns of patronage, and by newly emergent conceptions of architectural beauty.⁴⁹

More broadly speaking, the very notion of Westernization must be problematized. It has come to acquire the meaning of an overriding and unilateral influence over an eager and compliant receiver. Yet, as the popularity of *turquerie* in most major European cities itself reveals, "influence" between the eighteenth-century European and Ottoman worlds was hardly unidirectional. Nor was it fundamental to the development in the Ottoman Empire of a new architectural and decorative language: as Arseven was already pointing out a century ago, selectively appropriated features and motifs were thoroughly reworked into a distinctly Ottoman idiom. And while Western features were acknowledged by contemporary Ottoman observers as part of the architectural vocabulary, these features hardly stood out in the widely eclectic visual environment of the time, nor were they at any point invested with the kind of cultural charge implied by the concept of "Westernization."⁵⁰

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NOTES

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1. "Les ingénieurs français, appelés en Turquie par Mahmoud Ier pour les travaux hydrographiques, amenèrent avec eux des sculpteurs, des décorateurs et des dessinateurs qui, en introduisant les styles Louis XV et baroque, préparèrent la dégénérescence du style ottoman. Avec le temps les artistes ottomans se rapprochèrent de plus en plus des types d'ornementation européenne qui devint à la mode, et fut appelée alors vulgairement 'à la franka.' Ils eurent tôt fait d'oublier les principes de l'art ottoman. Ignorant les notions mêmes de cet art, les constructeurs mélangèrent tous les styles, ne mettant ainsi au jour que des oeuvres laides et disparates. Telle est la mosquée Nouri Osmanié...telle est aussi la mosquée Laléli:

- toutes deux appartiennent à cette période de décadence.” Celâl Esad Arseven, *Constantinople de Byzance à Istanbul, traduit du turc par l'auteur* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), 179–80.
2. Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Pulhan, 1954).
 3. Arseven, *Constantinople*, 151–55.
 4. “A partir du milieu du XVIIIe siècle, la décadence s’accroît...de façon déplorable...Le commencement de cette décadence rapide de l’art ottoman...fut accentuée par la médiocrité et l’ignorance des artistes européens auxquels les sultans et les grands seigneurs turcs s’adressèrent.” Henri Saladin, *Manuel d’art musulman* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907), 537.
 5. Saladin, *Manuel d’art musulman*, 535.
 6. Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar*, tr. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul: Üniversite Matbaası, 1946), 235.
 7. Oktay Aslanapa and Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1955), 189.
 8. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nationalism: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 246–47.
 9. Victor Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1998), reprint of *L’architecture ottomane = Uşul-i Mi’mār-i ‘Osmānī* (Istanbul, 1873).
 10. Arseven, *Constantinople*, 180.
 11. Ibid., 179.
 12. “C’est en remontant aux sources les plus pures de l’art national que les artistes actuels...ont pu retrouver et faire revivre les saines et vigoureuses traditions des grands maîtres de l’Architecture ottomane.” Marie de Launay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi*, 67; Ahmet Ersoy, “On the Sources of the Ottoman Renaissance: Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000), 215. For the authors of the *Uşul* see Ahmet Ersoy’s essay in this volume.
 13. “Sous l’influence des peintres et des sculpteurs français...à la suite d’ingénieurs qu’il avait appelés pour l’exécution de travaux spéciaux, les artistes ottomans se rapprochèrent de plus en plus des types d’ornementation européenne. Un pas de plus, et ils allaient entrer dans cette voie déplorable où bientôt, de chute en chute, ils tombèrent dans un profond oubli de toute notion rationnelle d’art et de toute pureté de goût.” Marie de Launay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi*, 66.
 14. “...toutes les industries nationales ont prêté leur concours à l’architecte Impérial pour créer une merveille, ou plutôt un assemblage de milles merveilles.” Marie de Launay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi*, 59.
 15. Ersoy, “Ottoman Renaissance,” 313.
 16. Arseven, *Constantinople*, 218–21.
 17. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk San’atı* (Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1928).
 18. Ibid., 169–71.
 19. Cited in Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 133.
 20. See, for example, the 1934 writings of Aptullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), cited in Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nationalism*, 50. I thank Cemal Kafadar for pointing to the currency of this state of mind among nationalists.
 21. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nationalism*, 16–55.
 22. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, n.d.); idem, *L’art turc: Depuis son origine jusqu’à nos jours* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939). The undated edition of *Türk Sanatı* was reprinted several times from the 1960s on and is probably his best-known edition.
 23. See Sibel Bozdoğan’s article in this volume.
 24. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nationalism*, 107–9.
 25. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (n.d.), 7; *L’art turc*, 6. The second association was the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti, later Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Foundation): see Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993), 198.
 26. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (n.d.), 175. It should be noted that in the undated Turkish edition his description of the surface ornamentation of the eighteenth-century fountains as too *fantaisiste* is in line with his general assessment of the period (ibid., 176–77), whereas in the French edition these grand fountains earn excellent mention, and the one at Azapkapı is praised as “un des chef-d’œuvres de l’époque.” (Arseven, *L’art turc*, 175).
 27. In his words, “millî bir seciye’yi hâ’iz şahşî bir şan’at.” Arseven, *Türk San’atı* (1928), 6.
 28. Ibid., 93.
 29. Ibid., 6.
 30. Marie de Launay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi*, 67; Ersoy, “Ottoman Renaissance,” 296.
 31. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Menşinden Bugüne Kadar* (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, n.d. [1952]).
 32. Ibid., 400–401.
 33. Ibid., 405.
 34. Ibid., 405–6.
 35. The rise-and-decline paradigm was already central to Ottoman political historiography. On the decline paradigm in modern historiography and post-sixteenth-century decline-consciousness among Ottoman intellectuals see Cemal Kafadar, “The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânîc Era,” in *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: İsis Press, 1993), 37–48, and idem, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, 1–2 (1997–98): 30–75.
 36. Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 133.
 37. Ibid., 5.
 38. His opening line sets the tone: “What give new impulse to artistic creations are often external influences, or—better put—external suggestions.” Doğan Kuban, “Influences de l’art européen sur l’architecture ottomane au XVIIIe siècle,” *Palladio* 5 (1955): 149.
 39. Ibid., 157.
 40. Ibid., 155; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 28.
 41. Doğan Kuban, “Architecture of the Ottoman Period,” in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 137–69; idem, *Istanbul: An Urban History* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996); idem, “Ottoman Architecture,” in *Ottoman Civilization*, 2 vols., ed. Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2004), 2:689.
 42. Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (Istanbul: İ. T. Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975); Ülkü Bates, “The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture,” in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-*

- Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. Abraham Asher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Béla Király (Brooklyn: Brooklyn College Press, 1979), 167–81; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa, 1683 bis 1789: Konflikte, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Münich: Oldenbourg, 1983), 153–78; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971); Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); and Michael Levey, *The World of Ottoman Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975).
43. This is illustrated, for example, by Günsel Renda’s *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700–1850* (Turkish Painting in the Period of Westernization, 1700–1850) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1977), and by Ahmet Evin’s, “Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1973), followed by his article, “The Tulip Age and Definitions of ‘Westernization,’” in *Social and Economic History of Turkey, 1071–1920 = Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi, 1071–1920*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Osman Okyar (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 131–45.
 44. Two tales in particular are repeated in almost every study on the eighteenth century. The first, which initially appeared in Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, recounts that Mahmud I had initially planned the Nuruosmaniye Mosque on the model of a church but faced the opposition of the religious elite. The second, a version of which was included by Arseven in his 1952 book, concerns Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, the Ottoman envoy to the court of Louis XV, who is said to have brought back (directly or via his dragoman, Lenoir) plans and drawings of Versailles (or in some cases of Fontainebleau or Marly), on the basis of which the court of Ahmed III started building palaces and kiosks in the European way, most notably at Sa’dabad. To my knowledge, these tales were first published in the late-eighteenth-century accounts of James Dallaway and Baron de Tott, respectively: James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (London: T. Cadell, Junr. and W. Davies, 1797), 62, and François, Baron de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1785), 2:4. For modern citations of these tales see Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 399; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 27; Arel, *Batılılaşma*, 21, 59; Bates, “European Influence,” 177; Yenişehirlioğlu, “Western Influences,” 157–58; Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 372–73, 383; Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 231; Levey, *World of Ottoman Art*, 121; Mustafa Armağan, ed., *İstanbul Armağanı*, vol. 4: *Lale Devri* (Istanbul: Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000), 17; Ali Uzay Peyker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul,” in *Exoticism and the Culture of Exploration*, ed. R. MacCubin and C. Knellwolf, a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, 3 (Jan. 2003): 143, 150; Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* (New Haven: Pelican History of Art, 1994), 230; Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Sa’dabad* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, Devlet Kitapları Müdürlüğü, 1977), 6; and Tülay Artan, “Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988), 60 n. 199.
 45. The most notable examples are Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, the first monograph on an eighteenth-century building and the first work on eighteenth-century architecture that called attention to, and drew on, an astounding variety of Ottoman source material, inaugurating thereby a new chapter in the historiography of the period; Artan, “Architecture as a Theatre of Life,” 60 n. 199; Walter Denny, “Revivalism in Turkish Art: The Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque in Istanbul,” in *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Tadeusz Majda (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990), 81–87; Howard Crane, “The Ottoman Sultan’s Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy,” in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene Bierman, Rifaat Abou el-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New Rochelle: A. D. Caratzas, 1991), 187–210; Ülkü Bates, “Eighteenth Century Fountains of Istanbul,” in *9. Milleterarasi Türk Sanatları Kongresi = 9th International Congress of Turkish Art*, 3 vols. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995), 1:293–97; Maurice Cerasi, *La città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII–XIX* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1986); idem, “Frenk, Hind ve Sind’: Real or Imaginary in the Aesthetics of Ottoman Open Space,” *Environmental Design* 2 (1986): 16–23; idem, “Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIII–XIXth Centuries,” *Environmental Design* 2 (1985): 36–49; and idem, “Il giardino ottomano attraverso l’immagine del Bosforo,” in *Il giardino islamico: Architettura, natura, paesaggio*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Milan: Electa, 1994), 217–36. Mention should be made here of three important editions and/or translations of eighteenth-century Ottoman works that brought new sources to light or made them accessible to a wider readership: Pia Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nuruosmâniye in Istanbul: Beiträge zur Baugeschichte nach osmanischen Quellen* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1986); Hatice Aynur and Hakan Karateke, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çesmeleri (1703–1730)* (Istanbul: Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995); and Howard Crane, *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayyan-sarâyî’s Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
 46. See, for example, Armağan, *İstanbul Armağanı*; Halil İnalcık, “Mutual Political and Cultural Influences between Europe and the Ottomans,” in idem, *Ottoman Civilization*, vol. 2, esp. 1049–50, 1082; Peyker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire,” 139–63; Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, 227–30; and Robert Harbison, *Reflections on Baroque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 102–7.
 47. On diplomacy and material culture see, for example, Thomas Naff, “Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends,” in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 88–107; “Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963): 295–315; Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Seyfîleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968); Adnan-Adıvar, *La science chez les turcs ottomans* (Paris: G. -P. Maisonneuve, 1939); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964);

- Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 97–100; and the articles by Donald Quataert, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Charlotte Jirousek in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 1–13, 15–44, 201–41.
48. On Ottoman-European artistic and cultural interaction, see Esin Atil, “Ahmet Nakşi: An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 103–21; Cemal Kafadar, “The Ottomans and Europe,” in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, 2 vols., ed. Thomas Brady, Jr., Heiko Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1994), 1:589–635; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996); Rhoads Murphy, “The Ottoman Attitude towards the Adoption of Foreign Technology: The Role of the Efendi Technicians in Civil and Military Applications,” in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Louvain: Peeters, 1983), esp. 288–96; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 77–103, 135–47; idem, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* 71 (Sept. 1989): 401–27; idem., “The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium,” in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. Robert Mark and Ahmet Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195–225; and Günsel Renda, “Europe and the Ottomans: Interactions in Art,” in İnalçık, *Ottoman Civilization*, 2:1091–1121.
 49. For a development of these arguments see my book, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming Oct. 2007).
 50. See my article, “Expressions of Early Modernity in Ottoman Architecture and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (Mar. 2004): 32–51.

READING OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE THROUGH MODERNIST LENSES: NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE “NEW ARCHITECTURE” IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Histories of modern Turkish architecture typically start at the moment of stylistic rupture around 1930 when the Ottoman revivalist National Style (*Birinci Milli Üslup*) of the previous decades was abandoned, and the educational, professional, and cultural framework of Turkish architecture was radically transformed along the precepts of an imported European modernism, the so-called New Architecture (*Yeni Mimari*).¹ Canonic buildings of the early republic built after 1930 display a deliberate and conspicuous rejection of Ottoman precedents, especially the iconographic and decorative elements of the Ottoman mosque—domes, arches, and tile decoration—which were regarded as aesthetically and ideologically unsuitable to the progressive, revolutionary discourse of the new Kemalist regime.

At the same time, however, in seeming contradiction to this revolutionary impulse to break with the Ottoman/Islamic past, the early republic also displayed a new interest and pride in the country’s Ottoman heritage. Classical Ottoman mosques were now reclaimed as national treasures of modern Turkey, and their picturesque images were widely circulated as official postcards, in government issued photograph albums, and in the pages of the official propaganda publication *La Turquie Kemaliste* (fig. 1). More significantly, prominent early republican intellectuals, architects, and art historians produced a plethora of books, articles, and commentaries on Ottoman architecture, marking the emergence of native scholars in a field hitherto dominated by Europeans.

The starting point of my essay is this seeming paradox of early republican architectural culture—the conspicuous split between modernist architectural practice, which rejected Ottoman forms, and nationalist historiography, which celebrated them. To make matters even more interesting, the same individuals frequently did both. Sedat Çetintaş, for example, was a prominent architect trained in the Ministry of Endow-

ments (Evkaf Nezareti) under Kemalettin Bey during the heyday of the Ottoman revivalist “National Style.” Çetintaş prepared elaborately rendered survey drawings of Ottoman monuments and wrote nationalist articles in the architectural magazine *Yapı*. His skilled draftsmanship attracted the personal attention of Atatürk, who appointed him to send his twelve-plate renderings of the Şehzade Mosque to the 1933 Chicago Exhibition. There followed exhibitions of his drawings in Ankara (1935) and Istanbul (1942), culminating in the publication of his two-volume *Türk Mimari Anıtları* (Turkish Architectural Monuments) in 1946.² Yet precisely at the same time his drawings and writings contributed significantly to the nationalist appropriation of Ottoman architectural heritage during the 1930s, Çetintaş also designed new, distinctly modern



Fig. 1. Government-issued postcard from the 1930s with picturesque view of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. (Author’s collection)



Fig. 2a. Survey drawing of the longitudinal section of Selimiye Mosque, Edirne (1569–75), by Sedad Çetintaş. (After A. Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedad Çetintaş* [Istanbul: ITU Yayinlari, 2004], used with permission)



Fig 2b. Republican Peoples' Party Headquarters in Yalova, 1934, designed by Çetintaş. (Photo: courtesy of Uğur Tanyeli)

buildings totally dissociated from Ottoman precedents, such as his Republican Peoples' Party Headquarters in Yalova (1934) (fig. 2, a and b).

Behçet Sabri Ünsal, another influential architect and educator, presents a similar duality. As a histo-

rian, he wrote extensively on Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish architecture (publishing them in English in 1959 as *Turkish Islamic Architecture*) and at the same time, as an architect, became a prolific advocate for the New Architecture. In addition to producing such unequivocally modernist designs as his 1934 competition entry with Bedrettin Hamdi for the Sümerbank building in Ankara, he contributed pioneering modernist essays about the virtues of rationalism, functionalism, and “cubic architecture” to the professional journal *Arkitekt*.³

The most paradigmatic figure, however, is Celâl Esad Arseven, prominent art historian, critic, and professor of architectural history at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, who devoted his entire career to the nationalist historiography of Turkish art and architecture and at the same time promoted European modernism. On the one hand, with his classic *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art), first published in 1928, Arseven established the quintessential republican nationalist view



Fig. 3. Ismet Pasha Girls' Institute in Ankara, 1930, designed by Ernst Egli. According to Arseven, this building marked “the arrival of the New Architecture in Turkey.” (After *La Turquie Kemaliste* 47 [1943]: 43)

of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish art and architecture.⁴ On the other, in 1926 he translated Camillo Sitte's book on principles of modern town planning into Turkish, and in 1931 he published *Yeni Mimari* (New Architecture), adapted from a 1929 book by the French modernist architect André Lurcat.⁵ *Yeni Mimari* became a required text for architectural students at the Academy of Fine Arts, which had undergone modernist reforms in 1926; in this work Arseven introduced Turkish audiences to the principles of the Modern Movement in architecture as it emerged in Europe after World War I and celebrated its “arrival” in Ankara through the works of the German and Central European architects invited by the new Kemalist regime (fig. 3).

In this essay, I examine the ways in which these and other early republican authors (all of them practicing architects and/or educators) sought to reconcile nationalist historiography with modernist practice. As publications of the time amply document, they did this primarily by reconceptualizing Ottoman architecture as a rational, tectonic, and functional building tradition, distinct from other oriental and Islamic architec-

tures and closer in spirit to the European modernist avant-garde. In the end, theirs was a doubly charged historiography, with both a nationalist program that sought to establish the “Turkishness” and uniqueness of Ottoman architecture against the perceived misrepresentations of Western Orientalist scholarship and a modernist agenda that sought to establish trans-historical affinities between Ottoman building traditions and the New Architecture of the modernist avant-garde in Europe. In what follows, with only brief references to their nationalist program (which is addressed in more detail in Gülru Necipoğlu's essay in this collection), I focus on their modernist agenda and conclude with the implications of this modernist bias in republican historiography for republican architectural practice in general. Through this discussion, I also suggest that in spite of their now-transparent ideological biases, these modernist texts contain certain complexities, ambiguities, and critical insights that have continuing relevance for current debates on Orientalism, nationalism, modernity, and identity in Turkey and the Middle East.

PREAMBLE: THE “TURKISHNESS” OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

The first step in the republican reframing of Ottoman architecture was the establishment of a Turkic genealogy for it—a national “essence” distinguishing it from Byzantine as well as other Islamic architectures and linking it to the much longer history of Turkic peoples going back to prehistoric civilizations of Central Asia. That republican texts use the word “Ottoman” only as a period identifier (for example, in Sedat Çetintaş’s 1946 *Türk Mimari Anıtları: Osmanlı Devri*), rather than an identity marker (as in the very specific and historically bounded Ottomanism of the 1873 text *Uşûl-i Mi‘mārî-i ‘Osmānî*) underscores what is, in effect, a “nationalization” of heritage at the point of transition from a multiethnic, multireligious empire to the new ideal of a homogeneous Turkish nation. Thereafter, Ottoman buildings and monuments were perceived and portrayed as part of a vast historical continuum beyond dynastic Ottoman history and were interpreted through the ideological lenses of what many scholars have called “the Sleeping Beauty theory of nationalism”: namely, the theory that nations have existed since time immemorial albeit in a latent state, waiting to be awakened to self-consciousness.⁶ In other words, no longer viewed as a dynastic category, Ottoman architecture became a “Turkish” architecture whose Turkishness was unrecognized until republican historians recovered it.

As a member of the scientific committee that formulated the nationalist Turkish History Thesis of 1932 under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Foundation (Türk Tarih Kurumu), Celâl Esad Arseven played a leading role in establishing the Turkishness of Ottoman architecture as its originary and defining character. His paradigmatic *Türk Sanatı* covers some thirteen centuries of trans-historical “Turkish” art that spans many empires, states, and geographical regions but somehow always retains its Turkish essence. Or as Arseven puts it,

Turks are like a large river that, departing from its remote origins, follows the lands and valleys that it encounters on the way, sometimes wandering into faraway lands only to return closer to its source again and sometimes joining, among sandy deserts, with other tributaries once part of itself. It is a river known by a different name each time it crosses a new place.⁷

In terms of its overall ideological framing, *Türk Sanatı* reads as the art-historical counterpart to historian Fuad Köprülü’s foundational thesis, which attributes the birth of the Ottoman state exclusively to Asiatic Turco-Muslim elements with a distinct and continuous historical experience from the early civilizations of Central Asia to the frontiers of Seljuk Anatolia.⁸ Arseven too locates the origins of Turkish art in such places as Uygur wall paintings, and he finds distant precedents of Ottoman domes in Timurid tombs, which he in turn traces back to the draped tents (*yurts*) of Turkic tribes in Central Asia (see fig. 14 in Gülru Necipoğlu’s essay in this volume). Seljuk architecture is exalted as the transmitter of this Turkish national essence into Ottoman architecture, but any influences from Byzantium and Anatolian Christendom—Armenian architecture in particular—are mostly unacknowledged or rejected outright.

Collectively, republican art-historical texts by Arseven, Çetintaş, Ünsal, and others testify to the fact that when an ethnically construed genealogy becomes the defining character of architecture, the purity of that genealogy becomes an obsession. At the same time, however, any discussion of the nationalist essentialism of republican art historiography would be seriously incomplete without placing it in the context of the biases of Orientalist European scholarship to which these nationalist authors were responding at the time. Their obsessive preoccupation with an ethnically defined “Turkish” architecture was largely an effort to refute the prevailing Western view that Turks, as a nomadic people, have no distinct and original art, and owe their major artistic and architectural accomplishments to Arab, Persian, and Byzantine precedents.⁹ In the process of claiming the originality and distinctness of Ottoman (now recast as “Turkish”) architecture among other Islamic architectures, republican authors employed modernist frameworks of interpretation that were increasingly pervasive in the architectural culture of the time. After recovering the “latent Turkishness” of Ottoman architecture, they sought to establish the “latent modernity” of Ottoman forms and building practices, pointing out how these traditions embodied the same aesthetic, constructional, and social principles upon which the Modern Movement was rising in Europe.

RATIONALISM, ANTI-ORIENTALISM,
AND TECTONICS

In the first few pages of *Yeni Mimari*, after covering such modernist milestones in Europe as the La Sarraz declaration of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and the canonic 1927 Weissenhof Siedlung Exhibition in Stuttgart, Arseven wrote: “Among the architectures of different nations, the architecture of the Turks is distinguished by its rationality and its conformity to contemporary/modern (*asrî*) ideas...It is for this reason that the New Architecture will not be foreign to us.”¹⁰ What exactly were these “rational” and “modern” qualities admired by Arseven and other republican authors? How was it possible to look at the six-hundred-year-old architectural heritage of an Islamic empire and find in that heritage the embryonic seeds of twentieth-century modernism?

First and foremost, republican authors exalted the idea of formal purity. For them, what distinguished Ottoman architecture was the primacy of tectonic and volumetric concerns over decorative impulses. In his paradigmatic introduction to *Türk San'atı*, Arseven wrote: “Turkish art is completely different from Indian, Iranian, and Arab examples in the simplicity of its composition, its restraint from exaggeration, and the harmony and logic of its forms...There are such major differences of form and character among the minarets of Turks, Arabs, and Iranians that classifying them together under the general term ‘Islamic’ would be a mistake” (fig. 4).¹¹ What Arseven inadvertently accomplishes in this introduction is the problematization of the label “Islamic architecture” as a misleadingly broad generalization that obscures the actual complexity, plurality, and diversity of what it represents. He rightly points out that Gothic, Romanesque, and Renaissance works are never lumped under the generic term “Christian art.” More remarkably, anticipating Edward Said’s seminal critique of Orientalism by some five decades, he criticizes the “imaginary Orient” (his words) that exists in the minds of Westerners and in the recent exhibition pavilions of Europe and America, where “it is possible to see an Egyptian *mashrabiyya* on a Turkish house or an Iranian minaret next to a Moroccan dome, or the geometric ornamental patterns of the Arab next to the tulips and carnations of the Turk.”¹²

Yet, after insightfully criticizing Orientalist conceptions of Islamic architecture as a monolithic, supranational, and ahistorical category, Arseven, like many

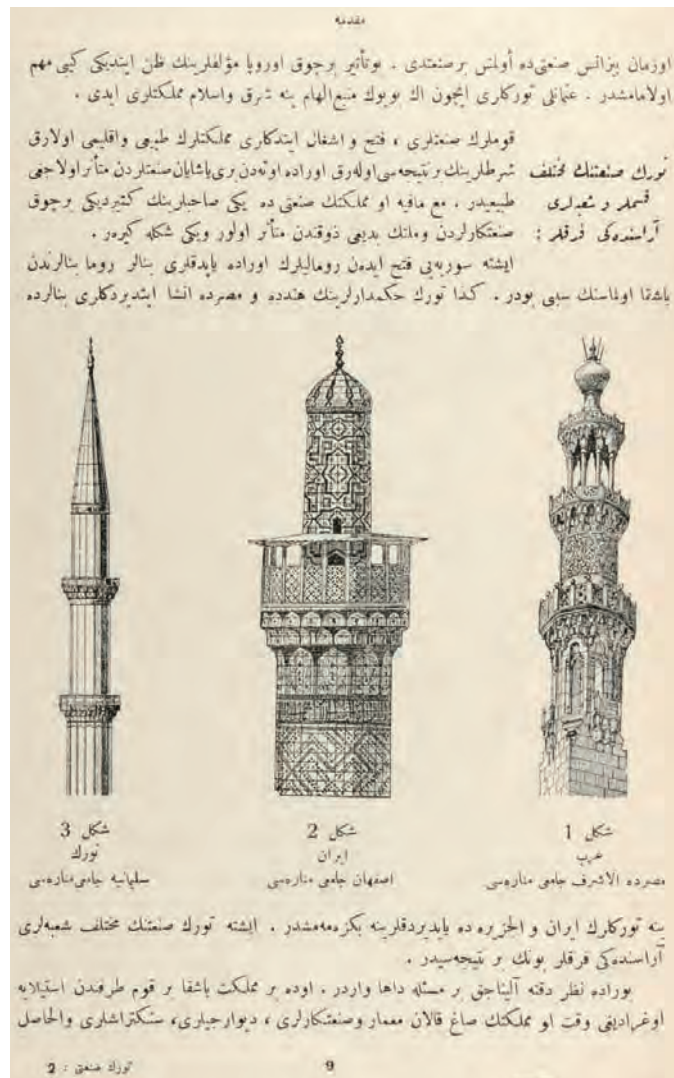


Fig. 4. Arseven’s distinction between the minarets of Arabs, Persians, and Turks. (After C. E. Arseven, *Türk San’atı* [Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1928], 9)

other republican authors, reverts to the same Orientalist categories in his treatment of other Islamic architectures and employs the same binary oppositions, such as rational vs. sensual, tectonic vs. decorative, and, ultimately, Western vs. Oriental. Turkish architecture, Arseven and others claim, is not only different from Arab, Iranian, and Indian examples but also superior to them, because it represents the rational,

tectonic, and thereby more “Western” side of these binaries. Difference is not simply neutral: it is hierarchical. This Turkish exceptionalism, defined in terms of conformity to Western artistic/architectural conceptions of rationality, permeates Arseven’s entire analysis of Turkish art and architecture. For example, in a later edition of *Türk Sanatı*, he juxtaposes what he calls the “simplicity and purity” (*safiyet ve sadelik*) of classical Ottoman tile patterns with the “overcrowded and exaggerated complexity” (*tıkız ve mübalağalı girift*) of Arab decoration in the Alhambra (fig. 5).¹³ Similarly, in his *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, Behçet Ünsal compares the Şehzade Mosque with the mosque of Qaytbay in Cairo and the Masjed-i Shah in Isfahan, highlighting the formal purity, simplicity, and rationality of the Turkish/Ottoman mosque, which he sees as unmatched by its Arab and Iranian counterparts. In an even more overtly nationalist article titled “Architecture and Turkishness” (*Mimarlık ve Türklük*), co-authored with Bedrettin Hamdi and published in 1934 in *Mimar*, the newly inaugurated professional journal of republican architects, Ünsal pairs two images with the following captions: “Perfection in architectural taste: a Turkish mosque in Istanbul” and “Primitive-ness in architectural taste: an Arab mosque in Baghdad”¹⁴ (fig. 6).

Leaving aside their obvious nationalist biases, what is particularly significant in such claims to formal purity and tectonic character is the accompanying idea of progressive evolution towards purer forms—an idea

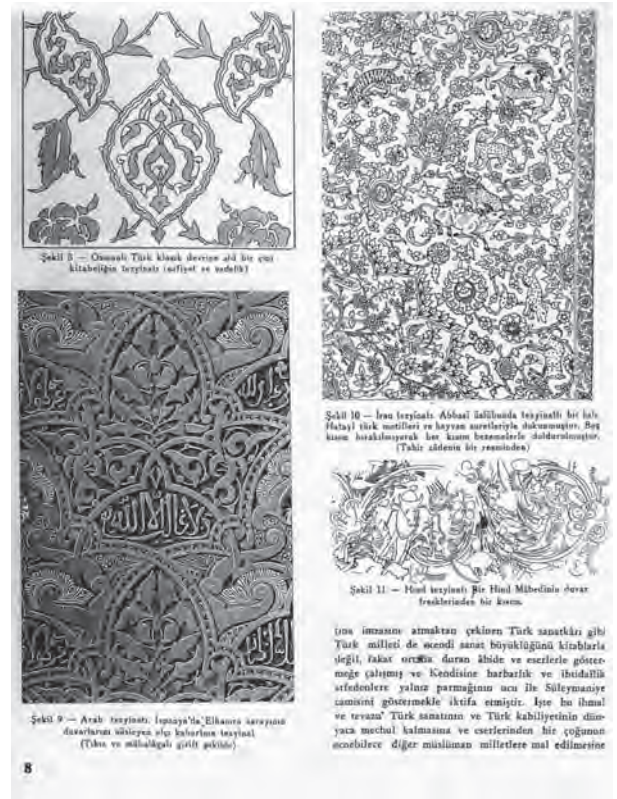


Fig. 5. Arseven's comparison of Turkish, Arab, and Persian decoration. (After C. E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar Mimari, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Teyzini Sanatlar* [Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1984], 8)



Fig. 6. Nationalist comparison of Turkish and Arab mosques, in favor of the former. (After Behçet Sabri [Ünsal] and Bedrettin Hamdi, “Mimarlık ve Türklük,” *Mimar* 4, 1 [1934]: 17)

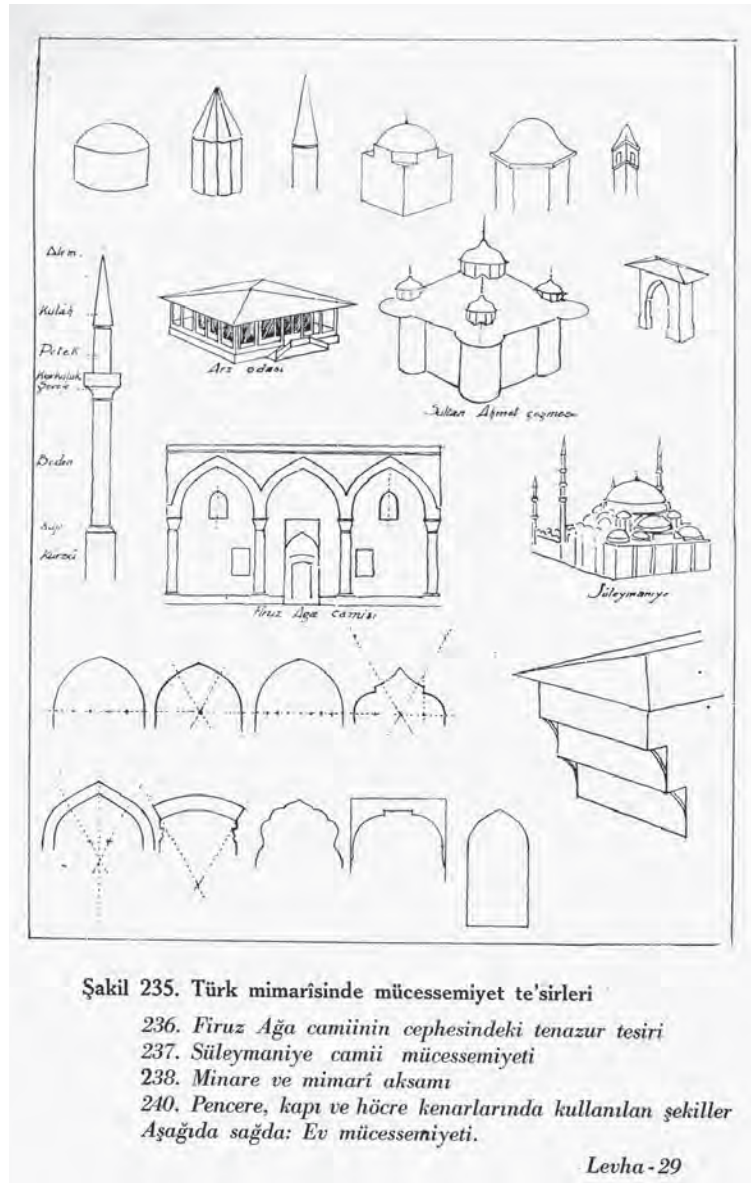


Fig. 7. “Plastic effects” (*mücessemîyet tesirleri*) in Turkish architecture. (After Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, pl. 29)

that mirrors the way the official history of modern architecture has been written in the West as a teleological unfolding of an inner rationality culminating in the Modern Movement.¹⁵ Arseven, Ünsal, and Çetintaş all praise Seljuk architecture as the transmitter into Ottoman architecture of an Asiatic Turkish national essence but argue that the Ottomans transcended the Seljuks in achieving a purer, more tectonic architecture, shedding excessive decoration.

Sedad Çetintaş writes about the difference between the “squat and massive” buildings of the Seljuks, “a medieval architecture,” as he calls it, and the Ottoman success in “modernizing” these inherited building traditions with “higher walls, larger arches, larger domes, plastic effects of the building mass, and a logical simplicity and dignity in decoration.”¹⁶ Along similar lines, Arseven asserts,

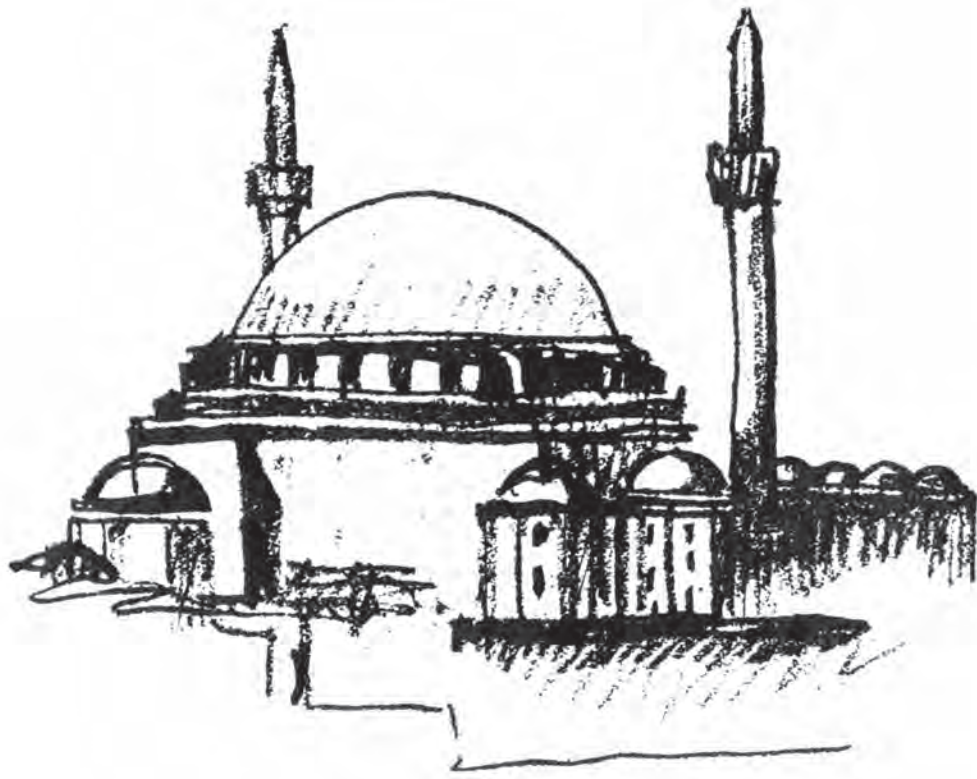


Fig. 8. Le Corbusier's sketch of the mosque of Sultan Selim, made during his visit to Istanbul in 1911 and published in his *Le voyage d'Orient* (Paris: Forces Vives, 1966). (Image ©2007, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris/FLC)

Whereas Seljuk art is one of detail and decoration, Ottoman art is one of form and harmony. From the earliest mosques in Bursa and Iznik onwards, we see Ottoman art leaving behind exaggerated decoration [seen for example, in the Divriği Ulucami, which he characterizes as “strange, primitive, wild, and ultimately unsuccessful”] and becoming a more modest art that seeks beauty in composition and evolves toward rationalism.¹⁷

Unlike a Seljuk building, he argues, no part of an Ottoman monument can be removed without ruining the whole.

Appreciation of Ottoman architecture as a tectonic composition of masses and volumes is the single most recurrent theme in early republican architectural historiography. For example, contrasting the “plastic effects” (*mücessemîyet tesirleri*) of classical Ottoman architecture with the decorative character of other Islamic architectures, Arseven presents these effects—especially the balanced pyramidal silhouette of domes and half domes inscribed within an imaginary equilateral triangle—as its essential, defining

attribute. Thus viewing Ottoman architecture through the optics of modernist lenses, he privileges geometry, proportion, and volumetric composition, relegating decoration to secondary status at best (fig. 7). A similarly tectonic reading of Ottoman architecture can be found in the writings of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a prominent intellectual, art critic, and admirer of Le Corbusier. As early as 1929, Baltacıoğlu, echoing Le Corbusier's words, argues: “The so-called decorative arts do not need decoration in order to be beautiful. Beauty in art lies in composition and volume.”¹⁸ In many subsequent writings in the magazine *Yeni Adam* (The New Man), he elaborates on this idea, blending a modernist appreciation of form with his Turkish nationalism:

We Turks, together with ancient Greeks, are the inventors of cubism in architecture...In fact, we contributed something new that the Greeks did not have: we combined straight line with curves; we married cubes with domes.¹⁹

Once again, these words bear a conspicuous resemblance to the appreciative description by Le Corbusier of the mosque of Sultan Selim (fig. 8), which he saw and sketched during his visit to Istanbul in 1911: "simple, pure geometric forms: a square plan, a cube with a semi-sphere on top."²⁰

As a prolific educator and art critic, Baltacıoğlu is an interesting persona and a rather understudied figure in the historiography of modern Turkish architecture. While sharing the nationalist/modernist biases of Arseven, Ünsal, Çetintaş, and many others, he nonetheless represents a somewhat different position, less insistent on the larger historical continuum of Central Asian Turkic art, but rather eager to situate the Ottoman heritage within the intellectual tradition of classical Greek thought, Western humanism, and, ultimately, the modernist avant-garde. In 1927 he writes:

Especially in the period from the conquest of Istanbul to the completion of Yeni Cami, whenever our ancestors built their mosques, fountains, *hans*, and hammams, they derived their inspiration not from religious sentiments but from the humanistic forces of reason and logic.²¹

Borrowing the concepts of humanism (*beşerilik*) and precision or clarity (*vuzûh*) from the philosopher Henri Bergson's writings on ancient Greek art and thought, Baltacıoğlu extends these to observable qualities of simplicity (*sâdelik*), geometry (*hendesilik*), rationality (*mantıkîlik*), and above all aversion to decoration (*tezînât korkusu*).²² He locates all of these qualities in Turkish art and architecture—for example, in the architecture of the mosque of Beyazıt II, another perfect "marriage of cubes with domes," which, he argues, "is evocative of the ancient Greek genius rather than its contemporaries in the Islamic world."²³ Most interestingly he calls this "a new Hellenism," again with explicit reference to Le Corbusier's influential writings in the 1920s characterizing the new twentieth-century modernist spirit as a contemporary version of the same quest for pure proportions and geometries that distinguished ancient Greek architecture.²⁴

In many of his writings Baltacıoğlu makes similar connections between Ottoman cultural production in general and the modernist ideas emerging in Europe during the interwar years. For example, he observes similarities between Ottoman popular entertainments (such as *orta oyunu*, a form of traditional vaudeville, and *Karagöz*, the traditional shadow-puppet theater) and avant-garde theater (e.g., the Meyerhold Theater in Soviet Russia).²⁵ Most insistently, he draws paral-

els between Ottoman calligraphy and surrealist painting. He writes that calligraphers like Şeyh Hamdullah, Hafız Osman and Mustafa Rakım, whom he calls "the predecessors of Cezanne and Picasso," transcended the visible, calculable, measurable reality of naturalistic representation (*zâhiri hakikat*) to reach a spiritual reality (*bâtınî hakikat*) that is the very essence of art as Henri Bergson has defined it.²⁶ He explains that this Bergsonian idea of a secular quest for a new spirituality should not be confused with mysticism, obscurantism, and rejection of science, in the same way that his own traditionalism (*an'aneçilik*) should not be confused with nostalgia (*mâzîperestlik*), reaction (*irticâ*), or conservatism (*muhâfazakârlık*). Rather, it should be seen as a celebration of creativity, spontaneity, and individuality in the true spirit of the modernist avant-garde.²⁷ According to Baltacıoğlu,

It is one thing to derive a creative force from the past, it is another thing to be reactionary...I am not saying that modern Turkish theater will be something like *Karagöz* or *orta oyunu*; I am saying that the reworking of these traditions with new techniques will give us a theater that is modern like European theater and Turkish at the same time.²⁸

Baltacıoğlu's views are echoed in the writings of Hilmi Ziya Ülken, another important intellectual of the early republic, the founder in 1931 of the Turkish Philosophy Association, and the editor between 1938 and 1942 of the journal *İnsan* (Man). Ülken too writes about the increasing tendency towards abstraction in Western avant-garde art, arguing that a new expressionism to be derived from Turkish-Islamic art has the potential to reconcile tradition with modernity in Turkey—something that cannot be achieved by the clumsy and belated attempts since the Tanzimat to imitate the naturalist and figurative art that the West has since abandoned. Among many philosophical and cultural essays in *İnsan*, Ülken also published Le Corbusier's writings on modern architecture, urbanism, and machine civilization, reminding readers of how much Le Corbusier appreciated the architecture and urbanism of Istanbul. He points out that

while striving to plan the beautiful, hygienic, orderly, and functional new cities of the world, the author [Le Corbusier] does not forget to derive models from the world's old cities and finds, for example, the roots of Cubism in the geometrical order underlying the plans of Babylonia or Beijing.²⁹

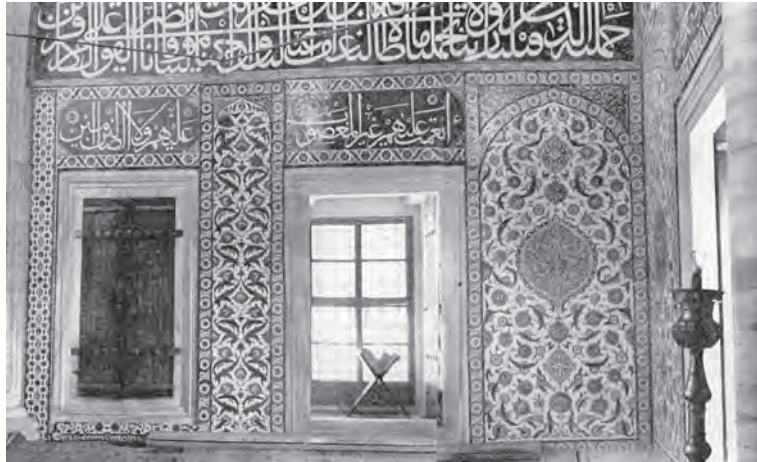


Fig. 9. Interior tile decoration in Selimiye Mosque, Edirne. (After Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times 1071–1923* [London: Alec Tiranti, 1959], pl. 65)

These remarks are very similar to those of Baltacıoğlu, illustrating their authors' mutual conviction that the spirit of the modern can be located in national traditions. Or, as the prominent literary figure Sabahattin Eyüboğlu puts it in another issue of *İnsan*,

The meaning of a Turkish national renaissance is a rebirth through a European consciousness that is the consciousness of the new world...The new Turkish artist should go to and return from Europe in order to fold Europe into our own culture.³⁰

Yet this quest for a modern and national art/architecture is a vague formula that no early republican author manages to define with adequate specificity. Baltacıoğlu's writings are full of contradictions revealing the profound and agonizing cultural questions of the time. "Civilization is not a cup and a nation is not a material thing like, say, milk," he writes in 1941. "Can we really drink Turkish milk out of a European cup? This is a formidable question!"³¹ These difficulties in reconciling national traditions with modern Western trends and ideas are also evident in the unresolved tensions that we find in Baltacıoğlu's readings of Ottoman art and architecture. While promoting his Bergsonian antipositivism and seeking the secular spirituality of artistic creativity that he finds in both calligraphy and surrealism, Baltacıoğlu also offers some of the most overtly positivist, rationalist, and functionalist explanations of Ottoman art and architecture, just as do Arseven, Ünsal, and other republican commentators eager to establish the compatibility of the Ottoman heritage with emerging modernist sensibilities. Along

with rationalism and tectonic purity, functionalism and secular interpretation constitute the other major "modernist lenses" through which these authors view Ottoman forms.

FUNCTIONALISM, SECULAR INTERPRETATION, AND TYPOLOGY

In the architectural writings of early republican authors, functionalist and secular readings of Ottoman architecture are carried to such positivist extremes that they often resemble the radical New Objectivity (*Neuesachlichkeit*) arguments put forward by the modernist avant-garde in Europe. For example, with obvious allusions to Le Corbusier's characterization of the house as "a machine for living," Baltacıoğlu describes Ottoman minarets as follows:

Minarets are containers—tools for calling the faithful to prayer—before they are works of art...Their bases are the load-bearing foundations of these tall towers. The *şerefe* is a balcony for the muezzin to go around. The cap is a roof to protect the minaret from rain—the most appropriate roof form for a tall structure. The *arabesk* motifs of the *şerefe* balustrade are not the work of a mind exploring the mystical secrets of geometric shapes; [they are] the idea of the craftsmen who were trying to reduce the load of the masonry balustrade. The stalactites under the *şerefe* are not symbols of stalactite caves, nor the creations of a romantic mind. They are devised by the mason as the structural brackets connecting the *şerefe* to the body of the minaret.³²

Such secular explanations of architectural form as a thoroughly rational consequence of function and technique, rather than of any religious, symbolic, or decorative impulse, can be found in Arseven's writings as well. In a later edition of *Türk Sanatı*, Arseven even writes that tile decoration in Ottoman mosques should be explained less as a decorative idea than as a technical necessity that protects the wall surface from weathering and allows easy maintenance.³³ The overall consensus in republican architectural culture is that even when Turks have used decoration they have done so with restraint and in conformity with the structural system of their buildings, which stand in contrast to the decorative excess and exuberance of other Islamic architectures, not to mention Baroque churches in the West. In his *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, Behçet Ünsal illustrates this with an interior photograph of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne showing the use of tile decoration within clearly delineated areas corresponding to the structural and spatial logic of the building, rather than as a continuous decorative layer hiding this logic (fig. 9). According to Baltacıoğlu, this rational and restrained attitude absolves the Turks of the “crime” of ornamentation, which he maintains has no place in contemporary civilization—an assertion echoing the famous “Ornament and Crime” essay of Adolf Loos, the early modernist architect and theoretician in Vienna, whom Baltacıoğlu cites in his important 1929 article “Cubism in Architecture and the Turkish Tradition.”³⁴

Ultimately, operating with such rationalist/functionalist biases against decoration, republican authors largely overlook the sophisticated symbolism of Ottoman decorative programs—how, for example, particular patterns and inscriptions were selected for particular components of the building to convey specific messages about program, patronage, memory, and decorum.³⁵ An overview of representative republican architectural texts clearly reveals that their authors are more interested in the formal and structural rationality attributed to classical Ottoman monuments than in the history and society that produced these buildings. These texts also offer ample evidence that modern analytical tools such as axonometric sections and typological classifications (with their methodological ancestry going back to Choisy, Le Roy, and Durand in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French architectural theory) lend themselves particularly well to such ahistorical, rationalist, and formalist readings of Ottoman architecture. For example, cutout axonomet-

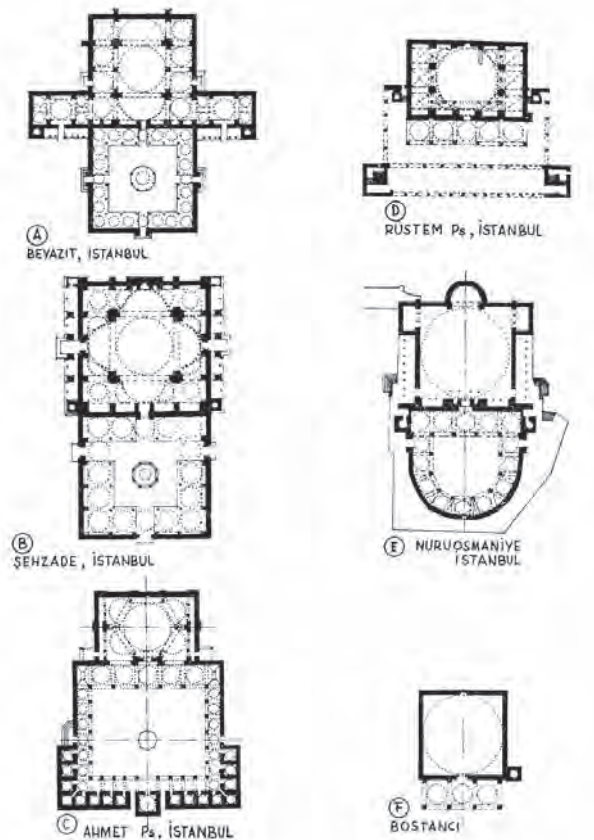


Fig. 10. Typological classification of Ottoman mosques. (After Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times*, 31, fig. 10)

ric sections in the manner of Choisy, a preferred representational technique for architects, are still used frequently in republican texts to explain the structural logic behind the baldachin system in classical Ottoman mosques.

The most pervasive representational device, however, is typological analysis, which allows formal comparisons of a range of monuments from different periods and places. For example, evocative of Le Roy's eighteenth-century drawings comparing the plan types of different churches and monuments, Behçet Ünsal's *Turkish Islamic Architecture* classifies different Ottoman and pre-Ottoman building types (not just mosques but also *medreses*, hammams, and tombs) according to their floor plans, all drawn to the same scale (fig. 10). This attributes a clearly legible inner rationality to the evolution of Turkish architecture, one that

can be readily grasped by functional considerations of building type and formal analysis alone, independent of the specifics of history, context, and patronage. Subsequent republican scholarship on Ottoman architecture has relied heavily upon these conceptual, analytical, and methodological premises established in the 1930s, especially typology. It should be noted, however, that unlike Durand's instrumental use of typology as a design tool for architects in the École Polytechnique in Paris in the nineteenth century, republican typological studies of Ottoman monuments were historiographic and analytical devices not intended for the design studio. Only in the case of Ottoman residential architecture would typology become a possible and legitimate design tool for modern Turkish architects.

Complementing their rationalist/functionalist perspectives, early republican authors introduced new and often insightful secular readings of Ottoman architecture, largely as a result of their anti-Orientalist and nationalist sentiments. One now-familiar bias of Western Orientalist scholarship on Islamic architecture is its "universalism": its tendency to treat the Islamic faith as the exclusive source of all architecture across Muslim geographies. Taking issue with this bias long before its exposition by post-Saidian cultural criticism, Arseven, Ünsal, Baltacıoğlu, and others drew attention to the importance of extra-religious factors (climate, terrain, and local materials) informing the designs of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish buildings, thus attributing a geographical and cultural specificity to Ottoman architecture in the Lands of Rum. Such contextualism, while seemingly contradicting the ahistorical, formalist, and typological readings discussed above, allows republican authors to situate Ottoman forms within a national discourse. Having ignored the historical and social context of Ottoman buildings in favor of a more object-oriented, rationalist method best illustrated by the typological diagrams, they simultaneously reintroduce "context" into the discussion in the form of an extensive attention to the physical context of Ottoman monuments, ultimately equating culture with nature. For example, Ünsal distinguishes "Turkish" Islamic architecture from other Islamic architectures primarily by the physical, climatic, and geological conditions of Anatolia, explaining regional variations in form and construction by such factors as concentrations of limestone in the central plain, marble on the Aegean coast, wood construction in the north, and so on.³⁶ The photo-



Fig. 11. Photograph of the Green Mosque, Bursa, showing the building in its topographical and vernacular context. (After Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times*, pl. 46)



Fig. 12. Photograph of a Seljuk tomb near Kayseri in Central Anatolia, illustrating architecture's "harmony with the landscape." (After Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times*, pl. 89)

graphs in his *Turkish Islamic Architecture* testify to this desire to situate Ottoman monuments within their particular sites, climates, landscapes, and vernacular contexts (fig. 11). Similarly Baltacıoğlu writes,

Every nation's fine arts, traditions, and moral constitution are determined by its geographical context (*muhit-i coğrafya*)...Unlike the arid desert civilization of the Arabs, Turks have established their civilizations in the fertile and green lands of Anatolia and Rumelia, which

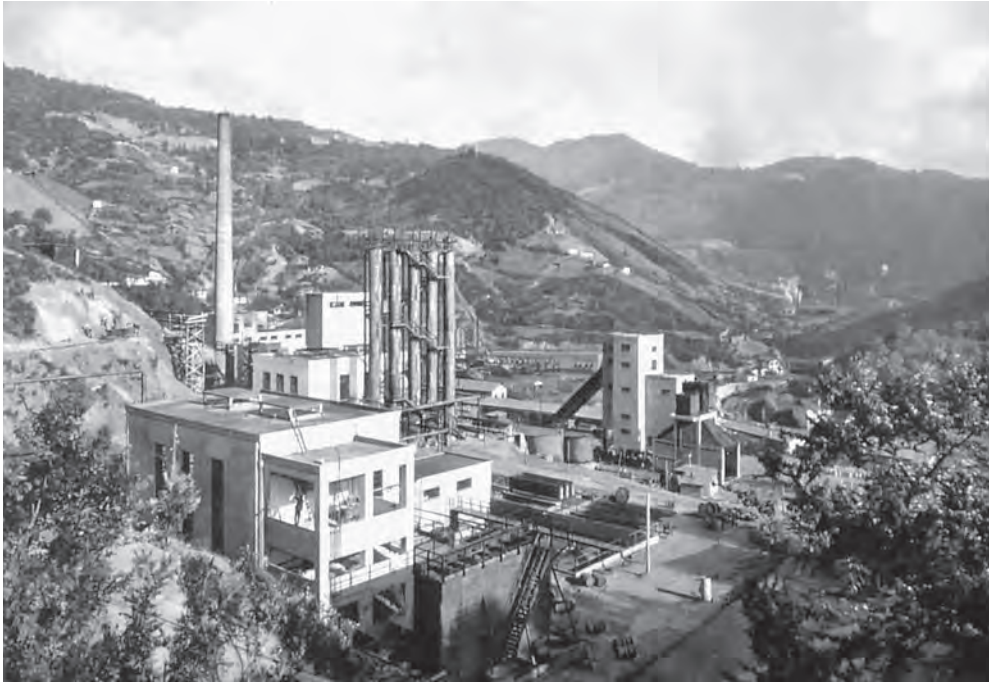


Fig. 13. Photograph of a factory in Zonguldak, Black Sea Region. (After *Fotoğraflarla Türkiye* [Turkish Ministry of Interior Publications, 1938])

manifests itself in their love of courtyards, gardens, and floral motifs.³⁷

Such views on the effect of geography and natural context (*muhit-i tabiat*) on the distinct national character of Turkish art and architecture were largely derived from influential European writings on human geography and racial theory. Throughout the early republican period, theories linking climate and terrain with the national character of different peoples (as in the writings of Gustav Le Bon), or with the particular forms of government suitable for them (as in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau) inspired Turkish intellectuals in their nationalist search for distinctness and originality. Not surprisingly, some of the works of Le Bon, whose Orientalist dismissal of Turkish art was otherwise criticized by Arseven, were translated into Turkish by none other than Baltacıoğlu, in collaboration with the nationalist historian Fuad Köprülü. While the significance of landscape in the construction of modern nationalist narratives is a vast topic beyond the confines of this essay, there is nevertheless enough evidence in republican culture to establish its centrality for the Turkish nation-building project. Images of nature and

Anatolian landscapes abound in early republican visual sources, as for example in the pages of *La Turquie Kemaliste* as well as in an official photograph album, *Fotoğraflarla Türkiye* (Turkey in Photographs) issued by the Ministry of Interior in 1938. The pervasiveness of contextualist readings of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish architecture has a lot to do with this desire to invest the landscape with national meanings. Just as Behçet Ünsal's photographs show Seljuk and Ottoman monuments situated “in harmony with the landscape” (fig. 12), official early republican photography depicts the new architecture of factories, bridges, and modern buildings in Anatolia as intimately situated within the landscape, thus suggesting a continuity of attitudes from an Ottoman sensitivity to natural context to a modernist one (fig. 13).

Such conflation of nation with nature was precisely how modern forms of the New Architecture were also “nationalized” in republican discourse around the same time. For example, the leading architect of republican Ankara, Austrian-Swiss designer Ernst Egli, published articles in Turkish presenting the so-called “Ankara cubic” (flat roofs, courtyards, small openings) as a thoroughly rational response to the arid, hot climate

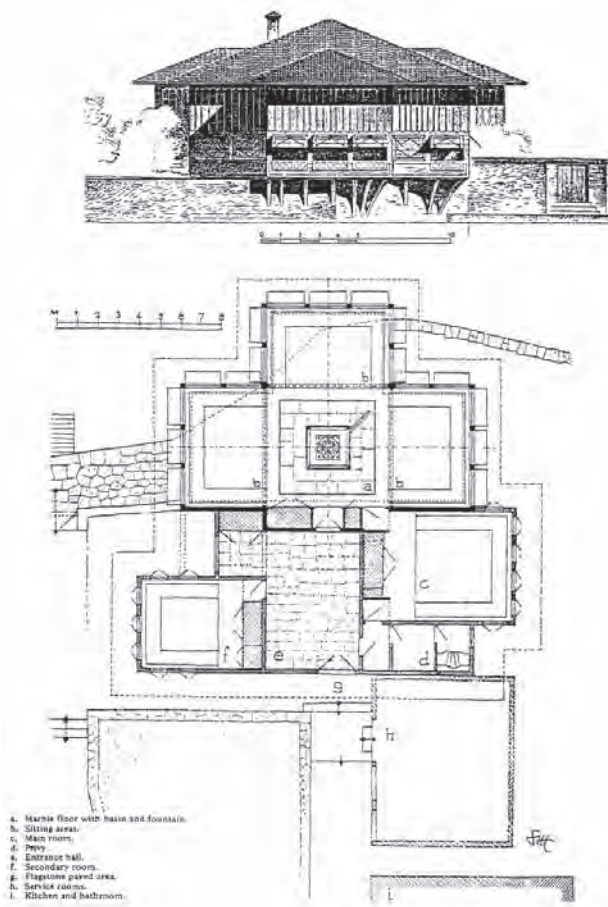


Fig. 14. Drawings of the Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı in Istanbul by Sedad Hakkı Eldem. (Courtesy of Sedad Hakkı Eldem archives)

of the central Anatolian plain.³⁸ His theories about the relationship between climate and architectural/urban form were later published in his *Die neue Stadt in Landschaft und Klima*.³⁹ Bruno Taut, a prominent modern architect of Weimar Germany, an architect/educator in Turkey in 1936–38, and a vocal admirer of Ottoman architecture, also remarked on the double meaning of the term “nature” (*tabiat*) in referring to both physical nature and the national character of particular peoples.⁴⁰ The writings of Egli and Taut and their work in Turkey offered strong theoretical grounds upon which their Turkish colleagues and students could claim the compatibility of Ottoman building practices with the principles of modern design, particularly the idea that design should emerge out of a rational response to site conditions. Hence,

Arseven, Ünsal, Baltacıoğlu, and others, regarding Ottoman monuments (and the residential architecture of Anatolia and the Balkans during the Ottoman period) in the same terms of conformity to climate, terrain, and local materials emphasized by modernist architects, could thereby claim the “inherent modernity” of the Turkish national heritage.

Finally, as most architectural historians would agree today, the most important and original contribution of early republican scholarship to the “secularization” of Ottoman architecture was the focus on houses and other non-religious/utilitarian programs. By drawing attention to this hitherto neglected dimension of Ottoman architecture, nationalist authors of the 1930s challenged the prevailing religion-based Orientalist categories of European scholarship, the biases of which were evident not only in the exclusive focus on mosques but also in the extensive use for architecture of such terms as “Mohammedan” or “Saracenic.”⁴¹ “So many people wrongly assume that Turkish art is only about the architecture of the mosques,” complained Baltacıoğlu in 1926, “whereas Turkish art manifests itself in all the material forms of a civilization: in houses, castles, fountains, aqueducts, bridges, hammams, weapons, manuscripts, calligraphy, decoration, pottery, woodwork, textiles, oil lamps, clothing, and gardens.”⁴² Arising largely out of republican authors’ anti-Orientalist and nationalist sentiments, this redirection of scholarship on the material and residential culture of the Ottoman Turks proved to be a most productive path in republican architectural historiography.

The early republican preoccupation with the traditional “Turkish house” was primarily focused on a very specific vernacular type spread across a vast geography of fertile lands from the Balkans to western and northern Anatolia, with the earliest surviving examples dating from the seventeenth century. The Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı in Istanbul (dating from 1699 and still standing, albeit in a precarious state) enjoys a particularly inspirational, canonic status for modern Turkish architects, especially for Sedad Hakkı Eldem, a prominent designer, educator, and public figure who is arguably the most important name in modern Turkish architecture⁴³ (fig. 14). Eldem argued that with the structural logic of its timber frame and modular windows, as well as the functional arrangement of its rooms around a central hall (*sofa*), the traditional “Turkish house” was already “modern” in its conception—an idea that inspired a full-fledged



Fig. 15. Sketch by Sedad Hakkı Eldem of an “Anatolian house,” 1928. (Courtesy of Sedad Hakkı Eldem archives)

National Architecture Movement under his leadership in the 1930s (fig. 15). Some of the European architects and scholars who worked in Turkey during the early republican period were also active advocates of this movement; most notably, Albert Gabriel, writing in the professional journal *Arkitekt*, advocated the study of traditional Turkish houses in their timeless wisdom, stating that young Turkish architects had much to learn from them.⁴⁴

Eldem’s seminal work on the Ottoman/Turkish house effectively identifies the national with the modern, an identification that Arseven, Ünsal, and Baltacıoğlu had already made in their readings of Ottoman monumental architecture, albeit less systematically than did Eldem for residential architecture. In support of the “inherent modernity” of traditional, timber-frame Turkish houses, Eldem also refers to the fact that Le Corbusier, the leading proponent of European modernism, had admired these houses during his early trip to Istanbul and had translated their logic into his own work, as epitomized by the 1929 Villa Savoy in France. Eldem writes,

The traditional Turkish house is remarkably similar to today’s conceptions of the modern house...The leading figure of modern architecture, Le Corbusier, is profoundly inspired by the Turkish house. He lifts his houses upon stilts, reserving the ground for services, garage, etc., just like our storage areas, *arabalıks* [carriage houses], and *taşlıks* [paved courtyards]. He uses wide terraces above the ground, just like our *hayats* [loggias open on one side] directly connected to the garden or the courtyard. His windows are oriented towards the line of view and the horizon, just like our rows of windows.⁴⁵

While the major credit for modern scholarship on the Ottoman/Turkish house rightly goes to Eldem, it is important to note that, long before Eldem’s studies in the 1930s, Arseven had devoted considerable attention to these houses, elevating them to a status equal to that of Ottoman monumental buildings. As early as 1903, as part of the Ottoman participation in the World’s Fair in St. Louis, Arseven made a drawing of a street of Turkish houses (fig. 16).⁴⁶ A substantial section of his *Türk Sanatı* is devoted to plans, drawings, and photographs of these wood-frame houses from Gebze, Bursa, and other Anatolian cities (fig. 17). What distinguishes Sedad Hakkı Eldem is his success in turning this interest in the “Turkish house” into a systematic program of study, documentation, and codification, primarily through his National Architecture Seminar at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in the 1930s and 1940s. Eldem’s most lasting contribution to modern Turkish architecture is the classification of these house plans into an elaborate typological matrix based on the location and configuration of the hall (*sofa*)⁴⁷ (fig. 18, a and b). Furthermore, unlike the typological classification of mosques and other monumental buildings by Arseven, Ünsal, and others, Eldem’s typological approach was an operative design tool in creating a modern residential architecture for republican Turkey, as demonstrated in his own work and that of his students and disciples. Devoid of the religious and dynastic connotations of monumental Ottoman architecture, the “Turkish house” would become an acceptable model for a nationalized modernism in the early republican period—and, from the 1980s onward, a marketable style for luxury villas (figs. 19 and 20).

POSTSCRIPT: TURKISH MODERNISM AND THE BURDEN OF OTTOMAN LEGACY

The perception of Ottoman house forms as viable models for modern Turkish architecture is the one exception to what was otherwise the architectural profession’s radical break with the Ottoman past. To this day, the consensus in republican histories of Ottoman architecture is that its progressively evolving rationality reached its perfection in the classical era and entered into a century-long phase of “alienation and degeneration” after the Tanzimat, to be finally superseded by the New Architecture of the Republic. For Arseven, Ünsal, Baltacıoğlu, and others, the



Fig. 16. Page from Arseven, *Türk San'atı*, showing the drawing that Arseven prepared for exhibition at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1903 (bottom).

Tanzimat period marked the decisive turning point for the worse, marking the infiltration of European styles and tastes, especially Baroque, Gothic, Neoclassical, and French Empire, into Ottoman architecture. Reflecting their nationalist, anticosmopolitan biases, these authors also associated the “decline and contamination” with the work of foreign and non-Muslim Ottoman architects—European, Levantine, Armenian, and Greek—who dominated the building scene in the postclassical Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ For example, one of the key monuments of the Azizian period, the 1871 Pertevniyal Valide Mosque in Aksaray, designed by the

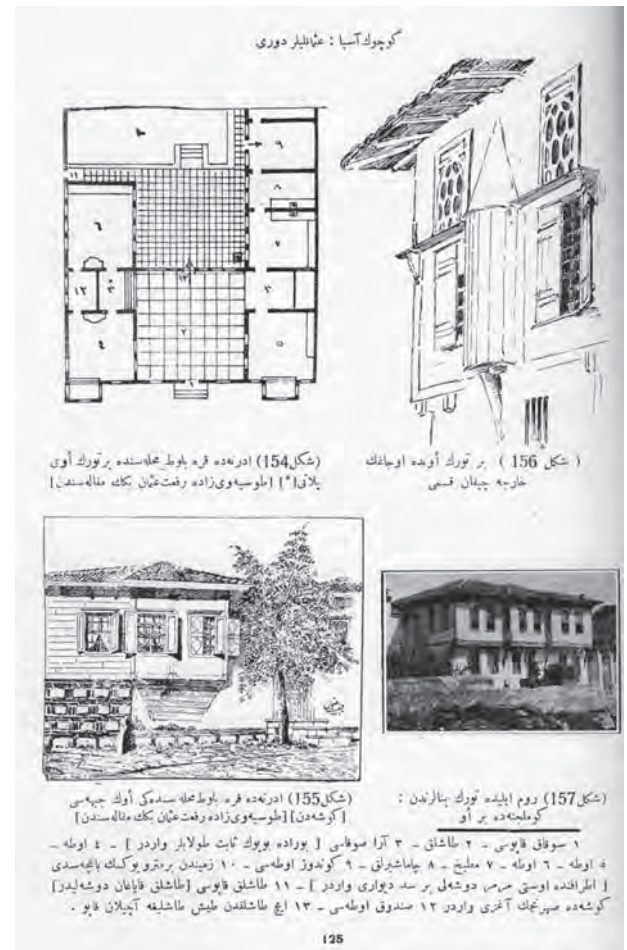


Fig. 17. Drawings and photograph of traditional wooden houses. (After Arseven, *Türk San'atı*, 125)

Italian-Levantine Pietro Montani and the Armenian Sarkis Balyan, is dismissed by Baltacıoğlu as “a Gothic cathedral disguised as a mosque.”⁴⁹

More surprisingly, however, the nationalist attempt on the eve of World War I to resurrect the classical glory of Ottoman architecture in the form of an Ottoman revivalist “National Style” does not fare much better in republican scholarship. This pervasive style of the Empire’s final decade receives at best an ambiguous assessment from republican authors, since it flatters their national pride but at the same time goes against their modernist, antiacademic, and anti-revivalist convictions. Many of them admire the exquisite craftsmanship of National Style buildings and the loyalty to classical Ottoman proportions displayed in

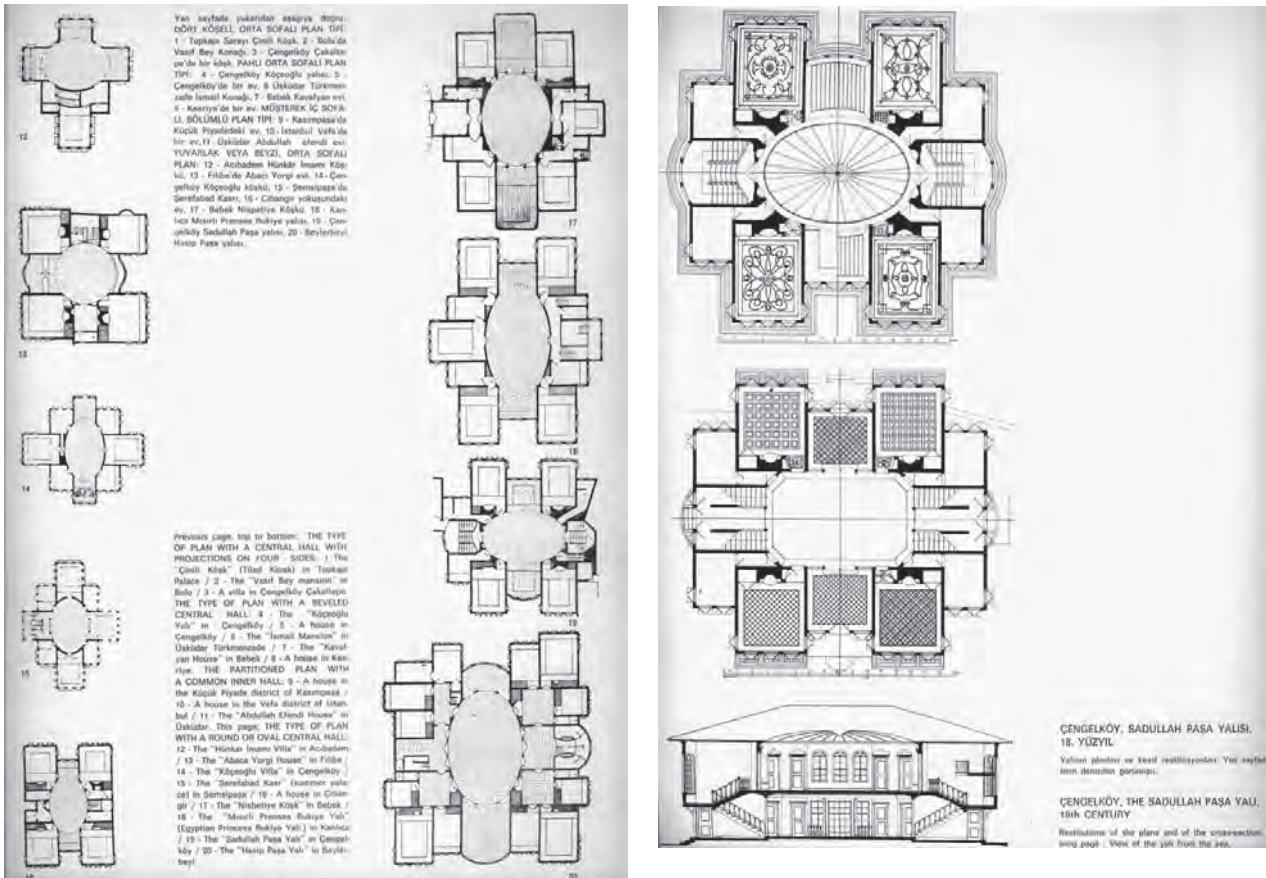


Fig. 18, a and b. Eldem's typological studies of “inner hall” (*iç sofalı*) house plans with an oval *sofa*. (Courtesy of Sedat Hakkı Eldem archives)

small neighborhood mosques designed by Kemalettin Bey, such as the 1913 Bebek and Bostancı mosques in Istanbul (fig. 21). Ultimately, however, looking at the Ottoman period through the optics of their ideological commitment to the Kemalist “revolution,” they see this style as a romantic and futile idea belonging to a bygone era. “Each epoch produces its own art,” Baltacıoğlu writes in 1929. “Today, when it is possible to build flat roofs, it makes no sense to modernize the dome. The dome is not a national motif: it was merely a constructional necessity of the past.”⁵⁰ To explain and legitimize the New Architecture's radical aesthetic break with Ottoman formal precedents, similar arguments emphasizing the need to capture the zeitgeist of the modern epoch abound in other early republican writings. In his *Türk Sanatı*, Arseven writes, along similar lines:



Fig. 19. Komili Villa, Kanlıca, Istanbul, 1978–80, by Eldem. (Author's photo)



Fig. 20. Luxury suburban villa in Kemer Country, Istanbul, 1990s. (From a publicity brochure for Kemer Country)



Fig. 21. Bostancı Mosque, Istanbul, 1913, by Kemalettin Bey. (After Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times*, pl. 73)

The Ottomans had no choice but to make domes to span their roofs; after the advent of reinforced concrete, this method was rendered obsolete. Fortunately it did not take long to realize that it is a malaise to continue with the same method. We are hoping that the classical Ottoman style, which has great affinities with European modernism, will return with a new and more rational face than with domes and arches.⁵¹

There was, however, no consensus in republican texts about how the essence of classical Ottoman architecture could be captured in modern buildings without reproducing Ottoman forms and iconography. For example, Bruno Taut's Faculty of Humanities Building in Ankara (1937), which makes subtle references to Ottoman spatial and constructional sensibilities, such as alternating courses of stone and brick in its walling technique (fig. 22), was praised by Baltacıoğlu as a successful experiment "evoking the soul of the old in a new body"⁵² but criticized harshly by Ünsal as "a historicist style" (*tarihçi stil*) that "imitates the old mosque and *medrese* construction for a modern university building."⁵³ This inability to imagine or agree upon what might constitute a good reincarnation of the old in the new inadvertently exposes what Gülsüm Baydar has called "the historical burden of



Fig. 22. Facade detail of the Faculty of Humanities Building, Ankara, 1937, by Bruno Taut. (Author's photo)



Fig. 23. Project by József Vágó for the Turkish Grand National Assembly competition, 1937. (After *Arkitekt* 8, 4, [1938]: 127)



Fig. 24. Şişli Mosque, Istanbul, 1945–49, by Vasfi Egeli. (After *Arkitekt* 23, 9 [1953]:169)

non-Western architectures”: the impossibility of an “authentic national modernity” when the very definition of modern architecture is constituted outside national history.⁵⁴

While no one had a clear answer to what a modern and national Turkish architecture would look like, everyone agreed on what it should *not* look like: an Ottoman mosque. In 1937, the year that the Faculty of Humanities building was completed, the only competition entry for the new Grand National Assembly with formal references to the Ottoman mosque was promptly eliminated (fig. 23). In spite of the insistence of Arseven, Baltacıoğlu, and other authors that the dome was “a technical necessity, not a national, religious, or symbolic motif,” it was precisely this religious/dynastic symbolism that rendered it politically and ideologically impermissible in a modern, secular republic. At the very same time that republican authors exalted the tectonic purity and structural rationality of classical Ottoman forms in modern Turkey, domes, arches, and tile decoration were banished from republican practice as reactionary nostalgia.

This early republican modernist consensus favoring a definitive formal/stylistic break with the Otto-

man past would last until the end of the single-party period in Turkey. Once the radical secularism of the early republic was somewhat relaxed, a few new mosques—such as the 1945–49 Şişli Mosque by Vasfi Egelî (fig. 24)—would reestablish some continuity with the *Vakıflar* (Ministry of Endowments) tradition loyal to classical Ottoman models. If it were not for the ideologically charged radical break with classical Ottoman forms in the early republican period, a gradual and evolutionary reconfiguration of Ottoman spatial, structural, and aesthetic sensibilities into a more innovative Turkish modernism might well have been a real historical option, far more consistent with the spirit of the republican writings I have summarized in this paper. We get a glimpse of precisely such an experiment in Vedat Dalokay's unbuilt project for the Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, the result of a competition in 1957 (fig. 25). Dalokay's project reinterpreted the centralized domed system of the classical Ottoman mosque using an innovative thin-shell concrete structure. While celebrating lightness, transpar-



Fig. 25. Unbuilt competition project for the Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, 1957, by Vedat Dalokay. (Courtesy of İmdat As)



Fig. 26. Kocatepe Mosque, Ankara (1981–87) by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatin Uluengin. (Photo by Önel Soner)



Fig. 27. Sabancı Central Mosque, Adana (1988–98) by Necip Dinç. (Photo by Ahmet Tozar)

ency, and modern conceptions of space, the design was still capable of evoking the classical Ottoman tradition. That the project was abandoned for both technical and ideological reasons is a major loss for modern Turkish architecture. Instead, the site of Dalokay's project is now occupied by the current Kocatepe Mosque (1981–87) designed by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatin Uluengin as a monumental neo-Ottoman replica of the Şehzade Mosque in Istanbul (fig. 26).

Since the 1980s, with the dramatic changes in the Turkish political scene and the rise of political Islam as a major force, the iconography of the Ottoman mosque has returned with a vengeance to the Turkish urban landscape. Contemporary replicas of classical Ottoman mosques now fill the skylines of major Turkish cities: examples include the monumental Sabancı Central Mosque in Adana (1988–98) (fig. 27) as well as countless inferior versions mushrooming in the poorer urban fringes and smaller towns across the

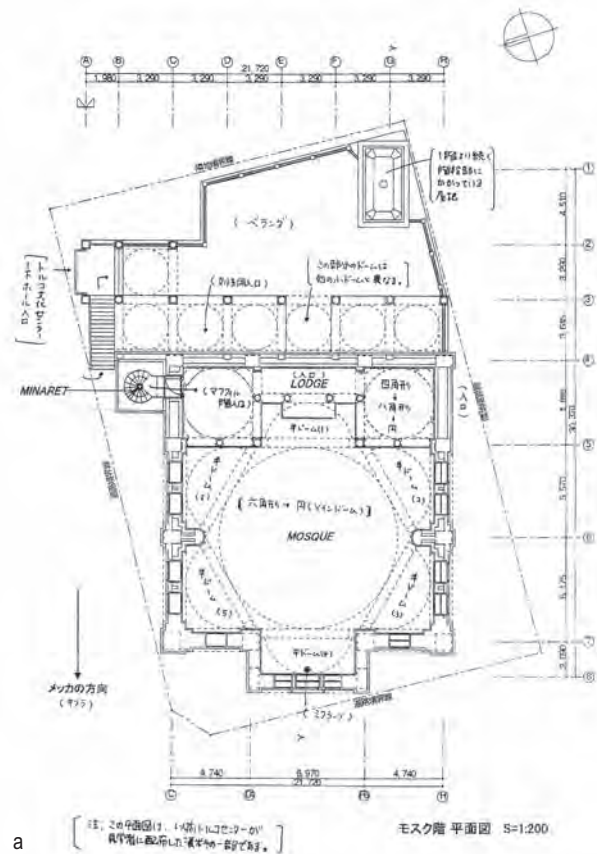


Fig. 28, a and b. Plan and interior dome of a mosque in Tokyo, Japan. (Courtesy of Kimiyo Yamashita)

country. Classical tile decoration has also returned to popularity as an interior design feature of numerous new projects, from municipal offices to luxury hotels. The classical Ottoman mosque has even “gone global” today, informing mosque designs in Beirut, Riyadh, and Tokyo (fig. 28, a and b), among other places.

These examples provide particularly compelling illustration of how an acontextual, transnational pastiche removes the architectural object completely from its historical, geographical, and cultural specificity, turning it into a universal identity statement for an Islam frozen in an idealized classical age, akin to how Orientalists saw it in the nineteenth century.

In the end, today's "neo-Ottoman" mosques give one a renewed appreciation of early republican texts on Ottoman architecture, even when they are fraught with the nationalist biases addressed in this essay and others in this volume. These texts deserve credit for studying and documenting the Ottoman heritage with a theoretical and methodological rigor unmatched in subsequent periods; in addition, as a historiographic project, their early, critical engagement with Orientalist views of Islamic art/architecture addresses issues that are still relevant and provocative. By seeking to locate the "modern" in the country's own heritage, they challenge the assumption that modernity is an alien, imported discourse that Muslim societies cannot produce from within. Although their desire to see the rational evolution of Ottoman/Turkish architecture translated into an authentic modernism has remained unfulfilled, and although modern Turkish architecture has, by and large, failed in establishing meaningful continuities with the Ottoman architectural heritage, their insightful rejection of pastiche is even more poignant today. "Appreciating tradition means studying its essence and understanding its spirit, not imitating its forms," wrote Behçet Ünsal in the 1930s.⁵⁵ The pervasiveness of postmodern "neo-Ottomanism" in contemporary Turkish architecture and culture is a timely reminder of the wisdom in these words.

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NOTES

1. On the cultural and political context of this aesthetic shift see S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).
2. S. Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları: Osmanlı Devri* (Turkish Architectural Monuments: Ottoman Period), 2 vols. (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946). For an excellent recent reproduction of Çetintaş's drawings with introductory commentary and an index of the architect's published writings see A. Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Röleveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* (Sedad Çetintaş: His Writings and Survey Drawings) (Istanbul: ITU Yayınları, 2004).
3. Especially in his "Kubik Yapı ve Konfor" (Cubic Building and Comfort), *Arkitekt* 9, 3–4 (1939): 60–62, Behçet Ünsal outlines the rise of the New Architecture in response to modern technologies and lifestyles and explains the need for functional modern villas and apartments in conformity with the demands of the "machine age."
4. C. E. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1928), in old Ottoman script. In this essay references are made to this 1928 edition, as well as to later editions published in 1970 and 1984.
5. A. Lurcat, *L'architecture* (Paris: Renre Hilsum, 1929).
6. See, for example, E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983) and A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).
7. C. E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar Mimari, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Teyzini Sanatlar* (History of Turkish Art: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Decorative Arts from Their Origins to the Present) (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1984), 10.
8. F. Köprülü, *Türkiye Tarihi* (History of Turkey) (Istanbul: Kanaat Matbaası, 1923).
9. See, for example, Gustav Le Bon, *La civilization des Arabes* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1884), a text that Arseven mentions and critically engages with in his writings.
10. C. E. Arseven, *Yeni Mimari* (Istanbul: Agah Sabri Kütüphanesi, 1931), 8–9.
11. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 4–5.
12. Ibid., 5.
13. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 8.
14. Behçet Sabri (Ünsal) and Bedrettin Hamdi, "Mimarlık ve Türklük" (Architecture and Turkishness), *Mimar* 4, 1 (1934): 17.
15. Especially in S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).
16. Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları*, 1:13.
17. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 143.
18. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi" (Cubism in Architecture and the Turkish Tradition), in *Davülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Istanbul: Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, 1929), 125; for the comparable words of Le Corbusier see Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today*, trans. J. Dunnett (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987; orig. publ. Paris, 1925).
19. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Milliyetçiliğim" (My Nationalism), *Yeni Adam* (7 May 1942), reprinted in idem, *Türke Doğru* (Istanbul: Yeni Adam Matbaası, 1943), 28–31.
20. E. Kortan, *Turkish Architecture and Urbanism through the Eyes of Le Corbusier* (Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1990), 51. See also Le Corbusier, *Le voyage d'Orient* (Paris: Forces Vives, 1966); printed in English as *Journey to the East*, ed. I. Zaknic (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987).
21. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Türklerin Sanat Mazisi Niçin Beşeridir?" (Why Is the Art History of Turks Humanist?), orig. publ. 1927; reprinted in idem, *Sanat* (Art) (Istanbul: Sühulet Kütüphanesi, 1934), 58–59.
22. On the major significance of Bergsonianism in Turkish intellectual history and art historiography, see N. İrem, "Turkish Conservative Modernism: Birth of a Nationalist Quest for Cultural Renewal," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (henceforth *IJMES*) 34, 1 (Feb. 2002): 87–112; see also

- H. Z. Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (History of Contemporary Thought in Turkey) (Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1992), 375–81.
23. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Bir Türk Sanatı Niçin Vardır?" (Why Is There a Turkish Art?), in idem, *Sanat*, 62.
 24. See Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Praeger Publications, 1960, orig. publ. 1923), 185–207.
 25. Baltacıoğlu, "Milliyetçiliğim," 30–31.
 26. Ibid., 28–31; for a more extended discussion of Ottoman calligraphy see I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Sanatının Tedkikine Medhal" (Introduction to the Study of Turkish Art), *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* (Mar. 1926).
 27. On this "secular quest for a new spirituality" espoused by Baltacıoğlu and other Bergsonian Turkish intellectuals see N. İrem, "Turkish Conservative Modernism: Birth of a Nationalist Quest for Cultural Renewal," *IJMES* 34, 1 (Feb. 2002): 99–100.
 28. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Milli Tiyatro Nasıl Doğar?" (How Can a National Theater Be Born?), *Yeni Adam* (9 May 1942); reprinted in idem, *Türke Doğru*, 85.
 29. H. Z. Ülken, "Le Corbusier'ye göre İstanbul" (Istanbul according to Le Corbusier), *İnsan* 1, 10 (1 March 1939): 845.
 30. S. Eyüboğlu, "Yeni Türk Sanatkarı yahut Frenkten Türke Dönüş" (The New Turkish Artist, or Return from Europe to the Turk), *İnsan* 1, 1 (15 April 1938): 31–38. On the idea of a national "Anatolian humanism" see Can Bilsel's essay in this volume.
 31. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Nedir?" (What is a Turk?), *Yeni Adam* 18 (Dec. 1941); reprinted in idem, *Türke Doğru*, 9–12.
 32. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi," 115.
 33. C. E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1970), 196.
 34. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi," 128; for the original 1908 article, see A. Loos, "Ornament and Crime," trans. M. Bullock, in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, comp. U. Conrads (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), 19–24.
 35. For a comprehensive discussion of this topic in classical Ottoman architecture see G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).
 36. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times*, 8–9.
 37. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Mimarisinin Felsefe ve Ruhiyatı" (The Philosophy and Soul of Turkish Architecture), in idem, *İsmail Hakkı Bey'in İzmir Konferansları* (İzmir: İzmir Milli Kütüphanesi, 1915), 127.
 38. See, for example, E. Egli, "Mimari Muhit" (Architectural Context), *Türk Yurdu* 30, 224 (June 1930): 32–36.
 39. E. Egli, *Die neue Stadt in Landschaft und Klima* (Erlenbach-Zürich: Verlag für Architektur, 1951).
 40. B. Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Lectures on Architecture) (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Matbaası, 1938), 66. On Bruno Taut's particular views of modern architecture in the Turkish context see S. Bozdoğan, "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936–1938," in *The Education of the Architect*, ed. M. Pollak (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 163–92.
 41. As, for example, in Sir B. Fletcher's classic *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1958, orig. publ. 1896), 944.
 42. Baltacıoğlu, "Bir Türk Sanatı Niçin Vardır?," 62. For his more extensive and illustrated discussion of Ottoman/Turkish houses see idem, "Türk Sanatının Tedkikine Methal."
 43. See S. Bozdoğan, S. Özkan, and E. Yenal, *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1987; repr. London: Butterworth, 1991).
 44. A. Gabriel, "Türk Evi" (Turkish House), *Arkitekt*, 8, 5–6 (1938): 149–54. See also P. Pinon, "Les maisons ottomanes," in the exhibition catalogue *Albert Gabriel (1883–1972: Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur)* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 153–166.
 45. S. H. Eldem, "Türk Evi," in idem, *Sedad Hakkı Eldem: 50 Yıllık Meslek Jübilesi* (Sedad Hakkı Eldem: 50 Years in the Profession) (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1983), 19.
 46. I thank Yavuz Sezer for drawing my attention to Celâl Esad Arseven's involvement in the St. Louis World Fair of 1903. A brief mention of this episode can be found in *World's Fair Bulletin* (July 1903): 35–36. Sezer has also pointed out to me the fact that another important early republican figure, Süheyl Ünver, wrote extensively on the architectural merits of Turkish houses in *Milli Mecmua* and other publications of the 1920s, before Eldem published on the subject.
 47. As collected in Eldem's two-volume *İstanbul Anıları* (Reminiscences of Istanbul) and *Boğaziçi Anıları* (Reminiscences of the Bosphorus) (Istanbul: Alarko Kültür Yayınları, 1979), and his monumental three-volume *Türk Evi* (Turkish House) (Istanbul: Taç Vakfı, 1984).
 48. See especially Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (1970), 80; Baltacıoğlu, *Sanat* and *Türke Doğru*; and Aptullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), "Sanatta Nasyonalizm" (Nationalism in Art), *Mimar* 2, 2 (1934): 51–54. For a more detailed discussion of the "decline thesis" in Turkish scholarship see the essays in this volume by Shirine Hamadeh and Ahmet Ersoy.
 49. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Türklük" (Turkishness in Architecture), *Yeni Adam* 15 (Aug. 1942); reprinted in idem, *Türke Doğru*, 92.
 50. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi," 118–21.
 51. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (1970), 182.
 52. I. H. Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Türke Doğru" (Towards the Turk in Architecture), *Yeni Adam* 9 (July 1941); reprinted in idem, *Türke Doğru*, 89.
 53. B. Ünsal, "Yeni Bir Mimariye Doğru" (Towards a New Architecture), *Yapı* 46 (1943): 14.
 54. G. Baydar, "Historiographical Burdens of the Non-West: The Ottoman/Turkish Case," paper presented in the symposium "Local Sites of Global Practice: Modernism and the Middle East," Yale University, April 4–5, 2003.
 55. Ünsal, "Yeni Bir Mimariye Doğru," 14.

“OUR ANATOLIA”: ORGANICISM AND THE MAKING OF HUMANIST CULTURE IN TURKEY

The organization of subjects in a major bookstore in Ankara offers a visitor clues about the peculiarities of a Turkish discourse on cultural heritage. In a large section that, for lack of a better term, could be labeled “Anatolia,” one can find a Turkish translation of the *Iliad*, a catalog with exquisite pictures of Hellenistic sculpture, a dictionary of “Anatolian gods,” an anthology of Turkish folk poetry, compilations of children’s bedtime stories featuring the tale of the mythic King Midas or the folk hero Keloğlan, an academic dissertation about Bronze Age cities, and a compilation of Turcoman handicrafts, all of which may be placed next to posters of heavily restored archaeological monuments (most often the Celsius Library of Ephesus) or a yacht lost in a turquoise bay, or juxtaposed with reproductions of proto-Hittite statuettes from Alaca Höyük...the examples can be multiplied. Hence one is compelled to ask: What taxonomy of culture brings all these works and objects together? What project is served by the forcible elimination of disciplinary boundaries between archaeology, anthropology, classical philology, literature, art history, and architecture? Why is this discourse so adamant in negating distinctions between “high” and “popular” cultures, the courtly artistic traditions of the past and the vernacular? And towards what persistent ideological ends?

In the writing of the histories of art and culture of Turkey, the trope of Anatolia has historically intersected with competing political projects.¹ For a generation shaped by defeat in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, Anatolia, though at the time no less ethnically heterogeneous than Ottoman Macedonia, came to be seen as the source of Turkishness. It was during the last years of the Ottoman Empire that ethnographic expeditions were sent to the heartland to determine its ethnic make up, and that Anatolia—poverty-stricken and “real”—was first contrasted to “Turan,” the mythic homeland of the Turks in Central Asia. In the 1930s the Republic, under the one-party rule of the Republican People’s Party (RPP), made Anatolia

a central metaphor of a national myth of origin, one that sought to establish that the contemporary Turks were the autochthonous “race” of the land. The Neolithic civilizations of Central Anatolia were embraced as an alternative heritage, one that facilitated Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s modernizing reforms and the break with the Islamic traditions of the empire. Corporatist and ruralist ideas (*Köycülük*) continued to shape the perceptions of Anatolia in the 1940s among both “progressive” and “conservative” authors, who adopted positions that occasionally conflicted with the cultural policies of RPP.²

The transformation of Anatolia into an organizing paradigm of aesthetic culture was initiated in the mid-1950s, in the writings of a group of public intellectuals associated with “Anatolian humanism,” or “Blue Anatolia” (*Mavi Anadolu*). Departing from the racist paradigm of the early Republic, the “Blueists” (*Maviciler*) forcefully argued that all the civilizations that flourished in Anatolia from prehistoric times to the present constitute a cultural continuum and should therefore be embraced as the cultural forbearers of contemporary Turkey. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu (1908–73), who had previously played a leading role as a writer, translator, and educator in the state-sanctioned “humanism” of the 1940s, shaped the group’s positions concerning cultural policy and public education.³ The novelist Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (1886–1973), who wrote under the name Halikarnas Balıkcısı, provided the foundations of a characteristically millennialist theory of history, while the philologist Azra Erhat (1915–82) contributed her translations and anthologies of ancient Greek texts.⁴ By 1971 “Anatolian humanism” amounted to a close-knit and meta-historical narrative of cultural heritage. While embracing all past civilizations, the Blueists clearly privileged some episodes in the history of the land: the Hittites, because—or so the Blueists believed—they served as a bridge between the “first” civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Aegean world; Troy, because the Trojans were the “aborigi-

nal” people of Anatolia, who, not unlike the Turks of the early twentieth century, resisted a “Greek” occupation; Ionia, because the Ionians gave the West the Homeric legend and initiated the world’s first philosophical enlightenment. The histories of Islamic art written under the influence of Blue Anatolia tended to emphasize individual creators over courtly traditions, as counterparts of the figure of the genius-artist in Renaissance Europe.⁵

This essay presents an analysis of the discourse on “Anatolia” as both a historiographic category and an aesthetic ideal. I shall treat “Anatolia” as an aesthetic discourse precisely because its chief metaphors, while contingent on historical circumstances and political programs at the time of their enunciation, have outlived those initial conditions. I will begin by outlining a prehistory of the “Anatolia” discourse in the revolutionary historiography of the 1930s. Focusing on the years between 1954 and 1971, I shall then examine the recurrent metaphors of Anatolian humanism within a wide spectrum of interdisciplinary work, such as anthropological survivalism and cultural diffusionism, through which an organicist system is made manifest. A study of the organicist paradigms that underlie Anatolia is, I believe, useful in dismantling the modern Turkish project of aestheticizing the nation and points to some of the paradoxes of cultural modernism at large. Of particular interest for this study are the ways “Anatolia” translated a modernizing ideological project (such as the building of a socially and culturally cohesive nation, Westernization, and rejection of cosmopolitanism) into lasting interpretive categories of art and culture, working as a device both of aesthetic distinction and of cultural authentication.

THE AUTOCHTHON AND THE AUTHENTIC: THE TURKISH HISTORY THESIS AND ITS AFTERLIFE

Printed in 1932 for Turkish schools, *Tarih I* (History I) prefigures in a few sentences what has since become a major concern of Turkish historiography of culture:

Who created Mediterranean civilization?...The tribe [that founded the first Mediterranean civilization] was the Turks who had been driven out of the Turkish motherland of Central Asia...Until not so long ago, people were so misinformed that they imagined and assumed an autonomous Greek civilization in the entire Mediterranean basin...The first inhabitants of the Aegean Sea,

just like those of the land west of the Aegean and of those of Thrace, belonged to the same root and race (they were Turkish).⁶

The unnamed “land west of the Aegean Sea” is, one may assume, Hellas—in the nineteenth-century Romantic imagination the site of the origin of Western European civilization—while the “misinformed” are the educated classes of Europe, brought up in the paradigms of philhellenic humanism.

Having fought the Turkish War of Independence (1919–22) against modern Greece and its Western allies, the revolutionaries led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came to engage in the 1930s with the idea of the West and its cultural origin. A staunchly independent and sovereign Republic’s suspicions of the imperialist West were tempered by its founders’ faith in the Western idea of progress. Unlike the Ottoman reformists of an earlier generation, the founders of the Republic believed that cultural Westernization, along with technical modernization, was essential for the participation of Turkey in “contemporary civilization.” And yet, as Sibel Bozdoğan has observed in her history of the Turkish architectural culture of the era, the Turkish Republic aspired “to be Western in spite of the West”—and not merely due to the political hostility of the Great Powers and the role they had played in the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. The Western scholars who had hitherto studied Turkey had remained within the confines of an Orientalist paradigm, which represented the Levant as an unchanging civilization in permanent contrast to Europe. Although acknowledged as soldiers and rulers of Muslim empires, “the Turks” had figured in Western studies as inferior to Arabian and Persian civilizations.⁷

The revolutionary history of the Turkish Republic not merely rejected the philhellenic scholarly tradition—that Hellenes created an autonomous and exemplary Western civilization in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE—but also ventured to revise the Orientalist discourse concerning the Turks and the role they had played in history.

In 1931 the Society for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti)—later renamed the Turkish History Society, was charged with the mission of counteracting the philhellenic and Orientalist bias of European histories by means of a national narrative that could be implemented in republican public education.⁸ Convened in Ankara July 2–12, 1932, under the aegis of Atatürk, the First Turkish History Congress produced a twofold Turkish History

Thesis: First, it sought to establish that “the Turks,” an ancient, “brachycephalic,” and “white” race, had founded the first human civilization in Central Asia and later disseminated it to the rest of the ancient world during their prehistoric migrations. Contemporary Turks therefore could claim to have created all the major civilizations of the ancient world, including Sumerian, Egyptian, and “ancient Mediterranean” (i.e., Greek). Second, the thesis maintained that the Hittites, “the first civilized race in Anatolia,” were “Turkish.” Therefore contemporary Turks were presented as the autochthonous race of Anatolia. The initial reservations of the career historian Fuat Köprülü (1890–1966)—that there was no proof that a prehistoric drought in Central Asia had compelled “the Turks” to migrate to the Fertile Crescent of the early civilizations—were eclipsed by the fervor of more ideologically committed participants such as Afet (İnan) (1908–85), a woman pioneer of republican education reform, and Reşit Galip (d. 1934), who, between September 1932 and August 1933, served as the minister of education.⁹

Initially intended as a defensive rewriting of history for public instruction—with the memory of the recent Greek occupation of Western Anatolia (1919–22) and the threat of Fascist Italy’s territorial claims in the Eastern Mediterranean looming large—the Turkish History Thesis came to serve as the organizing principle of the human sciences of the early Republic in Ankara. Along with the History Society, the Society for the Study of Turkish Language (Türk Dili Araştırma Kurumu, 1932), renamed the Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) in 1936, played a crucial role in shaping the Republic’s officially sanctioned myth of origin.

In November 1935 the Language Society underwrote a series of speculations in glottology to the effect that all the “cultured languages” of the world were dialects of the primal “ur-Turkish” (*ana Türk Dili*). As the general secretary İbrahim Necmi Dilmen put it in a speech of 1937:

As a result of the scientific analysis of the Turkish language, it is now proven that our mother tongue is not different from the Indo-European and Semitic languages, and that Turkish is the main source (*ana kaynağı*) of all languages of culture (*kültür dilleri*). The Turkish language thesis that has uncovered this substantial truth is called Sun-Language Theory (*Güneş-Dil Teorisi*).¹⁰

Assuming that human language originated among the “proto-Turks” of Central Asia who uttered monosyllabic words to symbolize things, the linguists of the society

traced, between 1935 and 1937, the etymology of Turkish and foreign words alike into a handful of roots (*birinci derece radikal kökler*). The theory was called *Güneş-Dil* since, it was argued, anthropological research of the animistic religions of Central Asia confirmed the primacy of the sun among the ancient Turks; hence the “main root” (*ana kök*) of all languages was no other than “*ağ*,” the monosyllable for “sun.”¹¹

Like the disciplines of history and linguistics, republican archaeology and anthropology were initially expected to yield “proof” of the “Turkishness” of the Neolithic civilizations of the ancient Near East. Among the archaeological sites excavated between 1935 and 1937 by Hamit Zübeyr Koşay and Remzi Oğuz Arık (1899–1954), the proto-Hittite tombs of Alaca Höyük in Central Anatolia revealed the most substantial material culture¹² (figs. 1 and 2). Sponsored by the Turkish History Society, the excavations were aided by anthropologists who compared the ancient skeletons with those of living Turks. Having completed her PhD in 1939 in Geneva under Eugène Pittard, Afet İnan conducted a vast anthropological survey in Eastern Thrace and Anatolia, during which she measured the “skeletons,” “craniums,” and “noses” of some sixty-four thousand men and women. In *L’Anatolie, le pays de la “race” turque*, of 1941, she concluded that a brachycephalic race (*type alpin*) from Central Asia brought Neolithic civilization to Europe, and that the contemporary inhabitants of Anatolia, like the Sumerians, Hittites, Seljuks, and Ottomans before them, were in large proportion the descendents of that prehistoric, civilizing race.¹³

The state’s preoccupation with “origin” also explains the establishment of chairs in Sumerian and Hittite philology in the Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography (Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi) at Ankara University at a time when there were still no departments of classical archaeology or Islamic art. These two civilizations were often singled out as the archaic namesakes of a modern republican identity. The state-run Industry and Credit Bank (Sanayi Kredi Bankası) was renamed Sümerbank in 1933; a state metallurgy company, founded in 1935, was named Etibank (Hittite Bank).¹⁴

While the Turkish History Thesis invented a symbolic ancestry that by implication deemphasized Turkey’s Islamic and Ottoman past and justified the Republic’s modernizing reforms, its scope was more ambitious than cultural Westernization alone. The human sciences were put in the service of building a nation

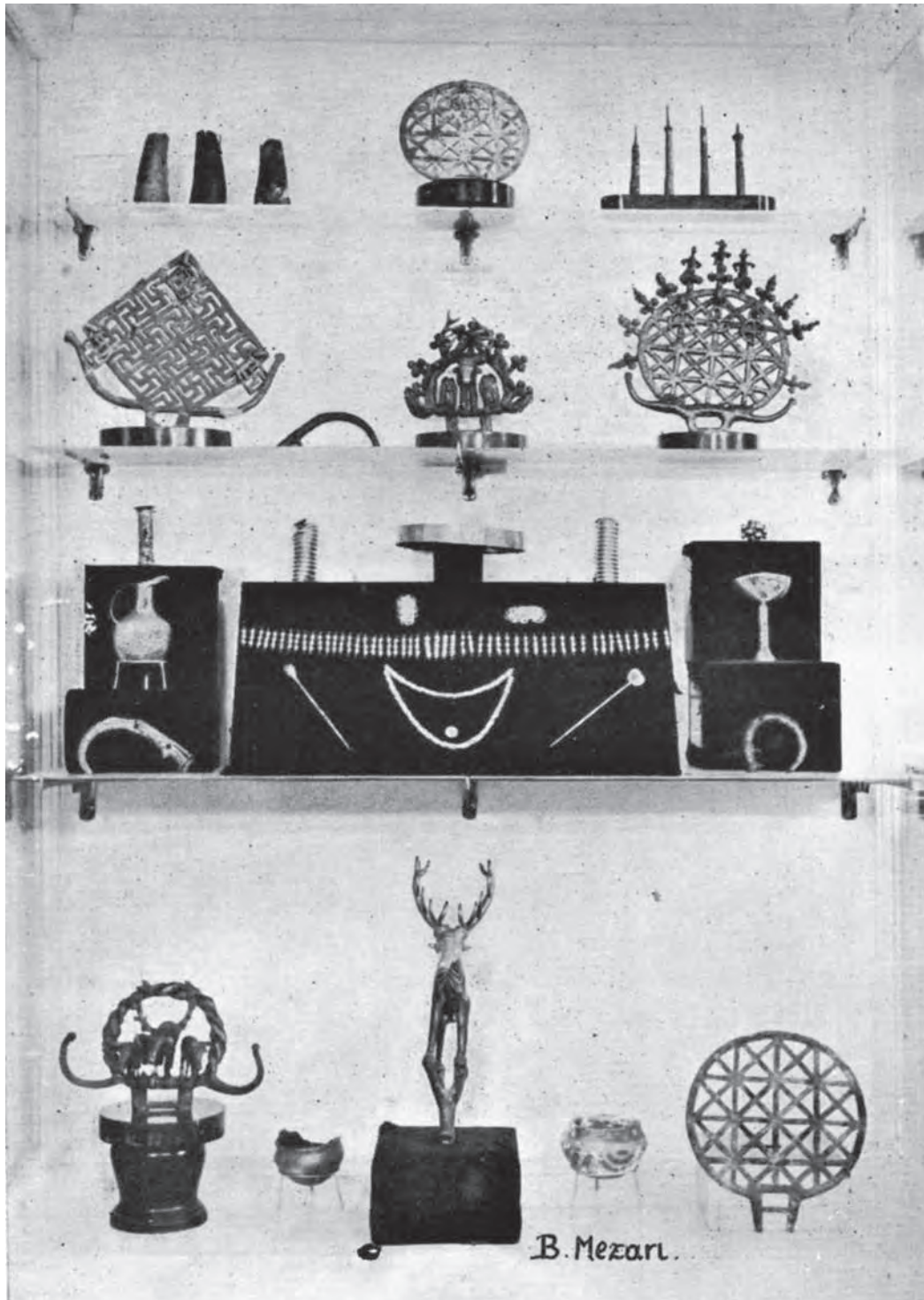


Fig. 1. Finds from Royal Tomb B, Alaca Höyük. (After Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Alacahöyük* [n.p. (Ankara?): Turkish Press Broadcasting and Tourist Department, n.d. (1954?)])

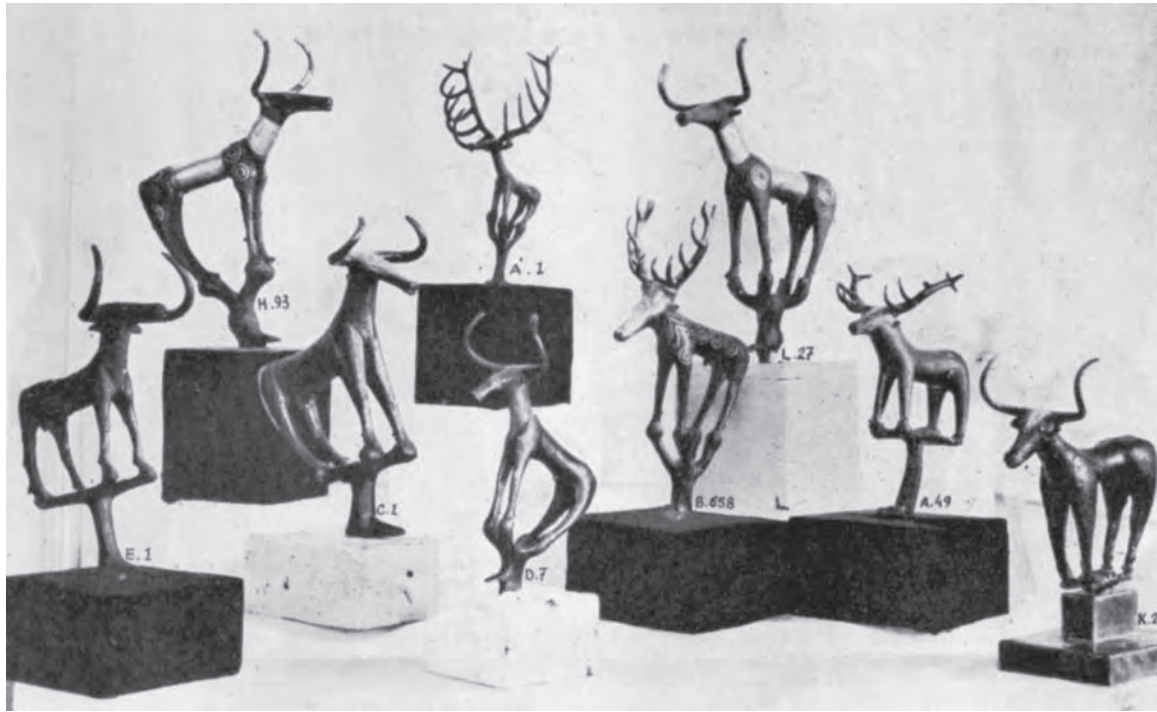


Fig. 2. Comparison of deer statuettes found in royal tombs, Alaca Höyük. (After Koşay, *Alacahöyük*)

around a cohesive and organic “culture,” which, not coincidentally, corresponded with the ethnic and social homogenization of the remains of Ottoman society. The most ambitious and lasting outcome of this sublimated ideal of culture, the “Turkish language revolution” aimed at producing a national language by eliminating the gap between the courtly and the vernacular, or between written and spoken Turkish. It entailed purging words of “foreign origin” (mostly Arabic and Persian) and adopting new ones from a broadly defined “Turkic” corpus, including contemporary Turkish dialects and the extinct languages of Central Asia retrieved during ethnographic and archaeological research.

Notwithstanding the ubiquity of “race” and “origin” in the discourse of the 1930s, the early Republic defined national culture less as a biological, “pure” community than as a synthetically produced identity. In practice, the production of Turkishness hinged on language, offering linguistic assimilation as a “benevolent” alternative to discrimination: in the early 1930s, via campaigns of “Citizen, speak Turkish!” non-Muslim minorities were compelled to learn Turkish and speak it in public spaces.¹⁵

Despite the concerted efforts of Turkish scholars

in the human sciences in constructing a cohesive and Westernized national identity, the Republic’s cultural revolution presented a contradiction as early as the mid-1930s. The Turkish History Thesis, which relocated “the Turks” from the margin to the “origin” of (Western) civilization, perpetuated an essentially Eurocentric narrative without providing the necessary tools to justify Turkey’s cultural Westernization. Simply put, the meta-narrative of the “origin” of the civilization-giving “Turks” could not be translated into a normative aesthetic culture of the present: even if an ethnic or linguistic similarity between the Neolithic civilizations of the Near East and the contemporary Turks were scientifically tenable, the question remained of why Western cultural institutions and practices needed to be taken as a model in the moral and aesthetic education of the new Turkish subject.

Mirroring this contradiction, *Güneş Dil Teorisi* was employed in 1935 not only to assert the Turkish origin of all languages but also to mitigate the particularism of the “language revolution.” It signaled a totalizing perspective, one that was more permissive of words that had been hitherto excluded as “foreign.”¹⁶ Around the same years, the self-made linguists of

the Language Society coined new Turkish words that sounded suspiciously analogous to their Western counterparts. For instance, the very word *kültür*, which, in contradistinction to *hars*, refers both to the unchanging essence of the folk and to the productions of high culture, could be embraced as “Turkish” because, as Dilmen put it, “all the words that refer to culture in all civilized languages” derived from a common root in “ur-Turkish.”¹⁷

After Atatürk’s death in 1938, which deprived the History and Language Societies of patronage at the highest level, the Turkish state consolidated the early Republic’s thesis of origin into an officially sanctioned identity while, for a brief period, it was unequivocally committed to cultural Westernization. Beginning in 1938, the year Hasan Ali Yücel (1897–1961) was appointed minister of education, a new generation of cultural theorists, including Nurullah Ataç (1898–1957) and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, distanced themselves from the racial particularism of the 1930s and demanded the institution of a Western-oriented “humanism” in Turkey.¹⁸ The state Translation Bureau (Tercüme Bürosu), founded in 1940, undertook the translation of world classics into Turkish.¹⁹ While a few non-Western works were included, the majority were chosen from ancient Greek and French. The state’s commitment to establishing a classical culture, albeit short-lived, was also made manifest in the introduction of ancient Greek and Latin curricula in some high schools. The founding in 1940 of Köy Enstitüleri, the self-help village education institutes, underscores a commitment to reach out with “humanist” education reform to what was still a largely agrarian society.

By the mid-1950s, the Turkish History Thesis had waned along with the initial revolutionary fervor of the RPP. Though never discredited outright by the academic establishment, the emphasis of the thesis on “race” had eventually become objectionable, just as its most overt expressions, such as the *Güneş-Dil Teorisi*, would be remembered with considerable unease. Views concerning the “Turkish” origin of first civilizations were occasionally intoned, most remarkably during the architectural competition and construction, between 1944 and 1953, of Anıtkabir, the monumental mausoleum of Atatürk in Ankara (fig. 3). In 1955, after completion of the mausoleum, the architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda wrote:

The genius of Atatürk taught us that the greatest civilization of the world, the Sumerian civilization, was created by the Turks. Hence the Turks will discover their

national roots and the origins of civilization as one, not only because [ancient Sumer] was the basis of Mediterranean civilization, but also because it [has come to be understood] as one of the foundations of world civilization.

This is why we decided to construct the monument for Atatürk, who achieved our greatest progress toward Westernization in the classical spirit and along the rational lines of a seven-thousand-year-old civilization, rather than by associating it with the tomb of a [medieval] sultan or a saint.²⁰

Onat and Arda’s recourse to the Turkish History Thesis more than a decade after it had become obsolete in the human sciences underscores an attempt to translate the early Republic’s myth of origin into an architectural language at once “national,” “classical,” and “modern.” Inspired by the Central European *Jugendstil* and the “new German architecture” (*yeni Alman mimarisi*) of the 1940s, the architects interpreted the symbolic program of the “monument-mausoleum,” the symbiosis of the remains of the national hero with the eternal youth of the body of the nation, as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.²¹ In its sculpture and ornament, Anıtkabir incorporates allegories of the life of the hero Atatürk and of the epic struggle for national independence together with Turkish-Anatolian folklore motifs. Far from being a vacuous rhetorical trope, the Sumerian “origin” of the “seven-thousand-year-old civilization” is equated with an “authentic” folk culture. Hence the architecture of Anıtkabir has come to function as a synecdoche of the nation itself: the monument represents the nation as an aesthetic ideal by equating its mythic origin with its timeless essence (figs. 4 and 5).

The year Onat and Arda’s article was published in the journal *Arkitekt*, a number of intellectuals, including Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Takiyettin Mengüşoğlu, Mazhar Sevkettin İpşiroğlu, and Vedat Günyol initiated a debate in the journal *Yeni Ufuklar* concerning Turkey’s cultural and artistic heritage. In 1954 and 1955, the latter journal solicited short answers from public intellectuals concerning the place of tradition in contemporary Turkish society, the significance of the “Turkish language revolution,” the legacy of “Atatürk’s history thesis,” and—with a Nietzschean twist—the relevance of history to contemporary life.²² In his response to a question posed by the editors in 1955, Eyüboğlu writes,

[Atatürk] presented the Turks as the founders of civilization not to boast about their supremacy [over



Fig. 3. Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk, Ankara, completed 1953. (Photo: Can Bilsel)



Fig. 4. İlhan Koman, "The Battle of Sakarya," sculptural relief, mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk. (Photo: Can Bilsel)

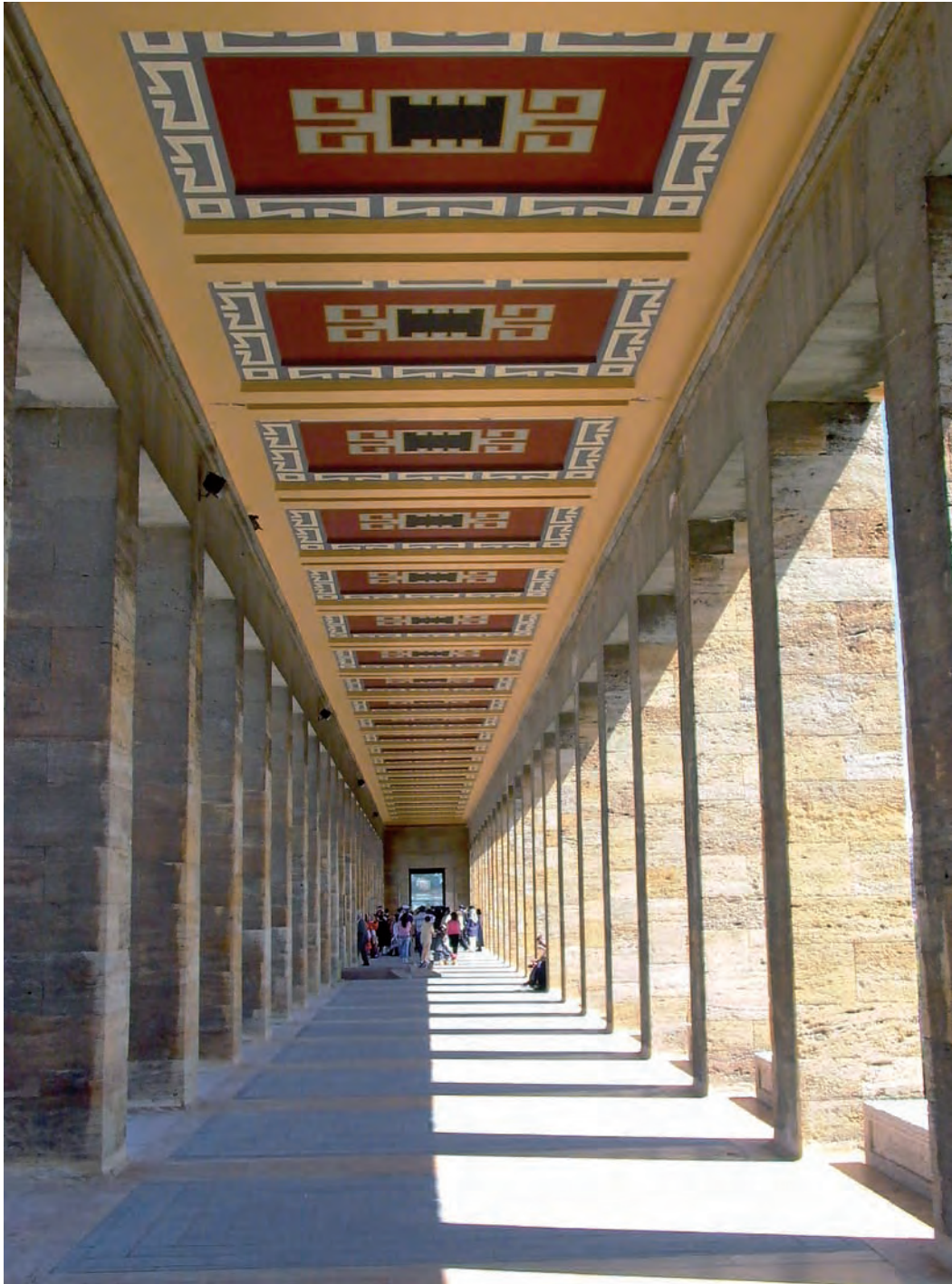


Fig. 5. Ceiling of the colonnade around the mausoleum of Atatürk, showing Turkish kilim motifs, a reference to the folk culture in Anatolia. (Photo: Can Bilisel)



Fig. 6. Hüseyin Özkan, lions (two of twenty-four) on the processional road of the mausoleum of Atatürk, a reference to the archaic civilizations (especially Hittite) of Anatolia. (Photo: Can Bilsel)

other nations] but in order to broaden our perspective and break away from the old frames that constrained our thought. By linking the Hittite and the Greek with the Turk, he intended to destroy the rotten, introverted, and limited view of history that hindered the progress of Turkey and to promote a new consciousness of the past... that would enable us to embrace every innovation. Some [historical] proofs might have been steered too forcibly in this direction. Who knows, after all, if one people is more ancient than another, and who descended from whom? He sought to establish not racial [genealogies] but cultural links [with the peoples of the past].²³

Eyüboğlu combines his defense of the Turkish History Thesis with a characteristically vitalist critique of knowledge about history (*küflü tarih görüşü*), embracing a new historical consciousness in the service of a living “culture.” Using comparably vitalist metaphors (e.g., by comparing an archaeological find to a “seed” about

to flourish, as opposed to a “dead stone”), Azra Erhat in 1956 called for the establishment of non-pedantic humanism.²⁴

This “humanist” revision of the Republic’s myth of origin is most succinctly presented in the 1970s in an epic by İskender Ohri, titled alternatively *The Story of Anatolia* or *The Story of Our Land*. Dashing through seven thousand years—from Çatalhöyük to the present—in a mere 190 pages, Ohri concludes his history with a description of Anıtkabir:

There is a monument on one of the hills that surround the plain of Ankara. The Anatolian people had it built for the eternal sleep of its great child and savior who founded new Turkey...As you walk on the streets of the capital toward that monument, which is a synthesis of Ionian finesse and Hittite splendor, you encounter the Hittite lions [fig. 6]...and on the flagpole, the crescent and moon that we inherited from the Hittites.²⁵



Fig. 7. Nusret Suman, “Hittite Sun,” Atatürk Boulevard, Sıhhiye intersection, Ankara. (Photo: courtesy of Cânâ Bilsel)

In a history that alternately pledges patriotism and subverts the ethnocentric definition of the nation—for instance by suggesting that the Turkish flag originated from the pagan Hittite religion—Ohri seeks to revise the Turkish History Thesis. He redeploys archaeological references to make the monument the symbol not so much of a “nation” or “race” as of another transcendental identity, “the Anatolian people.”

Similarly, the proto-Hittite statuettes, which were found during the Turkish History Society’s excavations at Alaca Höyük and preserved in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, have come to be seen less as anthropological proofs about the origin of the Turkish race than as the aesthetic symbols of the homeland. Between 1973 and 1977, Vedat Dalokay (1927–91), the mayor of Ankara, made the “Hittite Sun” a ubiquitous emblem of the city. A gigantic reinterpretation of the Bronze Age statuette by Nusret Suman (1905–78) was erected in Sıhhiye, one of

the prominent squares of the capital (fig. 7). Hence, the early Republic’s preoccupation with “origin” was translated into a monumental culture.

TURKISH TROJANISM AND THE PROBLEM OF HELLAS

The organizing principle of the discourse of Anatolia is a thesis of cultural continuity. Working in an unusually expansive field, Turkish humanists have sought to establish the ancient peoples of the land as the symbolic if not the cultural ancestors of the Anatolian Turks.

By embracing the ancient Trojans as described in Homeric legend as the honorary ancestors of today’s Anatolians, the Blueists were building upon a discourse that had taken root in early modern Europe. In the fifteenth century, when the Ottoman armies conquered

Constantinople (now Istanbul) and came to present an imminent threat to Christian Europe, a debate concerning the origin of the Turks waged among Italian humanists. As James Hankins has shown, while the “humanist Crusader literature” of the second half of the fifteenth century sought to identify the Turks with the ancient “Scythians,” a people described by Herodotus—an identification that connoted barbarous mores—dissenting humanists contended that the Turks had descended from the Trojans. By arguing that the Turks were wreaking vengeance on the Greek Byzantines for the fall of Troy, the Turcophile humanists undermined the Venetian war effort and Pope Pius II’s calls for a crusade to recover Constantinople from the Ottomans.²⁶

Rather than the theories of the fifteenth-century Italian humanists, however, the pronouncements of Sultan Mehmed II were what lent modern Turkish Trojanism its national legitimacy. A Greek manuscript of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Topkapı Palace and first translated into Turkish in 1912, chronicled Mehmed’s conquest of the remainder of the Byzantine Empire during the first decade of his rule. The author, Critoboulos (also spelled as Kritovoulos, Kritoboulos, or Critobulus), a Byzantine Greek scholar in the service of the Ottoman court, reports that, having visited the site of ancient Troy and sought the graves of the Homeric heroes, the sultan, like Alexander the Great before him, pronounced his nascent empire the heir of a distant antiquity:

It was the Greeks and Macedonians and Thessalians and Peloponnesians who ravaged this place in the past, and whose descendants have now through my efforts paid the right penalty, after a long period of years, for their injustice to us Asiatics at that time and so often in subsequent times.²⁷

That the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II avenged Troy by conquering “the Greeks” has often figured in the discourse of Blue Anatolia as a means of emphasizing the classical heritage of Turkey, often without reference to Critoboulos or to the historical role that the Greek-Ottoman governor of Imros played in the handover to the Ottomans of the former Byzantine territories in the Northern Aegean.²⁸ According to the Turkish archaeologist and art historian Ekrem Akurgal (1911–2002), who quotes Critoboulos, Mehmed II’s words at Troy underscore that the “enlightened” sultan, who gathered Italian humanists and Greek (*Rum*) intellectuals in his court, was in command of the

universal “Hellenic culture.” Akurgal laments that the untimely death of the classically minded Mehmed II brought nascent humanism in Turkey to a halt for “five hundred years.”²⁹

A similarly millennialist perspective can be found in the Blueists’ narratives of the Turkish War of Independence of 1919–22 as the epic struggle of native “Anatolia” against the “Greek” invaders. Having defeated the Greek armies in Dumlupınar, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) is presented in the narratives of Blue Anatolia as the epic hero who “avenged [the fall of] Troy.”³⁰

Just as the Turkish humanists embraced Troy as a literary topos, so did a number of ethnographies seek to establish the continuity between the ancient and the modern peoples of Anatolia across the millennia. For instance, Eyüboğlu and others frequently offer as anecdotal evidence the apparent similarities between the dances of Dionysus described in the tragedies of Euripides and the “Horon” folk dances of the Turkish Black Sea.³¹ In his books on Turkish Anatolian folklore, İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu (b. 1925) explores the affinities between the ancient pagan religions and mythologies and the superstitions and practice of “magic” in the countryside.³²

While their approach opened fertile ground in the cultural anthropology of Turkey, the Blueists restricted the critical potential of their studies by insisting that the formal affinities between an ancient and a modern people could be explained not by historical influences but rather by the survivalist paradigm of a folk culture, since all “authentic” practices in the land, from prehistory to modernity, embody a folk essence. Cultural affinities, in other words, were deemed sufficient proof of the survival of the same people throughout history.

Anthropological survivalism has also influenced translations and creative work in literature. Most remarkably, Azra Erhat and A. Kadir’s translation into Turkish of the *Iliad* (1958–67) and the *Odyssey* (1970) sought out similarities between the classical epic and the Turkish/Anatolian vernacular.³³ Erhat’s creative work enabled the Anatolian Turks, which she considered the honorary descendents of the Trojans, to read the Homeric legend in a language that was close to their own folk idiom.

Such sweeping arguments inevitably raise questions not merely about method but also about the availability of a historical archive: how can continuity between the culture of the ancients and that of the moderns

be detected and known? The mores of the ancient inhabitants of Anatolia—who mattered to the Turkish humanists more than, for instance, the medieval populace of the peninsula—were recorded in classical texts. To prove the survival of the ancient culture, the Turkish theorists had to identify an aboriginal village culture, untouched by the supposed degeneracy of the small-town or urban elites.

In fact, long before the Blueists, Western travelers of the nineteenth century had identified the Alevis³⁴ (a distinct religious sect widespread in Anatolia, with influences from Shi'i Islam, Sufi orders, and folk traditions) as a case of anthropological survival, alternatively deemed the “descendants of the [antique] Lydians” or members of an ancient religion. It was in reaction to these accounts by the Western Orientalists that the organization Türk Ocağı (Turkish Hearth) of the ruling İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Union and Progress Party) sent Baha Said to study the Anatolian Alevis during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Said recast the Alevis as a survival of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, “the most traditional, the purest Turks” (*en töreci, en halis Türkler*), who “preserve[d] the Turkish language, race, and blood” from being alloyed by “the international ideal of the Arab” (*Arap'ın beynelmilel mefkuresi*).³⁵

Starting from the 1950s the Alevi-Turcoman village for paradoxical reasons came to be seen as an ideal if politically portentous topic of humanist folklore: its supposed syncretism in integrating the ancient religions of the land with Islam made it a survival of the ancients in flesh and blood, just as its isolation in the mountains, inflicted by centuries of persecution, made it supposedly impervious to modernity.

If Anatolian humanism was built on a Romantic nativist ideal, it could claim universal validity only by subscribing to a form of fin-de-siècle diffusionism, according to which the history of civilization originated in the ancient Orient and migrated to the West, to be perfected in ancient Greece. The metaphor of Anatolia as “the cradle of civilization(s)” fulfills a discursive function: it implies that the ancient Anatolians are not merely the cultural forebears of contemporary Turkey, but, more importantly, are among the originators of contemporary (that is, Western) civilization.

Ekrem Akurgal, whose iconographic reading of ancient art can be placed within the German-speaking scholarly traditions of the early twentieth century, played a significant role in coining the category “Anatolian civilizations.” His internationally acclaimed *Orient*

und Okzident: Die Geburt der griechischen Kunst of 1966 (translated as *The Birth of Greek Art: The Mediterranean and the Near East*, published in 1968) traced the evolution of “style” from ancient Mesopotamia to Anatolia and finally to Greece. His excavations of the Ionian settlements of Smyrna (Bayraklı), Phokaia (Foça), Pitane (Çandarlı), and Erythrai (İldırı) were directed at uncovering the influences of late Hittite and other Near Eastern civilizations on the archaic “Eastern Hellenic culture.” Intended for a Turkish audience, Akurgal’s later books and articles described western Anatolia as “the birthplace of Western civilization.” Although he generally agreed with and contributed to Blue Anatolia’s thesis of heritage, Akurgal departed from a populist celebration of the Anatolian vernacular or of folk culture. Unlike the Blueists, he understood “culture”—ancient and modern—primarily as pertaining to the elites, or else as referring to a process of acculturation.³⁶

The populist elaboration of “the cradle of civilization” can be traced back to the oeuvre of Halikarnas Balıkcısı (Balıkcı), in whose writing Turkish humanism had to come to terms with what I shall call the “problem of Hellas.” Balıkcı’s work as a newspaper illustrator suggests that, as early as the 1920s, he idealized the Turkish peasant as the true owner of the land.³⁷ His political caricatures during the Turkish War of Independence attack the Greek occupation of western Anatolia, ridicule the loyalties of the local Greeks (*Rums*), and lionize the Turkish-Anatolian resistance led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). His support of the Turkish War of Independence, however, would not earn him Ankara’s favor. In 1925, the Turkish Revolutionary Court (İstiklal Mahkemesi), angered by a slightly irreverent newspaper article, sent Balıkcı into exile in the then-small town of Bodrum, on the Aegean coast.³⁸ There, and later in Izmir, he authored several novels, short stories, and essays on the history of culture and mythology. In retrospect, the common denominator of all these seems to be his experience as a Romantic—a Turkish Byron (however oxymoronic this may be), whose loyalties were not with the Istanbul elite from which he had been expelled, nor with the state, but with his hosts, the common people of a fishing village; his adoptive name literally means “the Fisherman of Halicarnassus.”

A polyglot of remarkable talents, Balıkcı was familiar with the philhellenic traditions of the nineteenth century, not least due to his Oxford education. He sought in his oeuvre a *détournement*—a turning upside down of what

he perceived as the racist bias against Anatolia and the Turks. He contended that the perfection attributed to Hellas in the European Romantic imagination was a grave misunderstanding, since Ionia on the Anatolian coast, not Hellas on mainland Greece, was where rational (that is, Western) civilization had originated. Similarly, Balıkcı's popular anthologies of ancient mythology assert that the Olympians were not Greek in origin but were instead ancient Anatolian deities later appropriated by the Hellenes.³⁹

Curiously, however, in their methodology the Blueists theses are comparable to the Greek survivalist folklore studies of the early twentieth century. As Michael Herzfeld has shown, in order to legitimize modern Greece as both a cultural ideal and a polity, Greek scholars sought to establish the sameness of the archipelago's Christian-Orthodox populace with the idealized Hellenes of antiquity. (The great powers of Western Europe, who had aided the Greek war of independence, were not uniformly impressed with the modern Greeks' claim to own Hellas, deeming them too "Oriental" to have descended from Europe's honorary ancestor.) The result was the birth in Greece of "laography," a nationally sanctioned discipline that studied Greek folklore exclusively as a survival of antiquity.⁴⁰ Like Greek patriotic folklorists, the Blueists sought to organize the objects of ancient art, mythology, and folklore into a single taxonomy of monumental culture, both ancient and timeless, but with Anatolia substituted for Hellas.

THE ANATOLIAN PEOPLE, FOLKLORE, AND THE POLITICS OF TASTE

The emergence of a public debate concerning "humanist" culture is linked to the political circumstances of the Cold War years and to the precariousness of Turkey's multiparty regime, during which the Blueists were forced out of public service. Eyüboğlu, having served in policy-making positions in the Ministry of National Education under Hasan Âli Yücel and as a professor at Hasanoğlu Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü (the center where the teachers of the country-wide Village Institutes were educated), was relieved of his duties in 1947. In 1948 a conservative constituency in the National Assembly oversaw the dismissal of Azra Erhat, along with three German and four other Turkish professors suspected of harboring left-wing tendencies, from Ankara University's Faculty of Languages, History,

and Geography.⁴¹ In 1960, Eyüboğlu was included in the list of "the 147" (*147'ler*)—academics who were removed from Turkish universities after the coup of May 27—and had to leave the Faculty of Literature of Istanbul University. The disbanding of the Village Institutes in the 1950s had embittered him and provided the Turkish humanists a cause célèbre.⁴²

Successive governments endorsed "Anatolian humanism" only to the extent that it facilitated Turkey's self-presentation as an inheritor of and participant in "universal civilization" and aided Western tourism. But the Blueists' repeated calls for village education reform or peasant "enlightenment" were seen as too menacing. Eyüboğlu taught art history courses at Istanbul Technical University until the coup of 1971, when, shortly before his death, he was jailed along his wife, Magdi Eyüboğlu, as well as Azra Erhat and others, under the false accusation of having started a secret Communist party. As late as 1965, Eyüboğlu hoped that the RPP, which he believed to have strayed into authoritarian and pro-fascist rule in the aftermath of World War II, would return to Atatürk's original revolutionary program, and he took heart from İsmet İnönü's newfound "left-of-center" (*ortanın solu*) direction for the party.⁴³ In retrospect, Eyüboğlu's evolving concept of "the Anatolian people" proved particularly influential in the symbiosis of cultural "humanism" with the political left: while in the mid-1950s he had argued that Europe offered "an open and generous cultural formula" for other peoples of the world who wanted "their rights and their share of civilization," by 1965 he had become disillusioned with Western-style "liberalism." Since that time, an embrace of the values of common humanity manifested in the works and deeds of "the Anatolian people" and a leftist critique of the imperialist West have coexisted in the Turkish discourse on "humanism."⁴⁴

The 1970s were marked by the rise of a thesis of cultural heritage that defined itself specifically in opposition to Blue Anatolia. Coined by the members of Aydınlar Ocağı (The Hearth of the Enlightened), the "Turkish-Islam Synthesis" aimed at an ethnically defined and religiously committed "national culture"—a syncretism between pan-Turkism and Islamism in the earlier Turkish political tradition. The advocates of this "synthesis" took offense at the Blueists' embrace of antique (i.e., pagan) civilizations as the cultural forebears of Turkey. In a relatively short period, between 1982 and 1986, the staunchly anti-Communist regime that followed the military coup of 1980 enshrined

“national culture” within official ideology.⁴⁵

The subsequent characterization of Anatolian humanism or Blue Anatolia as a “godless nationalism” (*dinsiz milliyetçilik*) is symptomatic of an apparent “culture war” between two reading publics that has often erased historical contingencies and theoretical subtleties.⁴⁶ In fact, despite its marked political differences with Blue Anatolia, the officially sanctioned “Turkish-Islam” was also intended as a “synthesis” seeking a cohesive and organic “culture.” It, too, was adopted from a reframing of the Turkish History Thesis and of the “right-wing” Anatolianism of nationalist-corporatist thinkers of the early twentieth century such as Remzi Oğuz Arık.⁴⁷

The widely perceived failure of the state to adopt the precepts of Anatolian humanism seems to have had a peculiar effect in the way Blueists enunciated their thesis. Eyüboğlu, the leading ideologue of Anatolian culture, wrote in the first-person plural, which is characteristically both authoritative and contrarian:

Why is this land ours? Do we own the land merely because we descended from some four hundred horsemen from Central Asia who raided the land [a thousand years ago]? Those who buy into this argument fail to embrace Anatolia as their homeland... The Hittites, Phrygians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, and Mongols also conquered this land. They did not possess but rather were possessed by Anatolia.

This land is simply ours, and not because we conquered it. Even if there are some migrants among us, and surely they are in the minority, they are also melted into the [native] Anatolian people. Hence, we are the conquerors and the conquered. We are the assimilated and the assimilator. Just as we have worked the land, so did the land shape us. Whatever there is in this country from the old times belongs to us. For the history of our people is the history of Anatolia.⁴⁸

This passage from “Bizim Anadolu” (Our Anatolia) of 1956 is remarkable not least because the subject of enunciation is split halfway between the “we” of the first lines and the possessive “our” of “our people.” The first “we” refers to the whole nation, including the intellectuals and potential readers who should understand identity as the means to a polity: “Once we were pagan; then we became Christian, and finally Muslim.”⁴⁹ On the other hand “our people” refers to “the folk,” the aboriginal people of Anatolia who produce folklore as an inevitable, if unconscious, expression of their cultural essence. The first signifies

the communal self, which transcends history, while the second stands for an idealized other.

While Eyüboğlu’s essays often assume familiarity with his potential readers, he refrains from identifying his narrative voice—“we”—with “the Anatolian people.” In 1949, for instance, he writes:

Whenever we, the intellectuals, call ourselves populists we assume that the people are a confused crowd, living in another world. And yet we are the ones who disseminate from the radio the vulgarities that the people never heard of, just as we publish in our newspapers, journals, and books unspeakable absurdities, and furnish every corner, every home with samples of bad taste...

Let us carry out our work not like populists but like the people. Let us produce not what the people supposedly want but what is borne in our hearts... Children want to be taken seriously and challenged; so do the people.⁵⁰

According to the author, the supposed childlike innocence of the Anatolian people guarantees the quality of genuine folk art, while “our”—that is the intellectuals’—alienation from the traditions of the folk generates the low taste of mass culture.

That Eyüboğlu seems to suggest that the ideal of folk culture should remedy the social stratification of taste in modern capitalist society is far from surprising. Like all modern aesthetic ideologies built upon the organicist principle of *Gesamtkunstwerk*—the community of the arts—the basic task of Anatolian humanism was to supersede the nineteenth-century distinction between high and low art. In fact, the logical conclusion of “the Anatolian renaissance” envisioned by Eyüboğlu and others is the sublimation of art into a monumental folklore.

Here also lies a basic paradox of Turkish Anatolian humanism: like the European humanist education reforms of the nineteenth century, it assumes the perfectability of human nature by culture. But it does not permit the emancipation of the producers of “art” from (a folk) culture. The Anatolian humanists advocate an aesthetic culture in which neither the avant-garde nor mass culture is tolerated: all departure from a supposed folk essence is seen as “irrational” and capricious.⁵¹

ORGANICISM, IDEOLOGY, AND AESTHETIC CULTURE

Within the last decade, an emerging scholarship in the history of Turkish political thought and literary criticism

has duly examined the problem of “hegemony,” the process through which cultural Westernization was presented by the Republic’s founding (“Kemalist”) elites as a return to the national essence. Critics have put into question the ways the Blue Anatolia movement served the Republic’s twofold project of nation building and Westernization. The novels and travel diaries of the Blueists have been reread by Murat Belge as the escapist “discoveries” of the Mediterranean coast by an urban elite, with little or no influence on the general public. In his essay Belge hypothetically imagines a peasant on the Aegean coast who is aware of the ironies of his role in someone else’s fantasized “discovery” of the countryside. He also points out that the subsequent commodification of “Anatolia” by Turkey’s tourist industry was prefigured in the detachment of the Blueists and their followers from the land they idealized.⁵²

Kaya Akyıldız and Barış Karacasu have underscored the importance of Anatolian humanism as a departure from the ethnocentric nationalism of the early Republic both in outlook and in the project of compiling a literary canon. The authors contend that the Blueists remained true to the universal principles of “humanism,” and that the occasional intersections between the positions of the Anatolian humanists and Turkey’s nationalist “official ideology” testify to the pragmatic—as opposed to the strictly doctrinaire—nature of “Kemalism.”⁵³ However, according to Etienne Copeaux and Herkül Millas, who have analyzed the nationalist presentation of history in Turkish school textbooks since the 1930s, there is no significant difference between the cultural perspective of “Kemalism” and that of Blue Anatolia. Millas argues that the apparent philhellenism of the Blueists was marked by a “magnanimous attitude” (*alıcenap tutumumuz*) with respect to the contemporary Greeks and that, like the earlier “Kemalist” History Thesis, the aim of Anatolian humanism was merely to dispossess the “other” from the ownership of antiquity.⁵⁴ The Blueists appropriated the early Republic’s ideological program, merely substituting one transcendental identity—“the Anatolian people”—for another, “the Turks.” Similarly, Etienne Copeaux has observed that the Blueists failed to establish a consistent “narrative of history based on the history of the land as opposed to ethnicity,” due to their inability to include in this narrative the Christian Middle Ages, namely, “Byzantium and the Crusader and Armenian kingdoms.” Having associated the pre-Hellenic civilizations of the land with “Turkishness,” the Blueists did not allow the citizens of Turkey who did

not belong to the dominant Turkish-Muslim ethnicity to identify with the land.⁵⁵

A study by Orhan Koçak on the Turkish republican policies of culture from the 1920s to 1970s underscores the persistence of an “organicist” paradigm across rival political and ideological projects of the twentieth century. He observes that the terms of the republican debates had been defined decades earlier, during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, and were most clearly expressed in the “culture and civilization” binary (*hars ve medeniyet*) of Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924). Koçak contends that Gökalp, the founder of pan-Turkist ideology, derived his oppositions of “material/method” and “national content/universal technique” from his reading of fin-de-siècle positivist sociology. Gökalp’s thinking was fundamentally “organicist,” since he saw the salvation of an emerging “Turkish nation” in the harmony of the particular and the universal, of “essence” and form. It was Gökalp’s quest for a synthetic identity and a deep-seated reaction against the cosmopolitan elites of the late Ottoman Empire that framed the republican ideal of “culture.” Koçak convincingly argues that even those who explicitly rejected Gökalp’s thesis—that the Turks should embrace Western technical methods but learn from Western culture only to the extent that it helped them return to their own essence—continued to operate within an equally “organicist” frame of reference.⁵⁶ Koçak cites the argument of Hasan Âli Yücel, the founding father of humanist education reform of the early 1940s, that a Turk who enjoys reading contemporary (French) literature is not necessarily alienated from national tradition or from a culturally defined “taste”: “Each nation that is included in European civilization has its own identity. We also aspire to an identity within the [European] circle of civilization.”⁵⁷ Koçak’s findings may also explain the Blueists’ later position that education in Western classics is a return to the folk essence. When Eyüboğlu suggested that those rejecting humanist education “should be disconnected from the city’s electrical grid” (since one cannot renounce Western civilization while enjoying its benefits), he merely reversed Gökalp’s thesis without altering his paradigm. In other words, the republican project of cultural Westernization was, from its outset, a paradoxical proposition that revolved around the question “How can we be like the West, and remain ourselves?”⁵⁸

In this essay, I have sought to problematize the twofold construction of “Anatolia” as a meta-historical cultural identity and a normative, aesthetic ideal.

The discourse is organicist in the sense that studies in literature, art, architecture, and anthropology in wide array were geared to establish that “the people of Anatolia,” even though not ethnically homogenous, were the sole inheritors of an indivisible and authentic culture, rooted in the land. As İskender Ohri put it in his history of Anatolia: “Along with its people, civilization, and history, Anatolia constitutes an indivisible whole.”⁵⁹ Difference, whether ethnic, regional, or social, is effectively neutralized in the discourse by being cast as a “mosaic of cultures.”⁶⁰

It is my argument that at the very moment Anatolian humanism departed from the early Republic’s preoccupation with racial “origin” it also became an ideology of aesthetic culture, complete with practices that interpolate the position of a modern subject. An apparently innocuous invention, the “blue voyage” (*mavi yolculuk*), during which the self-fashioned intellectuals of Istanbul and Ankara “went native” as had Balıkcı, Erhat, and Eyüboğlu before them, promised the discovery of picturesque landscapes, antique sites, and “authentic” villages.⁶¹ And yet, unlike the nineteenth-century humanist education reforms in Europe, the aim of Anatolian humanism was not the moral and aesthetic education of a national bourgeoisie in the paradigms of high culture, but the achievement of a utopian, constructivist society. Dedicating themselves to reinstituting the village education reform (Köy Enstitüleri) of the early 1940s, the Turkish humanists worked idealistically toward an “Anatolian renaissance” (or an “Anatolian enlightenment”) in which the peasants were expected to return to their own cultural essence by being rationalized and Westernized.

As a means of cultural Westernization, Turkish humanism presents a case no less paradoxical than the national ideologies in Europe, which, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, have invented the idea of “authentic” folklore. The Blueists conflated a nativist identity (Anatolia) with a “universal” ideal (Hellas), not unlike the Greek folklorists who, decades earlier, had constructed a “Hellenic” identity. This required, on the one hand, internalizing the European philhellenism of the nineteenth century—the idea that Mediterranean/Aegean culture is the epitome of civilization—and, on the other, rejecting the political ramifications of such an idea: European imperialism and the Greek invasion of 1919–22. The substitution of “Anatolia” for “Hellas” both established the rootedness of the Republic of Turkey in its present territories and

demanding its inclusion in the “circle” of European civilization.

In the final analysis, “Anatolia” can be understood as a discursive complement to Turkish modernism, as manifested in the Blueists’ vision that a meta-narrative of historical heritage could positively transform the cultural disposition of a nation and initiate a village “renaissance.” Anatolian culture was also presented as a unifying principle that would overcome the discrepancy of taste in a cosmopolitan, mass society. During the very years when the Blueists celebrated the art and culture of the “Anatolian people” as “authentic” and wholesome, migrants from the countryside were engulfing the cities and changing the cultural landscapes of Turkish metropolitan life. Their culture shock on encountering the city would give birth to hybrid, popular forms that did not always comply with the organicist and pastoral ideals of an “authentic” folk culture.

Revisiting the aesthetic culture shelves devoted to “Anatolia” in a bookstore today, what one encounters are the fragments of an earlier discourse. The common tropes of “Anatolia” have been appropriated by Turkey’s heritage and tourist industries, which are oblivious to the Blueist’s original ideological project. The presentation of “Hittite-Sun” statuettes alongside kilims and glossy pictures of “Artemis of Ephesus” are symptomatic of the contemporary reality in which culture, like heritage, is a commodity in the marketplace. Under these circumstances, contemporary “art” has also been compelled to abandon its status as sublimated “folklore” and serve the idea not of social cohesion but of social distinction.

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1. For two recent histories of “Anatolia” as a political project see Seçil Deren, “Türk Siyasi Düşüncesinde Anadolu İmgesi,” and Mithat Atabay “Anadoluculuk,” in *Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 4 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002).
2. One significant example is the archaeologist and art historian Remzi Oğuz Arık’s *Millet*, a journal of “science, ideas, and art” that promoted a ruralist, conservative, and nation-

- alist culture. The first issue was published in Ankara in May 1942.
3. A public intellectual committed to republican ideals, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu worked as an art historian, cultural critic, film director, educator, and translator. As a recipient of a Turkish government fellowship in 1928, he studied art history and aesthetics in France. Upon his return to Turkey in 1932 he was appointed associate professor at Istanbul University's Department of French and French Literature. He served in the Ministry of Education until 1947, under the influential minister Hasan Ali Yücel. As the head of the ministry's Translation Bureau, Eyüboğlu oversaw the translation of world classics into Turkish. His tenure between 1939 and 1949 as a professor in Hasanoğlu Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü (the central academy for training teachers of the self-help village schools) prefigured his advocacy of education reform in his writing of the 1950s and 60s. He was among the faculty members dismissed from Turkish universities (known as *147'ler*, or the list of 147) in the aftermath of the coup of 1960. He returned to teach art history at Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) during the last years of his life. This article focuses on Eyüboğlu's later work as a leading figure of the Turkish "humanism" movement after 1950.
 4. Best known for his novels depicting the life of the sea and the fishing village, Halikarnas Balıkcısı (Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı) was a freelance journalist, essayist, illustrator, and tourist guide. Exiled by the government in 1925 to a small seaside town, he became a leading figure of Turkish intellectual life, writing essays that celebrate Turkey's Mediterranean heritage and identity. For an account of his early work as illustrator and writer see n. 37 below. Azra Erhat was trained as a classical philologist and is remembered today for her translations of Greek classics, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. After being dismissed from Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History, and Geography in 1948 for her political views, she worked as a journalist and librarian in addition to continuing her translating and academic research.
 5. See, for example, Mazhar Şevket İpsişiroğlu and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Fatih Albumuna Bir Bakış = Sur l'album du Conquérant* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), especially the authors' interpretation of "Mehmet Siyah Kalem," an artist known only by the attribution of this name to a series of miniatures in the "Conqueror's Album" in Topkapı Palace. The foreword to the album, in which the authors reflect on the era of Mehmed II as a Turkish Renaissance, was also published in *Yeni Ufuklar* 4, 24 (Sept. 1955): 137–39. See also Eyüboğlu's reinterpretation of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–73) in "Bizim Anadolu," first published in 1956, repr. in Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Mavi ve Kara* (2nd ed., Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002), 9–10.
 6. *Tarih I* (Devlet Matbaası, 1932), 31–32, cited in Herkül Milas, "Millî Türk Kimliği ve 'Öteki' (Yunan)" in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 201.
 7. Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. idem and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997). For the writing of Turkish histories of art and architecture in the early Republic as a complement to the Turkish History Thesis see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 243–55.
 8. The Commission for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarihî Tetkik Heyeti) of Türk Ocakları was founded in 1930 with the participation of Yusuf Akçura (president), Samih Rifat, Resit Galip, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Fuat Köprülü, and Afet İnan. On Apr. 10, 1931, when the independent organization Türk Ocakları was consolidated into Halkevleri, the countrywide organization through which RPP disseminated its revolutionary agenda, the commission was renamed The Society for the Study of Turkish History (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti) and was charged with shaping the Republic's official thesis of history. Soner Çağaptay, "Otuzlarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Irk, Dil ve Etnisite," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 245–46; see also Suavi Aydın, "Türk Tarih Tezi ve Halkevleri," *Kebikeç* 2, 3 (1996): 107–130.
 9. *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Proceedings of the First Turkish History Thesis) (Ankara: T. C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1932).
 10. İbrahim Necmi Dilmen (General Secretary of the Turkish Language Society), speech on the occasion of *Dil Bayramı*, *Türk Dili Dergisi* 23–26 (1937): 9–14. Reprinted in *Birikim* 2 (June 1989): 59. For a historical analysis see Erik Jan Zürcher, "Güneş-Dil Teorisi ve Türk Dil Reformundaki Yeri," trans. Aysen Ekmekçi, *Birikim* 2 (June 1989), 52–54.
 11. Zürcher, "Güneş-Dil Teorisi," 52.
 12. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, "Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Alacahöyükte Yapılan Hafriyatta Elde Edilen Neticeler," in *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1943); idem, *Alacahöyük* (Ankara: Turkish Press, Broadcasting, and Tourist Department, n.p. [Ankara?], n.d. [1954?]). For a critical history of the archaeological excavations of the Turkish History Society see Suavi Aydın, "Batılılaşma Karşısında Arkeoloji ve Klasik Çağ Araştırmaları," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 403–27.
 13. Afet İnan, *L'Anatolie, le pays de la "race" Turque: Recherches sur les caractères anthropologiques des populations de la Turquie* (Geneva: Librairie de l'Université de Genève, 1941), with an introduction by Eugène Pittard.
 14. Çağaptay, "Otuzlarda Irk, Dil ve Etnisite," 254.
 15. *Ibid.*, 259.
 16. Zürcher, "Güneş-Dil Teorisi ve Türk Dil Reformundaki Yeri," 53, writes that by Nov. 1935, when the *Güneş-Dil Teorisi* was introduced, the language revolution was facing insurmountable difficulties. Atatürk, who in 1934 had given speeches in new Turkish, reverted in his later public addresses to more traditional language. Around the same time, the Language Society published a fantastic etymology, claiming alternative "Turkish roots" for 1400 words of Arabic and Persian origin.
 17. Dilmen, *Türk Dili Dergisi*, 60.
 18. During the seven years of his ministry, Yücel oversaw the cultural infrastructure of the state, including the yearly State Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions (1939), the Translation Bureau (1940) for the translation of world classics (mostly ancient Greek and French) into Turkish, the Turkish (*İnönü*) encyclopedia, the State Conservatory in Ankara (1940), the Directorate of Historical Monuments and Museums (1944), and the Law of Universities (1946).

19. Özlem Berk, "Batılılaşma ve Çeviri," in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce*, vol. 3, ed. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, (İstanbul: İletişim 2002), 511–20.
20. Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, "Anıt-Kabir," in *Arkitekt* 280, 2 (1955): 58–59. For a critical history see Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 289.
21. In 1943 the German architect and Istanbul Technical University professor Paul Bonatz brought to Turkey an exhibition about the "New German Architecture" of the Nazi era. For his call for a new "classic" architecture see Paul Bonatz, "Yeni Alman Mimarisi," *Arkitekt* 133–34, 3–4 and 5–6 (1943): 71–75, 119–120. For the reception of the German "classic" architecture in Turkey see Abidin Mortaş, "Yeni Alman Mimarî Sergisi," *Arkitekt*, 133–34, 3–4 (1943): 67–70.
22. The journal published a Turkish translation of Friedrich Nietzsche's "Schopenhauer as Educator" along with the views of Eyüboğlu, Yaşar Nayır, Haldun Taner, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, and others concerning the "Turkish language revolution": *Yeni Ufuklar* 3, 14 (Nov. 1954).
23. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, "Cevap II," *Yeni Ufuklar* 4 (June 1955): 7–8; repr. in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 195.
24. Azra Erhat, "Anadolu'yu Dile Getirmek," in idem, *Mavi Anadolu* (2nd pr. Ankara: Bilgi, 1969).
25. İskender Ohri, *Yurdumuzun Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Zafer Matbaası, 1977); repr. as *Anadolu'nun Öyküsü* (4th ed. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1987 [orig. publ. 1978]), 186–87.
26. James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," in *Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th–15th Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207.
27. Critoboulos (Kritovoulos), *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. T. Riggs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 181–82. Also cited in Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," 140.
28. See, for instance, Eyüboğlu, "Tarih Soruşturmasına Cevap," in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 196.
29. Ekrem Akurgal, *Türkiye ve Türk Uygarlıkları*, Dışişleri Akademisi Yayınları 39 (Ankara: Dışişleri Akademisi Yayınları, 1976), 37–38.
30. Eyüboğlu, "İlyada ve Anadolu," in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 188.
31. Eyüboğlu, "Bizim Anadolu," 12; idem, "Halk Oyunları," in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 67–68.
32. İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu, *Anadolu İnançları, Anadolu Mitolojisi: İnanç-Söylence Bağlantısı* (İstanbul: Geçit Kitabevi, 1987).
33. Homeros, *İlyada*, Turkish trans. Azra Erhat and A. Kadir (Ankara: İş Bankası, 1958); Homeros, *Odyssea*, Turkish trans. Azra Erhat and A. Kadir (İstanbul: Sander, 1970). Blueists were preoccupied with the survival of elements of the Trojan myth in the folk idioms, place names, and oral traditions of Anatolia. See, for example, Halikarnas Balıkcısı's letter to Azra Erhat of Mar. 31, 1957, published in Azra Erhat, *Mektuplarıyla Halikarnas Balıkcısı* (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1976), 21.
34. The English translation of the Turkish words *Alevilik* and *Aleviler* raises politically charged questions. The Blueists and Turkish humanists in general have argued that *Alevilik* is a distinct form of "Anatolian Islam," and is different from the Alawis of Syria or of the Shi'i branch of Islam elsewhere.
35. Murat Küçük, "Mezhepten Millete Aleviler ve Türk Milliyetçiliği," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 901–2; see also Fuat Dündar, "Millî Ezber: Saf Türk—Karışık Öteki," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 893–900.
36. Ekrem Akurgal, *Orient und Okzident: Die Geburt der griechischen Kunst* (Baden-Baden, 1966), trans. into English from German by Wayne Dynes as *The Birth of Greek Art: The Mediterranean and the Near East* (London: Methuen, 1968) and also as *The Art of Greece: Its Origins in the Mediterranean and Near East* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968). See also Ekrem Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 1999). For his understanding of "culture" see Ekrem Akurgal, *Türkiye'nin Kültür Sorunları ve Anadolu Uygarlıklarının Dünya Tarihindeki Önemi* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1998).
37. In 1914, upon his return to Turkey after his college education at Oxford, Cevat Şakir ("Balıkcı") was convicted of killing his father, Şakir Paşa, an Ottoman general, historian, and ambassador to Greece. During Istanbul's occupation years, Balıkcı, disinherited from Istanbul's upper class and having served a lengthy prison term, struggled to make a living as a freelance painter and journalist. For the early essays, newspaper cover designs, and political caricatures by Balıkcı see Cüneyd Okay, *Mavi Sürün'e Doğru: Halikarnas Balıkcısı'nın Bilinmeyen Yılları (1921–1928)* (Ankara: Özkan Matbaacılık, 2001).
38. Sadi Borak, *Halikarnas Balıkcısı ve Bir Duruşmanın Öyküsü* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1982).
39. Balıkcı often repeated this thesis in his essays concerning cultural heritage: see, for instance, Halikarnas Balıkcısı, *Hey Koca Yurt* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1972) and *Sonsuzluk Sessiz Büyür*, Bütün Eserleri 13 (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1983); see also Balıkcı's letters to Azra Erhat: Azra Erhat, *Mektuplarıyla Halikarnas Balıkcısı* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2002).
40. Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York: Pella Publishing, 1986).
41. Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 250.
42. Mehmet Başaran, *Sabahattin Eyüboğlu ve Köy Enstitüleri: Tonguç'a ve Yakınlarına Mektuplarıyla* (İstanbul Cem Yayınevi, 1990). See also Eyüboğlu, "Köy Enstitülerini Kuran Düşünce" (1964) and "Tonguç" (1960), in Eyüboğlu, *Mavi ve Kara*, 156–58, 179–82.
43. Eyüboğlu, "Devrimciliğe Dönüş" (1965), in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 114.
44. Since 1965 the cultural theses of Blue Anatolia have come to be associated with Turkey's "national left." Its contemporary theorists, such as İlhan Selçuk, have advocated "Anatolian enlightenment" (*Anadolu aydınlanması*), understood as the emancipation of the "Anatolian people" from religious fanaticism (*yobazlık*) and feudal overlords, and the institution of a system marked by rationalism and equality. For a critique of Selçuk's views concerning "Anatolian enlightenment" and the Anatolian Alevi see Mehmet Soydaş and Atilla Lök, "İlhan Selçuk," in Ahmet İnsel, ed., *Kemalizm, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001), 512–17.
45. Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931–1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, trans. Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).
46. See, for instance, Yümnî Sezen, *Hümanizm ve Atatürk Devrimleri* (İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitapları, 1997).
47. See, for example, Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Coğrafyadan Vatana* (Ankara: Yeni Matbaa, 1956).

48. Eyüboğlu, "Bizim Anadolu," 9.
49. Ibid.
50. Eyüboğlu, "Halk Kavramı" (1949), in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 14–15.
51. Thus, according to Eyüboğlu, the European avant-garde movements "Symbolism, Surrealism, Cubism, and Dadaism, which emerged as the enemies of reason," could be entertained only to the extent that they would eventually open up new horizons for a rational Europe and contribute to the commonly accepted values (*bugün artık makul olarak görülen değerler*): "Batu, Doğu," in idem, *Mavi ve Kara*, 130.
52. Murat Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1998).
53. Kaya Akyıldız and Barış Karacasu, "Mavi Anadolu: Edebi Kanon ve Milli Kültürün Yapılandırışında Kemalizm ile Bir Ortaklık Denemesi," *Toplum ve Bilim* 81 (Summer, 1999), 26–42; see also Barış Karacasu, "Mavi Kemalizm," in İnşel, *Kemalizm*, 334–43. In a separate article Akyıldız has reflected on the "quasi-ontological link" that the Blueists constructed between the subject position that was historically produced by the Enlightenment and the Anatolian-Turkish people: Kaya Akyıldız, "Mavi Anadoluculuk," in Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, ed., *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 3 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002), 480.
54. Herkül Millas, "Millî Türk Kimliği ve 'Öteki' (Yunan)," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 200.
55. Etienne Copeaux, "Türk Milliyetçiliği: Sözcükler, Tarih, İşaretler," in Bora, *Milliyetçilik*, 50.
56. Orhan Koçak, "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları," in İnşel, *Kemalizm*, 374–75.
57. Hasan Âli Yücel, cited in Koçak, "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları," 395.
58. Koçak, "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları," 374–75.
59. Ohri, *Anadolu'nun Öyküsü*, 11.
60. For the aestheticized image of Turkey as a "mosaic of cultures" see Ekrem Akurgal, "Anadolu Uygarlıklarının Özelikleri ve Batılı Dünya Görüşünün Oluşmasındaki Roller" = "Some Particularities of Anatolian Civilisations and Their Contributions to Western Culture," *Müze = Museum* 1 (Jan.–June 1989): 4–29.
61. For Azra Erhat's diaries of the "blue voyage" see idem, *Mavi Anadolu*.

SCOTT REDFORD

“WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR ANATOLIA TODAY?”: ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

In 1968, Karl Menges published an overview of Turcology entitled *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*. After surveying development of the field in Russia, Germany, and elsewhere, he devoted the following lines to Turkey:

Turkish scholarship suffered from the quasi-totalitarian superimposition upon all historical, philological, and linguistic studies of the official Kemalist state myth proclaiming the Proto-Anatolian origin of the entire Turkish “race” and the Proto-Turkish nature of the Hittite language. Naturally, under such conditions, with a state doctrine contrary to all historical and linguistic evidence, objective scholarship was suffocated or prevented from developing.¹

In this essay, I shall examine a few of the origins and originators of certain intellectual trends in the 1920s and 1930s, the early years of the Republic of Turkey. In doing so, I aim to contribute to an analysis of the early republican approach to the Islamic past, as expressed in its material culture. How did this “Kemalist state myth” form and deform intellectual trends as part of the intimately linked processes of nation building and Westernization in Turkey? What role did European and European-trained scholars play in integrating the Islamic past with a new Turkish and Anatolian state ideology and identity?

One day in 1929, Mustafa Kemal, president of the Republic of Turkey, is said to have showed Afet, the oldest of his adopted daughters and a high school teacher, a book he was reading. It was a work by the French Enlightenment historian, Joseph de Guignes, the *Histoire générale des Huns, des Mongoles, des Turcs, et des autres Tatares occidentaux*, published in five volumes between 1756 and 1758. He pointed out a passage that stated that the Turks were a “yellow” race sharing a common origin with the Mongols in Mon-

golia. Afet reportedly responded, “Bunu çalışalım,” “Let’s work on this.”²

Both Mustafa Kemal and Afet were intimately involved in the national project of writing a history of the Turks, mainly, it seems, in order to educate Turkish high school students. (Education and culture were very much of one piece in the early years of the Turkish Republic. In 1935, the Ministry of Education [Maarif Vekaleti] changed its name to the Ministry of Culture [Kültür Bakanlığı] while continuing to translate its own name into French as “Ministère de l’instruction publique.”)³ This national history, called *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (Outline of Turkish History), was to present the civilization of the Turks in its “rightful place” as equal or superior to Indo-European “nations” or “races” (which also originated in Central Asia) and, paradoxically, as the prime force for the rise of civilization in Anatolia and indeed elsewhere in the Near East and the Aegean. As late as 1937, the year before the death of Atatürk, as Mustafa Kemal was by then called, Prof. Şemseddin Günaltay, writing the lead article in the first issue of the Istanbul University journal *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, attacked the words of the long-dead de Guignes. The Turks were not yellow but white, Alpine, and brachiocephalic; their home was not Mongolia but the Altay Mountains of Turkistan, wrote Günaltay (note the name). The journal in which Günaltay’s article appeared was founded by M. Fuad Köprülü, the leading Turkish historian of the day, and a professor at Istanbul University.⁴

CARGO CULT

At the invitation of Prof. Köprülü, who was also the founder and director of the Türkiyat Enstitüsü, or Turcology Institute, at Istanbul University, the eminent

Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski wrote the lead, eighty-page, article for the 1933 issue of *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, the journal of the institute. Entitled “Türkler ve Orta Asya San’atı Meselesi” (The Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art), it recast, with additions pertinent to the times and the audience, Strzygowski’s 1917 work on the art of the Altay region of Central Asia and Iran.⁵ Professor Köprülü’s son translated it into Turkish, as he did another article published in the same issue of the journal.⁶

The author of this second article, entitled “Türk San’atının Dünyadaki Mevkii” (The Place of Turkish Art in the World) was Heinrich Glück, another art historian and a pupil of Strzygowski.⁷ These two articles staked out the position of the Viennese school of art history, the most influential in Turkey and one of the most prominent, if controversial, of the time, concerning the relationship between the material culture of a Turkish race and its relationship to the art—Turkish and non-Turkish, Islamic and not—of Anatolia, the homeland of the new Turkish Republic.

Strzygowski, in line with philology, the leading science of the day, was looking for an *Ursprache*, or original language, for Aryan art.⁸ In his article in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* he applied his method to identifying the fundamental characteristics of a pure Turkish art, one originating in Turkish Central Asia but present in all Turkish dynasties whenever and wherever they might have been. The features of this pure Turkish art, in Strzygowski’s view, concerned the tent, the carpet, and metalworking. The Austrian art historian proposed the foundation of a museum of pure Turkish art, which he hoped would also contain art from Central Asia. He wanted this museum to be situated in Ankara, as the capital of the new Turkish state, or in the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya, due to its connection with the Seljuks. The already present Istanbul Archaeology Museum should remain, or perhaps include Ottoman art in a context allowing comparison with the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine works there. He also suggested the creation of a museum of Ottoman art in Bursa.⁹

According to Strzygowski, Turkish art, like that of the Germans, was a northern art, and the art of the Greeks and of the Mediterranean was a southern art. Islamic civilization and its art were main inheritors of the Hellenistic Mediterranean tradition, which was also prominent in Byzantine art. Turkish art should be displayed separately, in order to free it from the tyranny of the standards of representational art of the

Greeks and the Mediterranean (read: Semitic) weight of Islamic art.

Strzygowski’s student Glück is probably best known as the coauthor with Ernst Diez of the *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* volume on Islamic art.¹⁰ By this time, however, he had also published on Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman architecture.¹¹ The article in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* was based on his previous articles published in the proceedings of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1917 and by the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna in 1920. After ridding Ottoman architecture of any connection with Byzantium by citing Mehmet Aga-Oglu’s then-current “proof” of Sinan’s Turkishness, Glück attacked the same Western European targets of naturalism and Hellenocentrism as did his teacher Strzygowski. At the end of the article, noting the central position of Central Asia vis à vis many world civilizations, he wrote that Turkish art, despite being exposed to the arts of almost all world civilizations, never descended into mere eclecticism but kept its principles and unity. He concluded by mentioning his intention to write a book on Turkish art together with Aga-Oglu. This project was never completed; Glück died soon thereafter, and Aga-Oglu moved on to the University of Michigan. The project of writing a history of Turkish art would fall to another student of art from the Viennese school, Ernst Diez, and to his pupil Oktay Aslanapa.¹²

A third foreign scholar, Albert Gabriel, can also be connected to a grand project of discovering and mapping a “Turkish” material culture. An architect and art historian by training, Gabriel was offered the chair of archaeology at Istanbul University in 1926. The authorities there asked him to include as part of his courses instruction pertinent to a national antiquities examination. He set out to write *Monuments turcs d’Anatolie*, published in 1931, because, as he notes in the preface, “there existed no publication permitting the soundly based study of the ensemble of the Islamic antiquities of Turkey.” The Turkish Ministry of Education/Culture paid for the research trips behind this book as well as Gabriel’s subsequent books on Turkish architecture. In the foreword to *Monuments turcs d’Anatolie*, he acknowledges the moral support of Prof. Köprülü. Strzygowski had proposed a museum of Turkish art and Glück a history thereof. Gabriel, along with the Turkish art historian Celâl Arseven, was the first to actually embark on the didactic project of transforming the material culture of Anatolia into a history of the Turks.¹³

Prof. Köprülü published the lead article in the first (1938) issue of another newly established journal, *Vakıflar Dergisi* (Journal of the Ministry of Pious Endowments), but he also gave prominence to his friend Gabriel, who for the same issue wrote "The Restoration of Turkish Historical Monuments," in which he acted as a scourge, as he had two years previously in "The Role of Archaeology," published in 1936 in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* (Journal of Turkish History, Archaeology, and Ethnography).¹⁴ The earlier article had argued for the importance of museums as well as works of art as sources of inspiration to a young nation, and not, as Gabriel put it, as hardware stores stacked with utilitarian implements; it also promoted archaeology as an autonomous science, not attendant on history. In his *Vakıflar Dergisi* article, Gabriel addressed the issue, not of archaeology or museums, but of architectural preservation in the face of the greed for development of a fast-growing nation and the new, easy technique of reinforced concrete. In order to preserve and restore historic Turkish buildings (by which he meant Seljuk and Ottoman monuments), he called for the establishment of a national restoration service. Together with Köprülü's exhortations on the value of endowment deeds, or *vakfiyes*, this article signaled problems with a trend that had already begun. Gabriel's most lasting contribution to architectural history—his beautifully rendered drawings of historic buildings—are themselves reconstructions, not only of buildings often half-ruined at the time, but of their urban and topographic setting. What he could not accomplish in fact he imagined on paper.

A list of activities of the Turkish Department of Antiquities for the year 1933 displays an active, if schizophrenic, approach to the past. On one hand, a regard for the newly unfolding pre- and early historical archaeology of Anatolia is evident: a record of the twenty-three different interventions undertaken to bring works of art, most of them large stone statues or reliefs, to museums shows all these works dating to the Bronze or Iron age, with most noted as being *Eti*, or Hittite. On the other hand, the same article notes the formation of a committee for the preservation of monuments. Of the thirty-two activities recorded for 1933 or planned for 1934, only five, two in Izmir and three in Ankara, did not involve the repair of Seljuk monuments. Ottoman monuments did not figure in this list at all.¹⁴

This can be contrasted with the activities of Osman

Hamdi Bey and other Ottoman archaeologists during the late years of the Ottoman Empire. At that time, the emphasis was placed on the excavation and collection of the past of an empire, not of a nation-state. Ottoman activities in these domains aimed to equal the great museums of European states, with their universalist and encyclopedic pretensions. These late Ottoman ventures led, for instance, to the great collections of classical sculpture and Mesopotamian artifacts at what would become the Istanbul Archaeology Museums.¹⁵

DISCIPLINARY FLUIDITY

To someone (cons)trained by the disciplinary and temporal divisions of the late twentieth century, this cast of characters appears both strange and alluring in terms of subject, discipline, and temporal or civilizational specialization. In this era of East-West, Muslim-Christian confrontation and disciplinary and topical separation, one is struck by the ease with which, for instance, an Austrian art historian of the early twentieth century, at a time rife with the rhetoric of colonialism, could move from early medieval hoards in the Balkans through the art of the Hellenistic, Byzantine, Islamic, Central Asian, and even Chinese worlds. Reading *The Decline of the West*, written by Strzygowski's contemporary Oswald Spengler, one is also struck by the centrality of material culture in the writing of history: in Spengler's opus, works of art are essential for defining the spirit and essence of civilizations. In parts of his opus, Spengler drew heavily on Strzygowski and his rival, Riegl.¹⁶

In Strzygowski's work, Islamic art and its study were entertained but lightly, treated as mere extensions of the study of Greek and Mediterranean art, the "southern" art disparaged due to its very hegemony in European universities and museums, where the Greco-Roman and Italian Renaissance periods were privileged. Gabriel, a French architect and architectural historian who knew little Turkish, was hired as a professor of archaeology at Istanbul University, where he taught, in French, not archaeology but a history of architecture that consisted primarily of the earliest Turkish architecture in Anatolia—that of the Seljuks—and, to a lesser extent, that of the Ottomans.

The disciplinary confusion was not limited to the examples given above. Ekrem Akurgal, sent by the Turkish government to study in Berlin from 1932 to 1941,

and the first professor of classical archaeology at the newly founded Ankara University, studied Islamic art with Ernst Diez, in addition to classical archaeology, art history, philology, and Hittite and Sumerian language. Although he undertook many archaeological excavations during his career, Akurgal's own scholarship was heavily art historical, relying on stylistic analysis for dating and context. During his years in Berlin, Akurgal studied all things that concerned the history of Turkey in any way, shape, or form.¹⁷

Similarly, in 1926, a promising young teacher, Remzi Oğuz Arık, had been sent by the Turkish state to Paris to study archaeology.¹⁹ There he received a diploma from the École du Louvre in archaeology and art history. In addition to studying classical and French art, he also studied Arabic at the École des langues orientales. While in Paris, he was known for asking his fellow Turkish students, "Bugün Anadolu için ne yaptın?" (What have you done for Anatolia today?), a calque on the still-current Turkish phrase, "Bugün Allah için ne yaptın?" (What have you done for God today?).

When he returned to Turkey in 1931, Arık was appointed to the Istanbul Archaeology Museum as a classical archaeologist. His stay at Istanbul was brief, however; he soon moved to Ankara and began working for the Turkish Historical Society, the organization set up by Atatürk in 1931 to research Turkish history. His initial job there was as codirector of the Turkish Historical Society's first excavations, at Alaca Höyük, an early Bronze Age site near the Hittite capital of Boğazköy, then as now dug by the German Archaeology Institute. Arık's book on Alaca Höyük, published by the Turkish Historical Society in 1937, begins with a photograph of a Turkish villager at the site, establishing an ethnographic link between the lives of villagers and those of the site in the Bronze Age.²⁰

The project of national history did not limit Arık to prehistoric or early historic sites; perhaps it was his position as a chief archaeologist of the Turkish Historical Society that prompted him to publish a series of yearly reports on archaeological activity in Turkey. In one of these, he records the visit of K. A. C. Creswell, the well-known English scholar of Islamic architecture and professor at the American University in Cairo, to southeastern Turkey in 1936. After mentioning Creswell's visit to Mardin and Diyarbakır and his ideas of the influence of Christian architecture on that of early Islam, Arık closes his report on this visit with the following parenthesis: "(We had expected that this valued scholar, because of his proximity in

Cairo, would correct the shallow and slightly *a priori* judgments on 'Islamic art' of art history professors in Europe and America. However, force of habit is more powerful than either science or method!)." The thrust of his comments is evident here: Creswell continued the Western European tradition of undervaluing Turkish art and emphasizing connections between the formative period of Islam and earlier civilizations, primarily Byzantine and Sasanian, instead of valuing their cultural autonomy.²¹

After a long career as archaeologist, director of the Museum in Ankara, and professor at Ankara and Gazi universities, Arık left the world of museums and universities and entered politics in 1950, winning a seat in parliament as a representative of the Demokrat party. In 1952 he founded the new "Peasant's Party," which stressed the values of the Anatolian villager.

Theodor Bossert, the German scholar asked to found Istanbul University's Turkish Institute of Archaeology (note the name) in 1934, was an expert on Bronze Age archaeology, specifically that of Crete and Hittite Anatolia. Bossert was made chair of the Sumerian-Hittite Philology Department. Bossert's title underlines the primacy given to philology at the time, and the role assigned to archaeology in helping establish historical fact through the recovery of texts; his scholarly reputation does indeed rest in the field of philology, for his work in deciphering Hittite hieroglyphics. Before he specialized, however, Bossert had worked in Germany on a multivolume history of the folk art of the world, publishing on such topics as Navajo blankets.²²

The examples given above show the ease with which scholars combined data and methodologies from what are today different disciplines: architectural history, art history, archaeology, museum studies, philology, history, ethnography, physical anthropology, and what American academia names "area studies." The origins of these trends can be attributed not only to Strzygowski, but also to his contemporary and rival Alois Riegl, whose liberation of form from context and whose devotion to the so-called decorative arts contributed to the formation of the study of national or folk traditions. Riegl was not an ethnic nationalist; in fact, as curator at the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna, as well as professor at the University of Vienna, he was a student and promoter of the multiplicity inherent in the many kinds of art of different peoples within an empire. Yet he also partook of the pessimism enveloping parts of Europe at the end of the nineteenth century and looked outside

Europe for answers. The burgeoning archaeological and ethnographic collections from around the world accumulating in museums in Vienna, Budapest, and Berlin contributed to that search. It was possible for scholars like Strzygowski, later beloved of the Nazis, to combine these elements and collapse their temporal and spatial boundaries into studies of folk culture that expressed features of a nation or race.²³

The pure forms of Armenian, Iranian, and Central Asian art posited by Strzygowski expressed an Aryan, Northern, Germanic culture untainted by religion and Hellenism. They provided a model by which émigré German, Austrian, and European-trained Turkish scholars could look for a pure Turkishness beneath what they saw as the accretions of Ottoman Islam. The philological counterpart to the Turkish Historical Society, of course, was the Turkish Language Society, established by Mustafa Kemal in 1932 in order to purify the Turkish language of Arabic and Persian "additions."

As stated above, Gabriel proclaimed archaeology, likely using its broader French definition as the study of the past rather than the science of digging historic sites, autonomous from history. Arik, too, believed in a larger definition of archaeology than that commonly accepted today: to him it included architecture, sculpture, painting, and design as well as sigillography, ceramology, and the study of figurines. As for Islamic archaeology, in a book published in 1947, he had the following to say: "Archaeology is a unified science, but there are many different kinds of archaeologist." He then proceeded to define what an Egyptologist and an Assyriologist were. And finally he stated, "Those who study the civilizations, history and archaeology, language and writing of the East are called Orientalists." (For Arik, then, the definition of an Orientalist was very similar to that of a classical archaeologist today.)²⁴

However, Islamic archaeology, in the strict definition of the excavation of a site with Islamic-period finds, was never undertaken by an Orientalist of Arik's definition. Along with Arik, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, a Muslim from the Ural Mountains with a doctorate in Turcology from Budapest, codirected the first excavations by the Turkish Historical Society; these excavations, however, were of the early Bronze Age site mentioned above. Koşay imported to Turkey another Turcologist, a Hungarian named Julius Meszaroş (Gyula Mészáros) from the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest, to help collect works for and organize the displays of the Eth-

nography Museum of Ankara, of which Koşay was named the director.

The visit of the King of Afghanistan to Ankara in 1929 occasioned an offer to exchange Buddhist for Hittite artifacts, an exchange seemingly never realized.²⁵ As far as I know, this was the only gesture made to broaden the collections of the museum from Anatolia to the greater Turkic world, as envisioned by Strzygowski in his article.

What we would call Islamic archaeology consisted of but one part of the Turkish national project, which focused on an area within the borders of the Republic of Turkey, emphasizing Turkish presence in Anatolia. For instance, in the 1939 issue of *Belleten*, the journal of the Turkish Historical Society, Şevket Aziz Kansu, later to be dean of Ankara University, wrote an article entitled "An Anthropological Investigation into the Racial History of Anatolia." In this article, he reported the results of the measurement of bones from various excavations and eras, including "the skeletons of Seljuk Turks uncovered in Ankara in 1935," calling to mind the destruction of Seljuk monuments occasioned by the construction of institutions of the new Turkish capital.²⁶

The real Islamic archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic was being undertaken as part of the same interest in collapsing time periods that characterized Viennese art history. The large German and Austrian research projects in Turkey—at Miletus, Pergamon, Ephesus, and Iznik—were multi-period, interdisciplinary affairs: one only has to think of the origins of the historian Paul Wittek's interest in the early Ottomans arising out of his work at Miletus on the coinage of the Menteşe dynasty (ca. 1290–1425), and of Friedrich Sarre's work on Ottoman pottery from Miletus.²⁷ In the mid-1930s there was also a large German project at Iznik—mainly classical, but also involving Katharina Otto-Dorn, a young student of Strzygowski who had written her dissertation on Sasanian silver in 1934.²⁸

Otto-Dorn had met Ekrem Akurgal while working as Ernst Kühnel's assistant in Berlin. When a chair of Islamic art and archaeology was finally established at Ankara University in 1954, Akurgal asked her to fill it.²⁹ It was Otto-Dorn herself, at Kubadabad, her students Oluş Arik, Rüçhan Arik, and Gönül Öney, and their students who are the mainstay of Islamic archaeology in Turkey today. In his *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, Oktay Aslanapa, who studied with Diez and succeeded him at Istanbul University, makes

explicit mention of this German/Austrian precedent; in describing his first excavations at Iznik in 1963–64, he refers to Sarre's publication of "Miletus ware" and Otto-Dorn's work on Iznik before claiming Iznik as the center of Ottoman tile production.³⁰

Despite the pan-Turkic approach of these Austrian or Austrian-trained scholars, however, other Turkish architectural historians such as Doğan Kuban and Aptullah Kuran have focused on Anatolian and Mediterranean traditions, effecting a dualism in the art-historical literature.³¹

The Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna was established in 1869 in response to the success of the South Kensington Museum in London, which had been founded with the remnants of the Crystal Palace exhibition. Both participated in the Arts and Crafts movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, as British and continental Europeans sought an alternative to the mass-produced, machine-made present. Except for Albert Gabriel's longing for sympathetic stonemasons to counter the spread of reinforced concrete, this kind of nostalgia for craft was not found in the early decades of the Turkish Republic. It did not arise until 1951, when Hamit Zübeyr Koşay finally published the ethnographic survey he had helped undertake at Alaca Höyük fifteen years earlier. In this publication, Koşay urgently calls for the establishment of a People's Museum in Ankara, where the traditions of the Anatolian Turks (that for him still stretched back to the Hittites) would be preserved, and decries the influx of modernism, the uniformity of life, and the introduction of machines—the "gramophone that silences the saz in the tent of the nomad." The "Kemalist state myth" had done its job of forming a modern Turkish state, a state whose very modernity was now being decried by one of its founders.³²

CONCLUSION

I conclude by raising a larger issue: the inability of the competing ideologies of race- and language-based nationalism of Turkishness, or of a more traditional "humanistic" approach that situated the material culture of Islamic Anatolia within the parameters of Islamdom, to use these competing ideologies to produce scholars, or challenging scholarship, of what is currently called in Turkey the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" (*Türk-İslam sentezi*).

The greatest scholars of early-twentieth-century Islamic archaeology were all Orientalists. In their works, they stressed the continuities of the early Islamic period with the late antique Mediterranean and ancient Near Eastern sedentary cultures. None worked on the national project examined here. Ernst Herzfeld was the sworn enemy of Strzygowski, who disliked his historicist approach. Jean Sauvaget accompanied Albert Gabriel on his later travels through Turkey, the ones that would result in Gabriel's *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, in the introduction to which Gabriel, probably tempered by long months of travel and discussion with his compatriot, or perhaps disillusioned by almost twenty years of teaching "Turkish archaeology," refers to the buildings he documents in the book not as monuments of Turkish art but as pertaining to medieval Islamic civilization.³³

The legacy of the practices of the early Republic lies in a continued emphasis by Turkish scholars on the excavation of Islamic sites of the medieval period. The Ottoman kiln excavations begun by Oktay Aslanapa at Iznik are a principal exception to this. In recent decades in Turkey, alongside continued excavation of medieval Islamic sites, interest in the Ottoman period has increased, as the Ottoman imperial past ceases to threaten and is turned into a source of national pride and touristic destination. The Museum of Turkish and Islamic art moved to a new location in 1983—a sixteenth-century Ottoman palace that frames a linear, chronological presentation of Islamic and Turkish art, some of it from the lost provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The Seljuks constitute but one of a series of dynasties whose presentation culminates in a large hall primarily devoted to works of Ottoman art. Downstairs from this main floor is a second and secondary space devoted to ethnography. This, too, presents a linear development from nomadic tent through village house, culminating in a Westernized, late-Ottoman house with Western-costumed mannequins seated at a table reading newspapers.

As mentioned above, the project of writing a history of Turkish art fell to Ernst Diez, who taught at Istanbul University before leaving Turkey in 1946. He and his student Aslanapa wrote the textbooks still used in Turkish universities. Aslanapa also continued the traditions of his Austrian teachers by writing on Turkish carpets and, beginning in 1964, by excavating the pottery kilns of Ottoman Iznik, again in direct reference to his Austrian and German predecessors. With Otto-Dorn in Ankara and Aslanapa in Istanbul, the dead-



Fig. 1. Ethnography Museum, Ankara, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, 1925–28. (Nezih Başgelen Collection, Istanbul)

weight of Turkish nationalism continued to burden the teaching of and research on Islamic material culture in Turkey. This nationalist approach emphasized Central Asian origins and abandoned the “Orientalist” training of the previous generation, thus separating works of material culture from the written word, whether in Persian, Arabic, or Ottoman Turkish, and therefore from history.

All states have founding myths, but that of Turkey is particularly paradoxical. Much of the ideology of modern Turkey was based on the ideas of European scholars profoundly discontented with European civilization in the early twentieth century. Atatürk’s project of Westernization did not engage this pessimistic view of European civilization; it only took advantage of the search, especially on the part of Austrian scholars, for answers outside of Europe—mainly, but not exclusively, in Central Asia. The episode quoted at the beginning of this paper suggests that Atatürk was more intellectually engaged with the Europe of the Enlightenment than with that of the new, inward-

and outward-looking Europe of early-twentieth-century Vienna and Berlin.

To my mind, the Ethnography Museum of Ankara constitutes a fitting image for the ideals, continuities, and discontinuities of this period (fig. 1). Designed and built between 1925 and 1928 in the national style by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, its neo-Ottoman architecture belied the fresh, modern ideology of the new Turkish Republic.³⁴ It was built on a hill outside Ankara, Namazgâh Tepesi, the former site of a Muslim cemetery and open-air prayer hall that had been the location of important national and religious ceremonies during the Turkish war of independence.³⁵

In order to fill this palace of culture, a commission of prominent citizens was established to help form its collection. But the holdings of the museum were also augmented by artifacts from mosques pulled down to build the new capital, and from other religious buildings closed down on the order of the new secular state.

The development of the museum was entrusted to

a Central Asian Turk schooled in Salonica and Budapest and to his Hungarian colleague. In addition to works of Turkish folk and Islamic art, the relics of the more distant "Hittite" past were also displayed. Here, surrounded by the traditional present and the historic past of Anatolia, Atatürk's corpse lay in state for fifteen years after his death.³⁶

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NOTES

- Author's note:* I would like to thank Chris Murphy and Oya Pancaroğlu for their bibliographic assistance and Gülrü Necipoğlu for her comments and criticisms. Nezi̇h Başgelen kindly gave me permission to use a photograph of the Ethnography Museum from his collection.
- General articles on the genesis of Turkish art history and archaeology include Oktay Aslanapa, "Les études sur l'art turc à l'époque de la naissance d'Atatürk et leurs développements ultérieurs," and Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, "La part des chercheurs turcs dans l'étude de l'art turc," in *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1983) and M. Oluş Arık, "Heutiger Zustand der Forschungen und Studien zur türkischen Kunst in der Türkei," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu: Undena, 1981).
1. Karl Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 9–10.
 2. Andrew Mango, *Atatürk* (Woodstock and New York: Overlook Press, 2000), 468–69 reports the incident differently, with Afet complaining to Mustafa Kemal about the "yellow race" classification she had read in a textbook given her at the French convent school, Notre Dame de Sion, in Istanbul.
 3. In the first volume of the journal of the Turkish Historical Society, *Belleten*, published in 1937, Remzi Oğuz Arık (about whom more below) is called "Kültür Bakanlığı Arkeolog'u" in Turkish (210) but "Archéologue du Ministère de l'instruction publique" in the French translation (222). The ministry's name was changed back to the Ministry of Education in 1941.
 4. Şemseddin Günaltay, "Türklerin Ana Yurdu ve Irkı Mes'elesi," *Tarih Semineri Dergisi* 1 (1937): 12–13. For Köprülü see Ömer Faruk Akın, "Mehmed Fuad Köprülü," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), vol. 28, 471–86, and the short translators' introduction in Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, ed. and trans. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Routledge, 2006), xxviii–xxxi.
 5. Josef Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33): 1–80. In 1935, the Turkish Historical Society put Prof. Köprülü (and a colleague, Prof. Muzaffer Göker) in charge of making contact with foreign establishments and authorities, "especially those foreign scholars close to our national thesis" (*Ecnebi müesseseler ve otoriteler ve bilhassa milliğ tezimize yaklaşan ecnebi alimlerle münasebet tesisini bir usule bağlamak*): Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973), 32.
 6. Cemal Köprülü collected these and other translations in a book: J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, and F. Köprülü, *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi* (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973). The essay by F. Köprülü suggests that students be sent abroad to study with Strzygowski and that Glück perhaps be invited to teach in Istanbul. I owe this reference to G. Necipoğlu.
 7. Heinrich Glück, "Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33): 119–28.
 8. Christine Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Peeters: Leuven, 2001), 116–17 cites a linguistic origin for Strzygowski's search for a "root" form of an original language, an *Ursprache*. For the development of Nazi theories of Aryanism and their intersection of philology, archaeology, and anthropology see Heather Pringle, *The Master Plan: Himmler's Scholars and the Holocaust* (London: Fourth Estate, 2006). In the Soviet Union, Nikolay Marr, excavator of Ani, developed a parallel theory of the original "Japhetic" languages of the Caucasus.
 9. Strzygowski, "Türkler," 53 (for tents, metalwork, and geometric spirals as characteristics of Turkish art), 54 (for carpets), 77 (for an attack on representational art). See 78 for proposed museums.
 10. Heinrich Glück and Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1925). This book, like Glück's brief *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1923), fronts the contribution of Armenian art to that of the Seljuks: it starts its discussion of Seljuk architecture with the mosque at Ani.
 11. In 1918, Glück published *Die Bäder Konstantinopels*, on the baths of Istanbul; two years later, Ernst Diez and he published *Alt-Konstantinopel: Hundertzehn photographische Aufnahmen der Stadt und ihrer Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler* (Munich: Roland-Verlag, 1920). While the latter is essentially a picture book, its introduction provides a fascinating view of the way Istanbul was viewed by Strzygowski and his students. For them, Byzantine art is essentially Hellenistic (5). From its Phoenician (!) origins (3) on, the city exemplifies a mixture of national and Oriental styles, making Ottoman art just the last of these manifestations (6).
 12. Glück, "Mevki," 127 (for eclecticism and its role in the "national art" of the Turks), 128 (for his projected work with Mehmet Aga-Oğlu). For a review by Turgut Cansever of Diez's book *Türk Sanatı*, trans. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 1946), see *Felsefe Arkivi* 2 (1947): 251–59. For the then-current "proof" of Sinan's Turkishness, see Gülrü Necipoğlu's article in this volume.
 13. For a short biography of Gabriel see Fehmi Karatay, Nihad Belger, and Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Gabriel, Albert Louis," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 5874–78: "In the years 1926–30 he was entrusted by the Turkish government with many archaeological duties in Anatolia" (5875). From 1930 to 1941, and again from 1945 to 1956, Gabriel served as founding director of the Institut français d'études anatoliennes (note the name): see Semavi Eyice, "Albert-Louis Gabriel," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam*

- Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996), vol. 13, 275–78, and the essays in Pierre Pinon, ed., *Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2006). The quote in the body of the article comes from Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1931), i.
14. Albert Gabriel, “Arkeolojinin Rolü,” *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 3 (1936): 159–161; idem, “La Restauration des Monuments Historiques Turcs,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 1 (1938): 11–19.
 15. “Müzecilik Haberleri,” *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 2 (1934): 286–91.
 16. See Zeynep Rona, ed., *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993); Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
 17. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, 2 vols., trans. Charles Francis Atkinson, (New York: Knopf, 1928), 1:208–9: “In reality, in matters of style as in those of religion, science and social-political life, what we find there is only an irradiation from outside the Eastern border of the Empire. Riegl and Strzygowski have discovered this, but if we are to go further and arrive at a conspectus of the development of Arabian art we have to shed many philological and religious prepossessions. The misfortune is that our art-research, although it no longer recognizes the religious frontiers, nevertheless unconsciously assumes them. For there is in reality no such thing as a Late-Classical nor an Early-Christian nor yet an Islamic art in the sense of an art proper to each of those faiths and evolved by the community of believers as such.” Spengler then proceeds to find a like spirituality expressed in the religious buildings of Christianity, in “Hellenistic, Hebrew and Baal-cults, and in the Mithraeum, the Mazdaist fire-temple and the Mosque...it is the Cavern-feeling.”
 18. Ekrem Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Tarihinden Birkaç Yaprak* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 1999), 17 (for the beginning of his time in Germany), 28 (for the mention of classes with Kühnel).
 19. The text of a talk given by Arık at the Sorbonne in 1937 links his departure for Paris with the arrival of Gabriel in Istanbul. After noting that thirty-nine Turks were chosen by the state to get European educations (“avec l’objectif de former le personnel scientifique des musées”), Arık states that a shortage of funds forced the number of students sent abroad to be limited to one (himself), with another student sent to study in Berlin at the expense of the German government. He then adds: “Ce principe fut aussi appliqué d’une manière inverse et qui consista d’assurer la collaboration des maitres étrangers. Qu’il me soit permis de rappeler que ce premier secous de cette nouvelle catégories [sic] des collaborateurs vint encores [sic] d’un français”: Remzi Oğuz Arık, *L’histoire et l’organisation des musées turcs* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1953), 11–12. Although Gabriel is not named, it must be he who is referred to by this comment: 1926 was indeed the year Gabriel took up his position at Istanbul University. For “What have you done for Anatolia today?” see Haluk Karamağaralı, “Çalışma ve Mücadele ile Dolu Bir Ömür,” *İstanbul* 7 (May 1954), reprinted in Ziya Bakırcıoğlu, ed. *Remzi Oğuz Arık’ın Fikir Dünyası* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2000), 214. For a short account of Arık’s life see H. Emin Sezer, “Remzi Oğuz Arık,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), vol. 3, 357–58. For the general phenomenon of Turkish students studying in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s see Kansu Şarman, *Türk Promethe’ler: Cumhuriyet’in Öğrencileri Avrupa’da* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, n.d.).
 20. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Les fouilles d’Alaca Höyük entreprises par la Société d’histoire turque*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1937); Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Les fouilles d’Alaca Höyük entreprises par la Société d’histoire turque*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1938).
 21. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türkiye’de 1936 Yılındaki Arkeoloji İşleri* (Istanbul: Kenan Basımevi ve Kiliş Fabrikası, 1938), 24: “(Bütün bu bedii ve mukaddes heyecanlarına iştirak etmekle beraber, Sir Creswell’in bütün hükümlerini hakikatin ta kendisi olarak almaktan uzağız. Avrupa ve Amerika san’at tarihi Profesörlerinin derinleşmiyen ve biraz da ‘a priori’ olan ‘İslam san’at’ hükümlerini; Kahiredeki mesaisini yakından gördüğümüz bu değerli âlimin tadil etmesini beklerdik. Fakat alışkanlık ilimden de metottan da baskın geliyor!).”
 22. See the biography of Bossert on the website of www.hethitologie.de; see also Oktay Belli, ed., *Istanbul University’s Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey (1932–2000)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2001), ix.
 23. Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. Evelyn Kain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Margaret Olin, “Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski,” in *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, ed. Penny Schine Gold and Benjamin Sax (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), 151–70; Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture*, 163–65 (for Strzygowski’s interest in the formation of national schools of architecture).
 24. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu* (Ankara: [Ulus Basımevi], 1947), 27 (for the different branches [kollar] of archaeology), 34 (for definitions of different kinds of archaeologists).
 25. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 4 (for the visit and offer). I am grateful to Andras Riedlmayer for providing me with information about Mészáros from his own investigation of the website of the Hungarian National Library, the online version of *Magyar életrajzi lexikon*, the encyclopedia of Hungarian biography, and other Hungarian-language sources. A fruitful avenue for future research is the relationship between the Ethnography Museums in Ankara and Budapest in the collection of artifacts, design, and installation.
 26. Şevket Aziz Kansu, “Anadolunun İrk Tarihi Üzerine Antropolojik Bir Tetkik,” *Belleten* 3 (1939): 128. Other skeletons analyzed were from earlier, pre-Islamic, periods. See Gönül Öney, *Ankara’da Türk Devri Dini ve Sosyal Yapıları* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1971) for mention of Seljuk buildings destroyed during the Republican period.
 27. Karl Wulzinger, Paul Wittek, and Friedrich Sarre, *Das islamische Milet* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1935); Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleasiens in 13.–15. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1934). In 1916, Wulzinger had been one of the founding members of the extraordinarily named Deutsch-Türkisches Denkmalschutz-Kommando, which worked in Syria and Jordan on Islamic and pre-Islamic sites (Damascus and Petra).

28. Dorothea Duda, in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu: Undena, 1981), viii. In the introduction to her *Türkische Keramik* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), Otto-Dorn states that the book was an outgrowth of her earlier work in Iznik.
29. Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 28.
30. Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1965), 29ff. Later in his career, Aslanapa catalogued the numbers of scholars, either Austrian or trained in Austria, who had worked in Turkey: see his *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkârlar* (Istanbul: Eren, 1993).
31. For a discussion of pan-Turkic vs. Anatolian synthetic perspectives, see the papers of Gülrü Necipoğlu and Can Bilisel in this volume.
32. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Alaca Höyük: Anadolu'nun Etnografya ve Folklorına Dair Malzeme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1951), 4.
33. Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1940), 1:vii, writes of "...les monuments du moyen âge musulman..." and not, as he had earlier, of Turkish culture.
34. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 25, 39, 40; Yıldırım Yavuz and Suha Özkan, "Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 63: "The Museum of Ethnography was organized and commissioned by Atatürk himself who saw it as the repository of folk art and culture, the base for his new cultural policy. The site for the museum was carefully chosen as well: a prominent hill half way between old and new Ankara, as if this repository were meant to be the mediator between tradition and revolution."
35. Koşay, *Etnografya*, 1.
36. The ancient art was housed in the Ethnography Museum until it was moved to the partially opened Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara in 1943. Atatürk's corpse remained until 1955, when his mausoleum elsewhere in Ankara was completed.

WENDY SHAW

MUSEUMS AND NARRATIVES OF DISPLAY FROM THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

The newly introduced art of painting, which carries great importance among civilized nations in terms of its procurement of many public funds, is an open and clear public/universal (*umumi*) language that brings forth the strength of imagination that allows all peoples to understand it. It is a type of writing.¹

In 1913, in the first book about Ottoman art published in Turkish, the Ottoman painter Hüseyin Zekai Pasha used this sentence to present painting as part of a universal discourse of representation bridging the past and the future. Even though art in the Western modality had begun to enter the empire in the late eighteenth century, it remained, over a century later, very new, unavailable, and controversial for much of the public. Now much has changed—but how much? While there is a lot of art in Turkey—including ancient, traditional, folk, modern, and contemporary—the institutionalization of it has developed in such a way as to continue the foreignness of art as a concept. While many aspects of the visual and built worlds have been incorporated into national identity through tropes of heritage, use of the meta-narratives of art as a mechanism to bring cohesion to the visual world and a means through which to interpret aesthetic experience has been largely restricted to arts associated with the West. While the foreignness of this language is most apparent in relation to arts in the Western modality and their inscription through public institutions, the taxonomy both within and among museums of Turkey has to a large extent foreclosed the domain that art has carved out for itself in the Western frame of reference.

This is not an issue of what art is, but of what art does. Situated in the perspectival tradition of viewing, art in the Western tradition positions the subject as if looking through the object towards something beyond. In the modern era, this became not simply a practice of representation, a window onto the world in the Albertian sense, but a window onto thought as well.² Developing within this tradition, the Euro-

pean discourse of art (including art history) depends on this mode of looking, in which art is a vehicle for thought and is dependent on a subject for the proliferation of its meanings. In addition, Western art history developed in concert with nationalism and, along with it, a mapping of the relationships between nations and cultures on the world stage. Certainly not all art-historical practices took on a Hegelian structure, but the dominance of the German tradition made a Hegelian historiographic scheme—in which the spirit of civilization, moving forward in time from East to West, contributes to the development of history, a process that ends with the capacity for self-reflexivity—a common feature of the art-historical narrative, visible in universal survey museums in both Europe and the United States, as well as in survey textbooks.³ The modern understanding of art has developed between these two structures—the one a mode of communication and the other an indication of a broad national spirit brought to view through the vehicle of art. Seen in this light, art in each national narrative is not simply a means of viewing the present but also of understanding that present in an ongoing relationship with a past, to which it is linked through an unbroken sequence or grand narrative of artistic progress. This has had profound implications for the organization of museums, since the European model of the museum developed concurrently with the discipline of art history. In contrast, in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, museums developed not in alignment with a discipline focusing on the visual but rather in direct association with narratives of territoriality, ethnicity, and nationhood. Like the painting that Hüseyin Zekai Pasha describes, it could be said that such museums, and the art within them, present less an experience of the perceptual through which ideology can be accessed—less a form of art—than a form of writing. If myth, as discussed by Roland Barthes, is a means of transforming culture into nature, then the museums of the Ottoman Empire and many of

their counterparts in modern states of the Middle East reflect a transcription of culture based on a very different understanding of the supposedly natural relationship between objects and identity.

MUSEUMS IN THE WESTERN TRADITION

In contrast to the overarching perspective on civilization presented by many European and American museums, the institution of the museum as it has developed in the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, and elsewhere in the Middle East often has segregated collections, each determined by period and or content, in entirely separate institutions. In doing so, these institutions have often displayed objects as collective icons of highly circumscribed readings of history and identity, readings that provide little opportunity to construct new means of engaging various eras and cultural practices. Where narrative structures within museum-display strategies are weak, the only meaning assigned to objects becomes their categorization, reducing the possibility of multiple readings. As suggested by Hüseyin Zekai Pasha, even painting has often been understood less as a visual language than as a means of writing history, both as a record of the past and as a mode of identification with the West. Rather than being subsumed within an overarching discourse of art, various types of objects—archaeological, religious, ethnographic, etc.—retain quite disparate realms of association. Art is not simply foreign in itself; it is made foreign by the very taxonomy of and within museums of the region. This taxonomy removes a vast array of objects from consideration as works of art. Instead, museums and the objects within them become icons of reified understandings of meaning that preclude their inclusion within a more comprehensive art-historical discourse, in which eras such as the archaic, pre-classical, classical, late classical, and modern can be considered mutually related and reflexive parts of a contemporary set of identities. These identities, while not necessarily based in a single grand narrative or holistic chronological frame, nonetheless need to be understood in their complex interrelations, which can even include their mutual dissociation and lack of mutual recognition.

The nineteenth century was an era of change, not only for Ottoman museums but also for their models and counterparts in the West, where the French and American revolutions as well as the post-Napole-

onic regrouping of Europe had led to broader programs of collection, exhibition, and public access. The organization of European collections had originally been relatively esoteric, subject to the independent worldview of each collector. By the eighteenth century, however, there had emerged a competing philosophical aesthetic that provided generally accepted taxonomies of objects, their organization informed by connoisseurship, in which like objects could be compared through proximity. In the nineteenth century, through the vehicle of history, a modernized perception of aesthetics developed a scheme of the place of each nation, as represented through its objects, within an overarching framework of civilization. These two schemata—the first of aesthetic quality and uniqueness, the second of culture—helped set in place the model of art history still familiar today. The acquisitions of the new and refurbished museums of the nineteenth century were also deeply changed by growing access to the territories of the Ottoman Empire, which allowed them to develop collections of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hellenic, and Roman antiquities; these, as much as the arts of Europe, came to be perceived as part and parcel of a shared European heritage. The discourse of art history allowed for works excavated and imported from the East to be divested of their territorial identities and reinscribed with Western cultural associations, while works from more modern eras could be marked as foreign.

Each major European metropolis underwent profound changes over the course of the nineteenth century. The Grande Galerie of the Louvre Palace had been transformed into a museum for the display of paintings during the eighteenth century and first opened to the public in 1793, after the French Revolution, but it was not until the plunder of Italy under Napoleon, which allowed France to obtain classical antiquities, that Dominique Vivant Denon instituted a more chronological exhibition scheme at the Musée Napoléon at the Louvre. With the opening in 1826 of a department of Egyptian antiquities under the directorship of Jean-François Champollion and the creation of a department of Assyrian antiquities, made possible by a shipment of works by the French consul to Mosul Paul-Emile Botta in 1847, a wider chronological and geographical profile became part of the French national art museum.⁴ For the first time, a single institution could display a wide variety of objects brought together through a meta-narrative of art rooted in cultural connections and aesthetic properties.

The Napoleonic plunder of artworks and their collection throughout Europe during the early nineteenth century brought about similar developments in Germany, where the Neues Museum (today the Altes Museum) opened in Berlin in 1830. Under the guidance of its architect, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, whose design was interpreted as a bold attempt “to grasp Antiquity in its intellectual principles and at the same time to expand them in keeping with the terms of a new epoch of world history,”⁵ the Berlin museum adopted a chronological approach similar to that at the Louvre. While, like the Louvre, the Neues Museum was originally designed to house both antiquities and the paintings of the grand masters in an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of world art history, it soon became clear that its space would not be sufficient for such a task. Plans for an additional museum, to house paintings, were underway as early as 1834, although this second Neues Museum opened only in 1859 and was supplemented by the National Gallery in 1876. By 1904, Schinkel’s building had been transformed into a repository entirely of antiquities.

With the rapid acquisition of artifacts and monumental architecture from the territories of the Ottoman Empire, the Bode Museum, built in 1904, and the Pergamon Museum, built between 1910 and 1930, completed the consortium of museums that make up the Museum Island of Berlin and continue to work in concert to present a vision of world civilization not too distant from Schinkel’s Hegelian interpretation of the museum, although not under a single roof as at the Louvre.

Developing later than their European counterparts, museums in the United States, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, founded in New York in 1872, closely followed the continental European art-historical model, reifying the tendency to present within a single institution a comprehensive, chronological, art-historically informed display ranging from antiquities to the arts of various civilizations and of the Western world. As in many museums of Europe, most notably the Altes Museum, when original artifacts could not be found to illustrate particular moments in the narrative of art history, plaster casts of originals served as convenient and important additions to the collection, underscoring the emphasis then given to comprehensiveness. Similar patterns of collecting and display were used at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago, both of which were

founded in the 1870s, and continue to inform more recent museum collections.⁶

While the primary focus of these museums was on presenting a trajectory of Western civilization based on the Hegelian model of history, by the end of the nineteenth century many were beginning to include collections, often culled from colonial possessions and including works from China, India, Africa, and the Islamic world, that did not fit this model. For all these collections, problems arose even in the process of categorizing the objects in them as works of art, since they did not fit the aesthetic categories of art in the West. Expositions of “Muhammedan” art took place in France, Sweden, and Germany beginning in the 1890s.⁷ During the same era, in response to industrialization, writers seeking forms of design and pattern appropriate for modern industrial production began to collect examples of Islamic “design” decontextualized from their geographic, temporal, and material contexts, and Islamic art provided an important inspiration for Art Nouveau motifs.⁸ Thus Islamic art became doubly coded: on the one hand as a form of cultural production always invested with religious significance, and on the other as a primarily decorative form divested of intrinsic meaning. Islamic collections found a home in Berlin with the opening of the Bode Museum in 1904. The first Islamic gallery opened at the Louvre in 1922. While the Metropolitan Museum of Art had begun to develop a collection of Islamic works as early as 1874, it was under the curatorship of the department of decorative arts until the institution of a separate department of Near Eastern art in 1932.⁹ As an important inspiration for the Arts and Crafts movement in England and Art Nouveau in Europe, Islamic art also found a home during the late nineteenth century in museums devoted to decorative arts, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna.

EARLY MUSEUMS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

While the institutions of Ottoman modernization are often discussed within a discourse of belatedness, the above survey shows that the establishment of museums in the mid-nineteenth century was both timely and comparable to museum development elsewhere. As in Britain, where the royal collections generally

remained dispersed in various castles rather than being united in museums, the collections of Ottoman museums emerged separately from the treasury collections of the imperial palace. As in Berlin, the early museums of the empire developed in immediate proximity to one another. Like the United States, the Ottoman Empire was deeply invested in proving its participation in Western civilization through the museum institution. Like all three Western nations, it devoted enormous resources to developing museums during the nineteenth century and used them as a competitive signal of its national strength and ownership of the legacy of civilization.

However, the new museums of the empire were also radically different from their Western counterparts, and this difference has continued well into the modern period. It can be outlined through several trends manifested before the dissolution of the empire and repeated in institutional patterns of twentieth-century museums throughout the Middle East. First, Ottoman museums emerged at the same time that the empire was adopting Western practices in art and thus did not draw on a long tradition of regarding art as a central element in the discourse of culture. Second, the types of collections and the classification of objects in both Ottoman and republican museums were considerably different from those in the West. Third, the spatial arrangement of displays and the relationships set up between museums, whether neighboring or distant, held far fewer conceptual links. Ultimately, the lack of an overarching narrative in Ottoman, Turkish, and other Middle Eastern museums was no less ideological than were the grand narratives espoused in the universal survey museums of Western nations, but fragmentation has made its ideology more difficult to discuss or contest.

Museums in the Ottoman Empire developed during the same era as their Western counterparts but responded to a very different set of precedents and needs. While the Imperial Palace (built ca. 1459–78 and known today as the Topkapı Palace) included several treasury collections—of manuscripts, porcelains, saddles, jewels, costumes, weapons, and other valuables—these were more in keeping with the princely collections of Europe, intended for the gaze of the sultan and his guests rather than for public shows of power, edification, or the taxonomic presentation of a worldview.¹⁰ The Ottoman Imperial Museum was rooted in collections housed at the Church of Hagia

Irene. Located in the outer courtyard of the palace, the church had been used as an armory since soon after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, presumably in concert with the palace institution. In 1730, the armory was converted into a space of display not only for antiquated weapons but also for many of the relics that the Ottomans had inherited from the Byzantine state. In 1846, the Marshal of the Imperial Arsenal (Tophane-i Amire Mûşiri) Ahmet Fethi Pasha established the Magazine of Antiquities (Mecmua-i Asar-i Atika) and the Magazine of Antique Weapons (Mecmua-i Ešliha-i Atika) in the former church. The displays, heavily biased towards a comparison between historical military spolia and new weaponry signaling the recent Ottoman reforms of the Tanzimat, were illustrated with mannequins of the defunct Janissary order and culminated in a display of the sword of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) flanked by important artifacts of conquest. By 1852, the display of the mannequins had moved to a separate location, called the Ancient Costumery (Elbise-i Atika), located on the Hippodrome, a site of public exhibition that memorialized the dress reform of 1826. Around the same time, antiquities were relatively haphazardly assembled in the Magazine of Antiquities and were first catalogued in 1868 by the traveling French archaeologist Albert Dumont. The space was less for display than for the storage of works sent by forward-thinking administrators from various provinces where archaeologists had been amassing the vast collections of antiquities quickly filling Western collections. Scattered among the military spolia, marked with temporary labels indicating only provenance, and making no organizational reference to aesthetic value or cultural development, the antiquities housed within the dual collections were conceived not as art but as markers of territorial possession.

These established spaces of display were nevertheless not technically museums. This changed in 1869, when the grand vizier Ali Pasha changed the name of the Magazine of Antiquities to the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) and appointed as its first director E. Goold, a teacher at the modern French-language Galatasary Lycée. The same year, the minister of public education Safvet Pasha officially ordered local governors to send artifacts to the capital. After Goold lost his position in 1871 following the fall of his patron, Ali Pasha, and an artist named Teranzio briefly and ineffectually succeeded him, Anton Philip



Fig. 1. The Imperial Museum at the Tiled Pavilion. (After Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003], 155)

Dethier was appointed director. Under him, the acquisition of antiquities was partially secured through the first imperial antiquities legislation of 1874, and the museum itself moved. In 1877, following the deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1830–76) and the subsequent closing of the Magazine of Weapons soon after the ascension of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), the growing antiquities collection moved to the Tiled Pavilion (Çinili Köşk, completed in 1472), the first building of the palace, which was remodeled to hide its Timurid influence and look more reminiscent of the neoclassical temple form commonly used in the facades of Western museums (fig. 1). The move rendered the archaeological collections fully independent from the military collections, which would continue to play an important role in Ottoman and Turkish museums, but as part of separate institutions.

With the appointment in 1880 of the first Ottoman director of the museum, Osman Hamdi (1842–1910), the museum gained an ideological vision that would inform its growth. The son of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, a high-ranking Ottoman administrator, Osman Hamdi had returned a decade earlier from Paris, where he had begun his education in law but completed it as an artist trained in the studios of Jean Léon Gérôme and Gustave Boulanger. Both as the director of the Academy of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi), opened in 1883, and through his painting practice, Osman Hamdi was a seminal figure in the development of Western-style painting in the empire.¹¹ Through his repeated revision of the antiquities law in 1884 and 1906, his leadership of the first Ottoman archaeological excavations at Nemrut and Sidon in 1883 and 1887, and his curatorship of the Imperial Museum—



Fig. 2. The Imperial Museum at the Sarcophagus Museum. (After *Servet-i Fünun* 57 [2 Nisan 1308/Apr. 4, 1892]: 69)

which continued until his death in 1910—Osman Hamdi used the museum as a means of expressing a collective Ottoman identity that would include classical civilization as part of its territorial heritage, thereby constructing a meta-narrative of identity rooted in intrinsic links between the empire and Western civilization. Thus the Ottoman museum narrative was rooted in a discourse of territory, not of art, as a metonym for culture.

In 1891 the Imperial Museum collection moved to a neighboring, purpose-built neoclassical building, initially called the “Sarcophagus Museum” after the sarcophagi discovered in the first Ottoman archaeological expedition in Sidon (fig. 2). Although in the

monograph on the excavation Osman Hamdi suggested the sarcophagi as the core of exhibition planning in the new museum, the Imperial Museum (today the Istanbul Archaeology Museum) instead developed a geographically based display strategy, rooted largely in the excavation location. The museum’s uncharacteristic aversion to the acquisition of copies precluded its display of a fully art-historical, developmental progression of objects displayed. The resulting meta-narrative based on territorial identity was strengthened by extensive information on provenance in the catalogue. While universal survey museums used the story of art history, strengthened by education in the literature of classical antiquity, to abstract works from their

geography and thereby render them part of Western heritage, the Imperial Museum, by displaying classical works that the West perceived as containing its own heritage emergent from Ottoman soil, suggested that Western identity was not imported but autochthonous—indeed, even more native to the empire than to the West.

Istanbul was not alone in its development of the museum as part of the construction of a collective national identity. Cairo, which had experienced an even more rapid pace of Westernization under Muhammad Ali Pasha (r. 1805–49), used the restitution of the Pharaonic past—based on schemes developed by French Orientalist discourse since the 1798 expedition of Napoleon and the subsequent multivolume *Description de l’Égypte* (published between 1809 and 1822)—as the key to a national heritage that could both link it with the West and provide a national regional identity distinct from those of the Ottoman Empire and Islam.¹² With the aid of the Frenchman Auguste Mariette, Khedive Ismail (r. 1863–79) opened the Bulaq Museum in 1863. Like the Magazine of Antiquities, the Bulaq Museum initially utilized what Mariette referred to as an “unscientific,” aesthetic organizational system, eschewing the developmental, art-historical schematization typical of Western museums of arts and antiquities.¹³

In both Istanbul and Cairo, the primary impetus driving archaeological collecting was preservation—particularly preservation from the European archaeological predations that were quickly depleting what were newly perceived as treasures lying underneath Ottoman soil. This emphasis is underscored by the fact that, despite a growing interest in making art—particularly painting—in the Western modality, no plans were made for the formation of a museum of European art. It is important to remember that while some national collections, particularly those of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, relied on preexisting holdings, both England and the United States developed their collections during this very era. That a similar undertaking was within the capability of Istanbul or of Cairo is illustrated by the fact that during a brief stay in Paris in the late 1860s Halil Şerif Pasha, a relative of the khedive who was active in Ottoman politics, assembled a notable collection of classical French painting and radical works by Courbet and the Barbizon school. Neither administration, in Cairo or in Istanbul, as yet saw the investment in Western-style

art as a worthwhile contribution to the development of a modern identity, however, and upon his return to the empire, Halil Şerif Pasha almost immediately sold his collection.¹⁴ While the new palaces of Istanbul were in the process of commissioning and collecting both wall paintings and works by European artists, these were conceived as modern palatial furnishings, not as museum displays that would have a public audience.

Indeed, when the Council of State (Şura-yi Devlet) issued a directive indicating the structure of the Imperial Museum in 1889, departments devoted to Western or modern art were not included. Rather, the museum was divided into six parts: one for Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities; a second for Assyrian, Caledonian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Hittite, and Himariote antiquities as well as works by Asian and African tribes; a third for Islamic fine arts; a fourth for ancient coins; and a fifth for natural history. The sixth department was the museum library.¹⁵ The natural history museum, although important in the West for providing a “biological” model of growth and development that was adapted to survey art museums, never materialized as part of the Imperial Museum.¹⁶ Without a structural spine, little sense of cohesion was created between adjacent collections, and what might have become a “museum peninsula” akin to the Museum Island of Berlin ultimately dispersed, leaving the collections of classical and ancient antiquities dissociated from the narratives of Islamic and Western art.

In contrast, the Imperial Museum in Istanbul and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo instituted collections in Islamic art almost as soon as the category emerged in the West. A department of Islamic art opened at the Imperial Museum in 1891 on an upper floor of the new building (fig. 3). Collecting did not gain full momentum, however, until the antiquities law of 1906 began to prohibit the export of Islamic antiquities from the empire. When a third wing of the museum opened in 1904, providing enough room for all the antiquities still housed in the Tiled Pavilion to move to the main building, the Islamic collections moved into the Tiled Pavilion, where they remained until 1914. In contrast to exhibits of archaeological works, which created meanings for a new set of artifacts, displays of Islamic art transformed the meaning of objects that already had use value, sometimes as part of worship. Presenting them for their aesthetic rather than their utilitarian qualities, these museums recon-

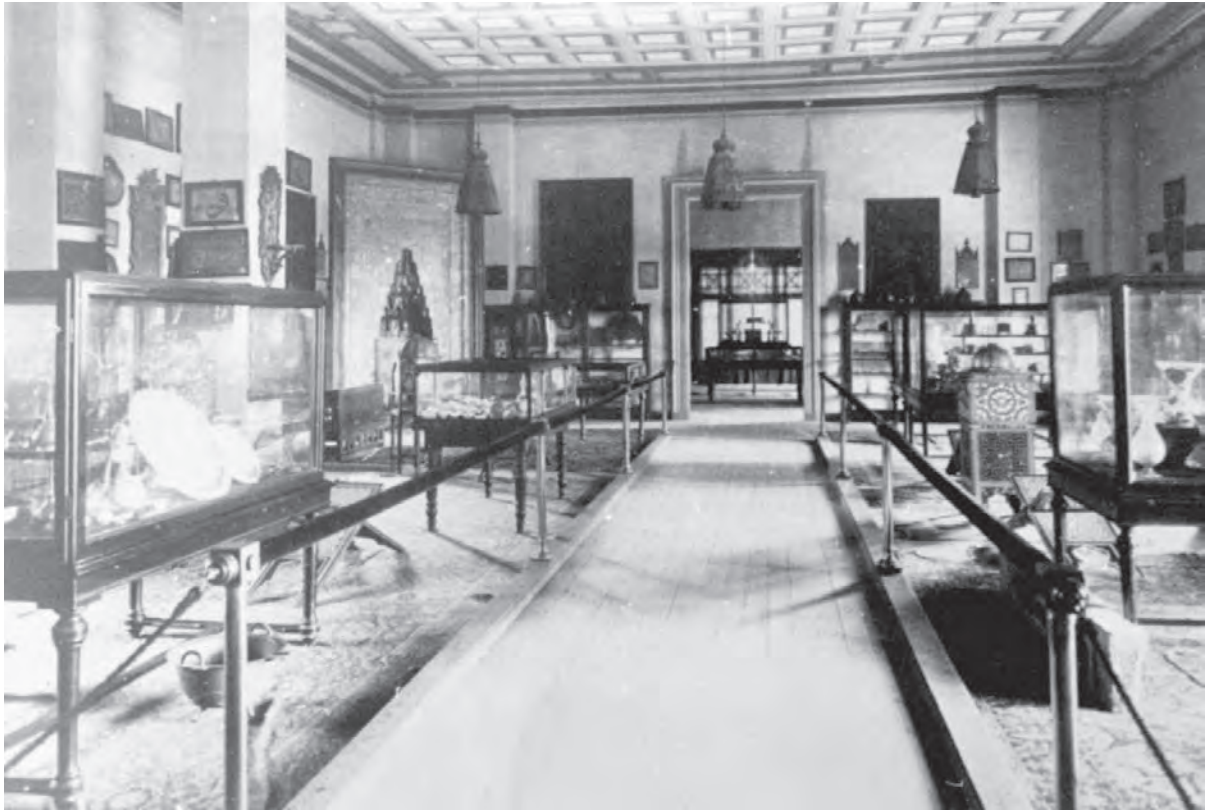


Fig. 3. Collections of Islamic art in the upstairs gallery of the Imperial Museum. (After Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 177)

textualized devotional objects through the secular category of art.

Osman Hamdi died in 1910, ceding his place as administrator of both the Imperial Museum and the academy to his younger brother, Halil Edhem (1861–1938). While he soon relinquished administration of the school, Halil Edhem remained as the head of the Imperial Museum until after it had become the Istanbul Archaeology Museum and had been joined by the Topkapı Palace, established as a museum in 1924. He retired from this position only in 1931, when he became a member of parliament. While overshadowed in memory by his brother, Halil Edhem played an important role in maintaining the collections of the Imperial Museum, operating the Fine Arts Academy during the difficult war years, and developing an antiquities and restoration policy during the early republican period.

LATE MUSEUMS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The years after the Second Constitutional Revolution of 1909–10 were characterized by a relaxation of restrictions concerning public expression, resulting in numerous publications and new institutions as the empire fought to build a modern state structure. Even during the troubled years between the beginning of the Balkan Wars in 1912 and the fall of the empire in 1923, new museums and collections emerged. As the growth of the collections of the Imperial Museum slowed and they lost their predominance, there were new ventures towards using the administrative areas of the palace as display spaces, plans were formulated for a painting collection, and the military museum reemerged as the dominant museum of the empire.

In 1910, the Ministry of Public Education established a commission to investigate the best methods for the preservation of “Islamic and Ottoman arts,” for the first time differentiating religious from dynas-

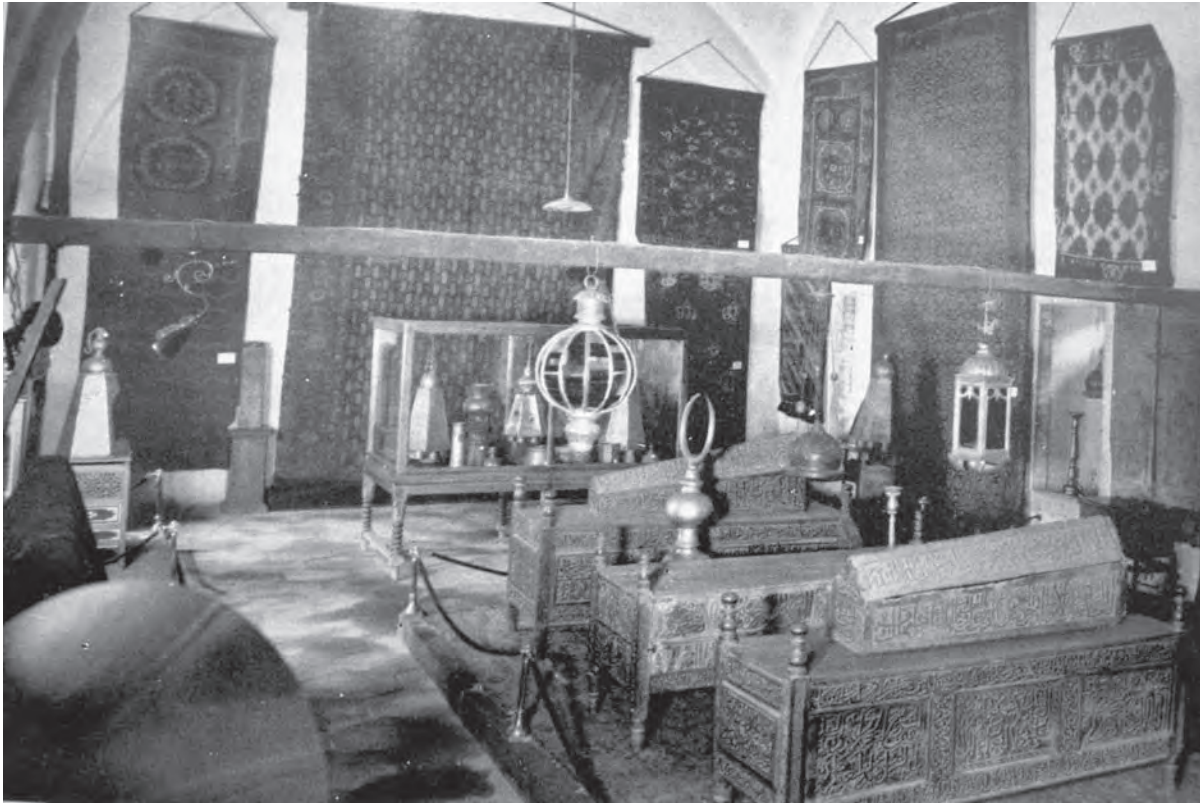


Fig. 4. Islamic arts at the Museum of Pious Foundations. (After *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi* [İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939], 47)

tic in the museum context. As a result, the Ministry of Pious Foundations was made responsible for the conservation of consecrated buildings, while the Imperial Museum was to house mosaics, tiles, and other removable ornament.¹⁷ Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945), who would become the director of the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art in 1921, curated the museum collections between 1911 and 1913; they were moved from the Imperial Museum to the former charitable hospice (*imaret*) of the Süleymaniye Mosque, which opened as the Museum of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Müzesi) on the anniversary of the accession of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909–18) (fig. 4). While focused on arts made in the past, the collection seems to have been viewed as representing living tradition, since a calligraphy school was opened in conjunction with the museum.¹⁸ Art in the Western modality had been grounded in antiquities through the inclusion of a Fine Arts Academy on the grounds of the Imperial Museum; here, in contrast, the drive to preserve

living local culture was, for the first time, expressed through a museum devoted to Islamic art.

During the early years of Ottoman museums, institutions associated with the visual arts were linked by their placement in a single area. It was certainly not coincidental that the Academy of Fine Arts was founded on the grounds of the Imperial Museum, where students engaged in a curriculum based on that of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris could make use of the antiquities collections nearby. However, the gradual segregation of the collections of Islamic art from the antiquities collections ultimately precluded the construction of a holistic grand narrative comprehensive of both the classical and the Islamic pasts of the empire. Similar patterns of disconnection between types of museum collections are evident elsewhere in the Middle East where colonial rule did not play a major factor in the institution of museums. While the Museum of Arab Art in Cairo was initially founded under the auspices of the French in 1883 in the ruined

mosque of al-Hakim, in 1903 it was established in an expressly built, monumental neo-Islamic structure.¹⁹ The Coptic Museum, created in 1895, and the Greco-Roman Museum, founded in 1892, completed the segregation of antiquities into separate arenas spread across the urban fabric of the city. Although Donald Preziosi maintains that “the ideal tourist visitor was urged to visit the history of Egypt from its earlier to later periods by visiting museums in the chronological order of their contents,” it would seem that such an objective would have been far more efficiently realized in a single building akin to the Louvre, where such an itinerary, although exhausting, would be at least feasible.²⁰ Rather, this process of distributing antiquities to various sites can be read as a pattern in which antiquities and Islamic works were designated as entirely discrete elements of heritage and not connected through a discourse of art. When Iran commissioned the French architect André Godard to build its National Museum in 1937, the museum was designed to exhibit pre-Islamic works; a far larger wing, for Islamic art, was added much later, in 1996. While antiquity and Islam were both considered part of the heritage of the new nations of the Middle East, museums there structured them less according to a continuous grand narrative than as a series of discontinuous and layered histories. This enabled these nations to incorporate Western historiography rather than engage in the much more complex and rigorous task of constructing an alternative historical trajectory—one laden with pitfalls, as is clear in a retrospective examination of the Turkish History Thesis developed in the early 1930s. In addition, it allowed them to dissociate their religious and dynastic roots from the secularist, republican ones posited by ideologies of modernism.

One reason for this was the absence of a single, coherent narrative of art based on a model of dialectical progress and the linking of cultures of the past with those of the present. Indeed, given the singular nature of such a progressive ideal, the existing narrative of Western art as the model of progress precluded the construction of a parallel narrative. In Turkey, early republican art historians such as Celâl Esad Arseven and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu argued for interpreting Islamic art as an early expression of the modernist tradition; their interpretations can also be understood as reading the past through the modernist use of non-Western art for inspiration.²¹ More important, their attempt to engage the arts of the past



Fig. 5. Treasury collections during the reign of Abdülhamid II, from the Abdülhamid albums, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. (Photo: courtesy of the Library of Congress)

in a relationship with arts in the Western modality never entered the exhibition practices of museums, where segregated collections made contiguous exhibition of various types of objects and artworks nearly impossible.

During the same era, artifacts of the Ottoman past were increasingly being interpreted as part of a national heritage. As a result, two collections were culled from the treasury, which under Abdülhamid had contained, in the same cabinets, organized but mixed collections including Chinese porcelains, jewels, weapons, clocks, and pipes (fig. 5). During the reign of Mehmed V Reşad, two exhibits drawn from these collections were arranged in the treasury—one of sultans' costumes and one of Chinese porcelains—but these were accessible only with special permission (fig. 6).²² Designed to display the glamour of the sultans through the ornate fabrics of their costumes, their bejeweled thrones, and their vast collection of porcelains, these exhibits inadvertently created a category absent from Western conceptions of Eastern art. In a Western museum, costumes of the Ottoman sultans would have represented examples of Islamic textiles and been understood in terms of aesthetics rooted in cultural practices such as ornamentation, and Chinese porcelains would have belonged to an entirely different cultural context, far removed from the Islamic frame of reference. By not including the costumes within the collections of Islamic art at the Imperial Museum, Ottoman museum administrators

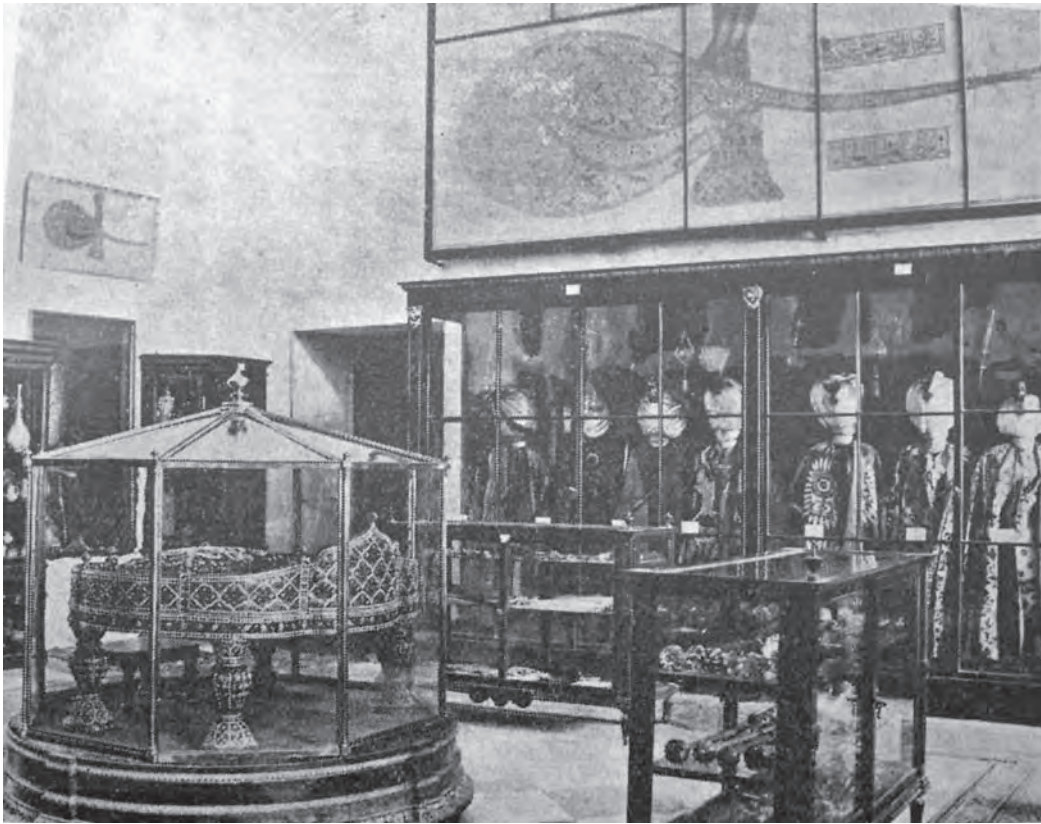


Fig 6. Exhibit of sultans' costumes and throne during the reign of Mehmed V Reşad. (After Halil Edhem, *Topkapı Sarayı* [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931], 33)

(presumably Halil Edhem) effectively displayed them as markers of dynastic history, coded by the reign of the sultans to whom they had belonged. Chinese porcelains were exhibited as cultural markers, not of the culture that produced them, but rather of the historic wealth of the palace in which they had been used. Remaining as part of the imperial collection, the works retained their political histories in a manner not possible when works of Islamic art entered European collections.

In 1917, the Fine Arts Academy moved out of its building, providing separate quarters for the Imperial Museum's collections of Near Eastern antiquities.²³ However, as Istanbul came under allied occupation in 1919 and, with the fall of the empire in 1923, ceded to the small town of Ankara its role as capital, the Imperial Museum lost its dominance. Ironically, it was during these uncertain times that art in the Western modality came to the fore, albeit briefly and in con-

texts quite different from those of Western museums: the academy's peripatetic collection of paintings, most of them copies, and those in the Military Museum. As soon as he gained control of the Imperial Museum, Halil Edhem had instituted what was called the Collection of Decorated Panels (*Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu*) associated with the Academy of Fine Arts—a project that he claimed to have been the fond desire of his late older brother. (Osman Hamdi had controlled the reins of state-supported art institutions for over thirty years, however; his lack of action regarding this painting collection, compared to his prodigious activity in relation to both the museum and the school, suggests that Halil Edhem's intentions may have diverged from his.)

For the first time in the discourse of the empire, Halil Edhem associated the museum institution with art:

When we find ourselves across from a painting, old or new, knowing which school it is from is difficult without a lot of knowledge and experience. Even an artist who is not familiar with painting collections or is foreign to art history would have difficulty in this regard and would hesitate. In many countries, museums worth millions have been established not only to protect these works, but also to enhance the knowledge and talent of artists and then to increase the knowledge of the people.²⁴

In contrast to the Imperial Museum's project of stocking the museum with originals, however, the painting collection was initially conceived as an institution affiliated with the academy and was to be filled with copies of important Western paintings. Although paintings by Turkish artists were occasionally purchased for the collection at the annual Galatasaray exhibitions, which began in 1916, and the collection was given many of the works from the Exhibit of Turkish Artists sponsored by the military for exhibition in Vienna and Berlin in 1917, state support of the collection was minimal, and rather than being displayed, it moved with the academy to various sites around the city between 1916 and 1921. In 1924, the Parade Pavilion (Alay Köşkü) of the Topkapı Palace was designated as an exhibition site, but the paintings did not find a permanent home until many years later, when they became the seed collection of the Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1937. By then, the copies in the collection were considered useless, and they remain in the possession of the academy.²⁵

Although the Fine Arts Academy had been located beside the Imperial Museum in order to foster a link between its collection and the museum institution, this association did not become part of the public experience of museums for many years. To people who lacked opportunities for arts education at, for instance, the elite military and medical academies, and who had no links to the palace, Western painting remained foreign and inaccessible. This changed, however, in 1916, with the remodeling of the Military Museum, which had reopened at the former Church of Hagia Irene in 1913 under the leadership of the General Ahmet Muhtar Pasha (1861–1926) and his son, Sermet Muhtar (Alus) (1887–1952). The museum had the potential to reach a wide audience, since the first courtyard of the palace, where it was located, was used as a staging ground for new military recruits and hosted these young men and any family members who accompanied them. In the museum, a vast range of

weaponry from all eras of Ottoman history was variously brought to life: by a display of the Janissary mannequins brought back from the Hippodrome, by live performances of a military Janissary band (Mehter Takımı), by one of the empire's first cinema salons, and, throughout the museum, by portraits of Ottoman sultans and leaders as well as paintings glorifying battle scenes that illustrated the exhibits. The exhibits in the Magazine of Antique Weapons had culminated with the sword of Mehmed II; in the new museum, they culminated with his portrait. In a world where representational images were limited to black-and-white photographs, lithographs, and caricatures, the display of large oil paintings, accompanied by long textual explanations of the events they depicted, must have been very affecting. The strategy was replicated at the Naval Museum, founded in 1895 at the dockyards, which moved from its former location to a site in Kasımpaşa, with the painter Ali Sami (Boyar) (1880–1967) at its helm. There, new mannequins were costumed to represent Turkish naval glory, and paintings by the recently deceased artist Hasan Rıza illustrated the exhibits.²⁶ For the first time, paintings in the Western modality were on display to the public in Ottoman museums. Nevertheless, these were not museums of art, but of history.

NEW MUSEUMS IN ANKARA

Once the dust had settled after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the new government in Ankara became engaged in redefining the imperial institutions and planning new ones in line with the needs of the nation-state. In their capacity as spaces of heritage preservation and dissemination, museums were intended to play an important role in characterizing the shared culture of the nation.

During the later years of the War of Independence, a committee charged with the preservation of antiquities was already in charge of gathering works in a depot in Ankara, the as-yet undeclared capital city of the new Republic. While later historiography makes this seem like a centralized effort, the memoirs of those involved suggest that the early years of Turkish museums were largely the product of esoteric individual efforts during a time of war, when such efforts seemed superfluous to many. According to one of the founders of the depot, Halil Nuri Yurdakul, several

individuals were interested in preserving works for the new nation as early as 1920, before any government agencies could be convinced of this necessity. Not all efforts were in Ankara: in 1921, a small museum of the revolution was opened in Eskişehir. It received support from the regional government, which sent requests to smaller towns for relevant acquisitions. After working with this museum and being wounded at the battle of Sakarya, Halil Nuri found himself in Ankara, where he again became involved in a museum project, this time with the support of Mübarek Galip, the youngest brother of Osman Hamdi. Halil Nuri proposed four possible sites: the fortress, the central market (*bedesten*), the Temple of Augustus, and the empty area behind the Ministry of Education. Due to the ongoing war, the fortress was chosen as the safest spot for the collection of a cultural museum. This depot, located in the Akkale tower of the Ankara fortress, comprised two small rooms with some glass cases and received little attention. However, even at this early stage, it was envisioned as a national rather than an archaeology museum, one that would bring together not just archaeological artifacts but also historical signet rings, small collectibles, embroideries, lacework, printed fabrics, and costumes. While it was difficult to persuade the municipal leader, Ali, of the importance of the project, Halil Nuri eventually managed to get the key to the fortress from the nearby dervish lodge. He obtained the first works for the museum collection when he lowered himself by rope into the dungeons, where he discovered shields and arrows. Returning after another military stint, he found that many works had been dumped in sacks within the museum. The Ministry of Culture's request to reorganize and display these works went unanswered by the Ministry of National Defense, but the museum was nevertheless established in 1921, even though its staff frequently had to return to the front. The earliest remaining records of this collection are documents from 1924 that discuss the necessity for the production of an inventory and budget for works to be purchased from various areas in Anatolia and collected at the center. When the collection opened in 1925, it had—in the words of Cemil Sema Ongun, a philosophy teacher at the Haydar Paşa High School, who worked there—"no works" in it.²⁷

By now the government was also beginning to make plans concerning museums. One was to establish an ethnographic museum at the market, com-

plete the unfinished portion of the Ministry of Education as a museum of the revolution, and establish an archaeological museum at the fortress. After the area around the fortress museum had been cleared and trees planted, an aerial cableway would connect the museum to Tamerlane Hill across the way, providing public entertainment. The fortress would also house pigeon coops and a firing range, the latter already a popular attraction at the Military Museum.²⁸

The Directorate of Culture and the Cultural Commission were instituted in 1925, with the mandate to "protect national culture and raise our youth within [it]."²⁹ The minister of public education Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) took on the project of a museum. He consulted the Turcologist J. Mészáros, with whom he had taught at Istanbul University; Mészáros was the director of the Hungarian National Museum, which included the ethnographic exhibits that had been assembled at the Ethnography Village in the City Park of Budapest in 1896.³⁰ Mészáros's recommendations, expressed in a 1924 report, included the organization of works according to type; the inclusion of a photography studio, a phonographic studio to save popular songs on gelatin rolls, and an anthropological laboratory; archaeological research to establish a scientific museum; and the sending of collecting missions around Anatolia to gather objects for the museum.³¹

Following Mészáros's suggestions, a committee led first by art historian and statesman Celâl Esad Arseven and then by Halil Edhem began to plan the museum. The Ministry of Education acquired the site of the Muslim cemetery in the Namazgâh district of Ankara from the General Directorate of Pious Foundations in 1925. While its significance is often overlooked, the Namazgâh (literally, "place of prayer," an open-air mosque) had been an important area for collective holiday prayer and even during the war had hosted meetings of national and religious significance.³² Thus a site of public worship was transformed into a space symbolic of national culture. The nation's premier young architect, Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu), utilized traditional elements of mosque architecture such as an arcaded portico, a domed central hall, and ornate tile decoration to produce a space at once secular and reminiscent of a place of worship.³³ The importance of the museum was underscored when it came to share its site overlooking the city with the building of the Turkish Hearth Organization (Türk Ocağı,



Fig. 7. Room at the Ankara Ethnography Museum, ca. 1939. (After Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Müzeler Tarihi* [Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1936], 15)

also known as the Ankara People's House, or Halkevi, an organ of the ruling People's Republican Party designated to host public meetings, entertainment, and activities to encourage party objectives, including modernization, secularization, and Westernization), also designed by Arif Hikmet.

At the foundation-laying ceremony of the new museum, Hamdullah Suphi explained,

In our Ankara, which carries so many recent memories old and new, painful and sweet, I am laying the foundation of the State Museum. And my imagination is content with seeing monuments to knowledge, art, and history such as this following one after another in the other corners of the country.

As construction began, what type of museum would be placed on the hill was still unclear, and it was variously called the Imperial Treasure (Hazine-i Hümayun), the Museum of the People (Halk Müzesi), the National Museum (Milli Müze), and the Culture

Museum (Hars Müzesi) before receiving the name Ethnography Museum.³⁴

After the completion of the building, its first director, Hamit Zübeyr (Koşay), began to assemble its collections, purchasing 1,250 works in 1927. Atatürk toured the museum on April 15, 1928 and ordered that it be open during the 1928 visit of Afghanistan's King Amanullah Khan. Its public opening, however, was on July 18, 1930. Bringing together costumes from throughout the country, the Ethnography Museum visually served to unify the customs of diverse groups within a single setting. Aided by dioramas of "traditional" life, it also helped oppose the "folk" and "traditional" to the modernism espoused by the young nation. This opposition was enhanced by the collections culled from the defunct dervish lodges, which had been ordered closed in 1924, their contents to be sent not to the Islamic art collections in Istanbul but to the Ethnography Museum. Thus numerous works including books, miniature paintings, sheikhs'

robes, carpets, mihrabs, and minbars came to be displayed in relation to folk traditions that were to be discarded during the processes of modernization. The halls on the right side of the museum began with costumes, embroideries, and small woven kilims and progressed to metalwork and a complete seventeenth-century Ankara living room. On the opposite side of the main hall, the museum's trajectory continued with two rooms devoted to the memorabilia of the defunct dervish orders and culminated in a display of Seljuk woodcarvings collected from mosques and tombs around the country.³⁵ Much as in Osman Hamdi's famous painting, *Mihrab*, mihrabs lost their patently religious function; in the museum display they were not only dissociated from places of prayer but also oriented in multiple directions. Minbars, also in multiples, were now not sites of teaching but stairways leading nowhere (fig. 7).

The Ethnography Museum largely took over the function of the Museum of Pious Foundations (still located in the *imaret* of the Süleymaniye complex), which after 1924 continued to operate as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. During much of the Republican era (until approximately the 1970s), its collections were distributed to many other institutions, ranging from the Topkapı Palace Museum to local museums around the country, to develop their own ethnographic displays. The organizing principle of the museum changed in 1983, when the entire collection was reunited at the restored Palace of Ibrahim Pasha at the Hippodrome, where a largely chronological sequence naturalizing the links between classical Islamic, Seljuk, and Ottoman Turkish art history informs the displays.³⁶ An ethnographic display was also appended to the museum, associating the nomadic tents, weaving, and embroidery on the bottom floor with the palatial carpets in the vast collection displayed upstairs.

The Ankara Ethnography Museum remained in its original form until 1939, when its central courtyard was transformed into the temporary mausoleum of Atatürk and was used for state visits. His permanent mausoleum, Anıtkabir, was completed in 1953; when the museum reopened on November 6, 1956, during International Museum Week, it had been transformed into a monument celebrating both the nation's folk heritage and its leader. Preceded by a room full of religious calligraphy and books, the former tomb area itself was surrounded by military memorabilia. These

additions suggest the quandary inherent in memorializing this secular leader: prayers might be provided, but at a distance.

In the meantime, the plans for an archaeology museum in Ankara had been realized. In 1930, the site of the former *bedesten* (covered market) of Mahmud Pasha and the Kurşunlu *han* (commercial inn) beside it were first suggested for a museum of ancient Anatolian history. In 1931, the German urban planner Hermann Jansen and the Hittitologist Eckhard Unger presented reports on the restoration of the buildings, and the Swiss architect Ernst Egli formulated plans for their renovation. Purchased in 1933, the buildings were still occupied by squatters a year later, suggesting that the museum project was not foremost in the minds of those in power. When in 1936 still no progress had been made, the director of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, Turhan Dağlıoğlu, again expressed a need for the establishment of an archaeology museum in the capital. In his memoir concerning the museum, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay remembers how, as a renter in a nearby apartment before 1938, he would often look down on the ruined *bedesten* and *han* and imagine what they could become; only later did he learn that they had already been purchased, even though the storeowners tried to maintain operation of the market by using the area in front of and around its main gate.

Thus would a market—a commercial center—be transformed into a museum—an ideological one. With an architectural vocabulary clearly bespeaking the Ottoman era, the multi-domed *bedesten*, when used for the museum exhibits, would create a Turkish frame for prehistoric artifacts. A visitor entering the building would thus perceive these artifacts within not a neutral context but one that contextualized them locally. Since the museum project was intimately connected with the construction of ties between prehistoric roots and contemporary national identity, the visual link between a recent Ottoman memory and unremembered, prehistoric artifacts helped serve this objective.

Between 1937 and 1945, the buildings were cleaned and organized under the direction of the minister of culture Hamit Zübeyr, the German archaeology professor Hans Güterbock, and the Turkish architect Macit Kural. The stores, houses, and lots surrounding the structures were purchased and razed in 1939, giving the museum its current large garden and its

sense of existing outside of the urban fabric.³⁷ A second round of property expropriation took place in 1945, again extending the park area surrounding the museum. The market was rebuilt by razing the walls between stores, and the corners of the domes were supported by columns instead of the original walls to allow circulation within the museum.

During this period, the museum collection continued to grow and provided impetus to the project. The Ministry of Culture received word that attempts were under way to export the large relief sculptures discovered at Kargamış by Sir Leonard Wolley. These were stopped at the border and sent first to Adana and then to Ankara. Likewise, the monumental lion-sphinxes discovered at Alaca Höyük were transported to the Ethnography Museum, where they guarded the entry.³⁸ Other prehistoric works may also have been displayed at the museum.

The Hittite Museum, with exhibit halls located in the *bedesten* and offices in the *han*, finally opened in 1945–46. Its catalogue, written by Güterbock and translated by Nimet Özgüç, was published by the Ministry of Education in 1946. The large architectural reliefs from Kargamış and others from eight separate areas of Anatolia were placed together in the central hall, and associated smaller finds were displayed in the outer corridor. Güterbock pointed out that this provided an opportunity “unparalleled in any other museum of the world” to see and compare works from various stages of Hittite history and contributed to the notion of Ankara as a “natural” capital city associated with the Hittite past, which he explains as “not a specific people, nor a state, but an Anatolian-Syrian culture as a whole,” underscoring a tendency to view Hittite culture as a comprehensive prehistoric, autochthonous identity for the nation.³⁹

Neither aesthetic concerns nor the definition of a continuous civilization from prehistory onward were part of the program of the museum. Güterbock favored monumental archaeological remains, which were placed, as noted above, in the center of the museum, over smaller artifacts, which were arranged by excavation site in the surrounding areas. In 1960, the western galleries of the building were expanded, allowing for a more chronological display. This was revised again in 1968 with the addition of two large maps indicating the location of excavations in Turkey, display cases color-coded according to era, bird cages and aquariums, and Turkish and Western

music played near a small museum cafe. By 1966, the museum was generally known as the Ankara Archaeology Museum, although it also retained its initial name. It was renamed the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in 1968.⁴⁰ The *han* was repaired to serve as offices, while the stables underneath it were used as the museum storage area. Exhibits surrounding the main hall were arranged chronologically. The earliest exhibits at that time were Neolithic-era works from Çavuştepe. These were followed by Chalcolithic-era works and the Early Bronze Age finds from Alaca Höyük, in particular the grave goods including the famous “Hittite Sun.” The southern galleries exhibited works from the third level of the Alişar excavations and the Assyrian colonies at Kültepe, as well as artifacts from the Hittite era. The eastern galleries displayed Phrygian works from Gordion, Pazarlı, and other excavations, and were followed by Urartu-era and classical objects.⁴¹

Chronologically organized, the museum in many ways reflects the epistemological scheme of archaeological collections in most universal survey museums. However, whereas the chronological arrangement of artifacts in such settings abstracts them from their geographical origins and places them into a narrative of art, at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations they are positioned instead in a narrative of national unity. Following a trajectory from prehistory to the Hellenistic era, the visitor gets the sense of a uniform historical progression of peoples across all of Anatolia. While the maps added to the exhibit after 1968 show the excavation sites of the works, it would take an exceedingly careful visitor to note that each people lived not in all of Anatolia, but in only a part of it, making of modern Anatolia what might be thought of as many separate countries constantly changing their borders and overlapping with much of modern Greece and Mesopotamia. Whereas the universal survey museum features the story of civilization moving across both time and space, in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations a single geography moves across time, setting the groundwork for a national, rather than regional, prehistory. Indeed, the desire or tendency to narrativize history might even preclude understanding exhibits as clumps of different but related societies emerging across time at different places, even if this were a more appropriate way of rendering the broad time swaths of early history.

The pairing of archaeological and ethnographic

museums would be repeated regionally throughout the nation.⁴² Often housed in the same building, each would reenact locally the ideology presented by the museums in the capital. The archaeological section of a local museum would recapitulate the local portion of the chronological history presented at the Ankara museum, while the ethnographic section would place premodern objects safely behind glass, signaling that they belonged to the past. A third type of museum, devoted to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and likewise often located in regional centers, usually contained artifacts of a visit by the nation's founding figure and/or memorabilia from the War of Independence. Every city came to have a museum, but the absence of collections labeled as art underscores the functional difference between Turkish museums and their Western counterparts. Although both are deeply invested in producing narratives of heritage, Western museums use a meta-discourse of art to frame civilization. In contrast, Turkish museums look at objects as metonyms of heritage itself, without recourse to a discourse of art.

While art had not completely receded from the consciousness of the state, it was not considered important enough to warrant the foundation of a new museum. Although the state began to sponsor exhibits as early as 1926, a directive formalizing annual exhibitions was not passed until 1939, two years after the founding of the Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture.⁴³ Despite state commissioning of both public art—including numerous portraits of Atatürk—and memorial sculptures for city squares, Turkish art of the modern era was not yet conceived as something that could convey, through its arrangement in a museum, a useful ideological message of national identity.

NEW MUSEUMS IN ISTANBUL

Although the state was deeply invested in making Ankara the center of the new nation, its cultural heart remained in Istanbul, whose identity now depended on its reconfiguration from imperial capital to a city that would play an auxiliary role in the country. Part of this shift involved the transformation of its major monuments from representers of the dynasty to representers the nation. In 1924, Topkapı Palace was designated a museum, and after initial restorations it opened to

the public in 1927.⁴⁴ (In actuality, however, much of the palace remained closed until after renovations undertaken between 1939 and 1942 transformed it into a museum emphasizing the apogee of Ottoman power. The religious core of the palace—the Pavilion of the Mantle of the Prophet, symbolic of the sultan's role as caliph—opened to the public only in 1962.) In 1934–35, the Hagia Sophia Mosque was converted to a museum dedicated to Byzantine and Ottoman artworks. Finally, the Dolmabahçe Palace opened in 1952. Together, these museums provided a new way of looking at the religious and dynastic Ottoman past through the lens of a secular republic.

By admitting the public into parts of the Topkapı Palace immediately after the fall of the empire, the state signaled a new relationship with its citizens: rather than owning the treasures of the empire in the sultan's name, the state could for the first time be said to hold them in trust for the people. At the Louvre, the exhibition of the king's crown and scepter beside the regalia of the church had represented the institution of a secular republic; likewise, at the Topkapı Palace, the public exposition of the administrative center and home of the sultan-cum-caliph established a new order of power. At the time that it was made into a museum, however, much of the palace was in ruins. Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908–88), one of the Republic's premier architects and a nephew of Osman Hamdi, described the palace as a place full of valuable treasures piled on top of one another, fabrics sometimes in rags and sometimes echoing their former resplendence, all in tiny decoration-filled rooms, some of which were so small one couldn't stand up in them, with narrow stairwells in between, most of them covered by trap doors. Eldem notes that the palace remained as it was in 1908, home to the elderly serving staff, the remaining eunuchs, and even some dwarfs.⁴⁵

One might expect that the best-preserved parts of the palace would have been opened first. By this logic, the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle of the Prophet Muhammad, which was ceremonially visited annually by the sultan on the fifteenth day of Ramadan, and the Baghdad Pavilion, where he rested during these excursions, should have been among the earliest exhibits of the museum. While the Baghdad Pavilion was opened, however, the Pavilion of the Mantle remained closed, and the continual reading from the Qur'an that had taken place within it was dis-

continued. Possession of the relics of the Prophet—obtained in large part during the 1517 conquest of Egypt and the acquisition of suzerainty over Mecca and Medina—had in the nineteenth century allowed the Ottoman sultans to assume the title of caliph; just as these relics had been an important symbol of Ottoman dynastic right, so their being shut away and the Qur'an readings suspended were signs of the ending of the caliphate and the secularism of the new state. After their traditional keeper gave the keys to Tahsin Öz (1887–1973, museum director between 1938 and 1952) in 1927, the objects within the Pavilion of the Mantle were inventoried with the respect due not only to their religious significance but also to their artistic and historical value. The pavilion was opened to visitors on August 31, 1962, but Qur'an readings did not begin again until the displays were reorganized in 1982. Likewise, in response to pressure to restore Hagia Sophia to its status as a mosque, a new section for Muslim prayer was added at the side entrance of the museum during Ramadan in 1990. The use of museums as places of worship thus became a means for the religious populace to engage with public institutions on its own terms, even within the secular institutional structure of the state.

Similarly, the conversion of Hagia Sophia from the empire's most important ceremonial mosque into a museum memorialized the Ottoman political power manifested in the conquest of the Byzantine Empire and at the same time secularized it. In 1931, the director of the Byzantine Institute, Thomas Whittemore, received permission to uncover the mosaics of Hagia Sophia.⁴⁷ On August 24, 1934, Aziz Ogan (1888–1956), then the director of the Istanbul Antiquities Museums (İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri), the new name of the Imperial Museum, which also administered the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, suddenly received orders to convert the mosque into a museum. In addition to the restoration of the building, the stores surrounding it were to be demolished.⁴⁸ Initially, the new museum was to include cabinets with Byzantine and Ottoman exhibits, and the appointment as its director of Ali Sami (Boyar), who since 1923 had directed the Pious Foundations Museum/Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, suggested that it was conceived along similar lines as the latter institution.⁴⁹ By the time it opened, however, the Hagia Sophia Museum had no exhibits beyond the juxtaposition of the recently uncovered mosaics

in the apse and the upper galleries with features that had been added during the Ottoman era, such as the mihrab, the minbar, the loggia of the sultan (built under Abdülmecid), six large calligraphic panels, and a verse from the Qur'an replacing the original Christ Pantocrator in the main dome.

These two acts of "museumizing" bore an ideological significance that the public could readily understand. As the poet Yahya Kemal wrote in 1922,

I learned one truth in my travels. This state has two spiritual foundations. The call to prayer that Mehmed the Conqueror had sung from the minarets of Hagia Sophia—it is still sung! The Qur'an that Selim had read in the Pavilion of the Mantle of the Prophet—it is still read! The young soldiers of Eskişehir, Afyonkarahisar, and Kars, you fought for such things of beauty!

If the purpose of the War of Independence was to preserve the nation, symbolized by such key monuments, from colonial predation, then what was to be made of their reinscription with new meanings? The Pavilion of the Mantle of the Prophet and the Hagia Sophia have remained contested sites, consecrated for both the religious and the secular sectors of society.

The restoration of Topkapı Palace finally undertaken during the 1940s often served to minimize later historical layers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yielding a relatively anachronistic and static view of the palace, whose identity as a museum had originally been envisioned to feature Ottoman architecture from all eras of its history. As Sedat Hakkı Eldem pointed out,

Most of these places that I mention have been cleaned, that is destroyed, and the essential cut-stone foundations and arches brought out. Those dizzying, layered perspectives reminiscent of Piranesi have disappeared.

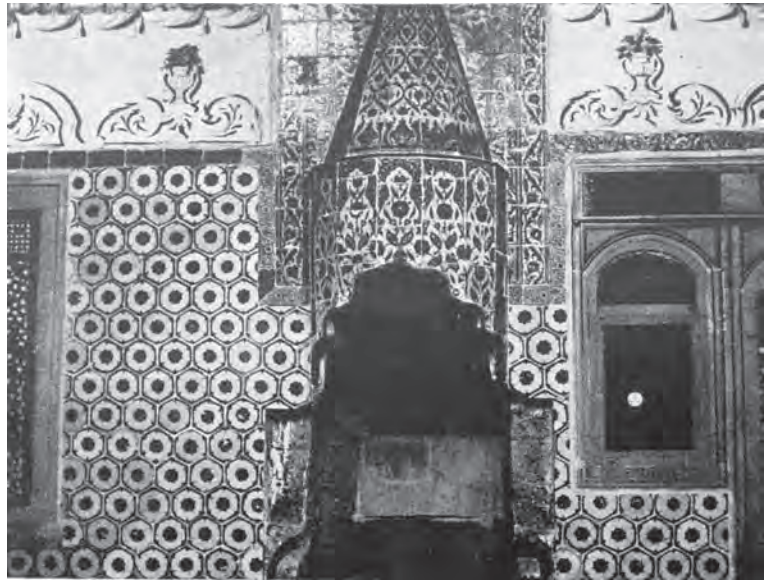
Eldem allows that many parts of the palace were crumbling and uses photographs taken in 1937 to serve as the "before" images in his discussion. In a 1949 article, Tahsin Öz describes the choices made during the restoration process as recovering the palace of Mehmed the Conqueror and saving it from additions "stuck on during the period of decline."⁵⁰ Although with the establishment of the Republic the palace was officially tied to the administration of the Archaeology Museum, it was in effect run by its existing staff, many of whom had been in service there since early childhood, and none of whom had any concept of a museum. What is most striking about Öz's descrip-



a



b



c

Fig. 8, a–c. Three phases of the 1939–42 restoration of the fireplace in the apartments of the Valide Sultan, Topkapı Palace. (After Tahsin Öz, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları,” *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 [1949]: 63–64)

tion of the abandoned and rotting complex is not simply its neglect but its neglect in light of contemporary efforts throughout the late nineteenth century to establish museums, including museums of Islamic art, in which many of the objects that had rotted in the deserted palace rooms might have found a home. While from their inception many collections of Islamic art abroad had included items of everyday use, the situation at Topkapı Palace suggests that in the late empire Islamic art was not perceived within such a broad cultural frame: in the Turkish context, objects of use were not unified by their conception as art but rather were perceived as memorials of the past. The Topkapı Palace Museum can be read as a showcase for what in Western museums would be categorized as Islamic art; within Turkey, however, it is more accurately characterized as a palace museum that monumentalizes the apogee of Ottoman power.

The decisions made during the restorations of the palace between 1939 and 1944—remarkable given the general lack of funds during the years of World War II—underscore this perception of the palace as a memorial to the Ottoman “classical age,” an era that could be celebrated without posing a monarchist threat to the Republic. As Eldem explains,

I could not share in the decisions made concerning the Council Chamber (Kubbealtı). The existing decoration of the first room was taken down and carried “as is” into the second room. The wall painting was redone based on some remaining signs of the original painting, and a wall of tiles was put up as though it were original—that is, a real décor, albeit baroque, was replaced with a half-imaginary reconstruction.⁵¹

Likewise, he notes that neither the Treasury nor the Tiled Pavilion was restored with appropriate internal divisions or wall decorations, and that each was instead left whitewashed. Similarly questionable restoration decisions can be seen through a sequence of photographs documenting the reconstruction of a sixteenth-century-style fireplace in the chamber of the sultan’s mother, replacing an eighteenth-century niche and creating a visually confusing mix of decorative features (fig. 8, a–c).⁵² In some parts of the palace, areas that had been stripped of their decoration, such as the kitchens and the walls of some of the garden pavilions, were revetted with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tiles that may not have represented what was originally in place.⁵³

As a result of the restorations, the Topkapı Palace

Museum lost many of the meanings invested in its complex architecture, which had evolved since the fifteenth century. The Tiled Pavilion, which today serves as a ceramics museum, was left entirely out of the narrative of the palace, thus erasing visual memory of the so-called International Timurid style adopted by Mehmed II to express the universal claims of his world empire. The large Archaeology Museum interposed between the pavilion and the rest of the palace served to cut off their connection, the only visible remnant of which is the shared park of Gülhane. Many later additions to the palace, including a number of the humbler and later-era rooms of the harem and the last pavilion of the palace, the Mecidiye Lodge—a replica of a French hunting lodge—were either closed or given over to contemporary uses—for example, as a restaurant—that erase their former function within the palace. Indeed, the museum constructs a sense of Ottoman history that is entirely divested of specific historical events, and that erases much of the dynamism of six centuries of rule. Neither a museum of Ottoman architecture as originally envisioned nor one that framed the artifacts within it through the rich aesthetic and cultural narratives they could represent, the Topkapı Museum was instead transformed into a sign of a glorious imperial past from which the Turkish Republic could garner a sense of historic importance, but sufficiently remote not to constitute a monarchist threat to the modern state.

As the most recent imperial residence, the Dolmabahçe Palace presented a far more complex problem. Although wary of resembling royalty, Atatürk used it as his residence during visits to Istanbul. While it also became a space of display when it hosted the exhibits associated with the second congress of the Turkish Historical Society in 1937, it continued as a residence until, in November 1938, Atatürk died in an upper room of its harem (a site that became a main attraction when the harem was opened to visitors in 1985). Although the main hall (*selâmlık*) of the palace did not admit visitors until 1952, long after the threat of monarchist sentiment had passed, one portion of the palace, the apartments of the heir apparent (Veliahd Dairesi) had already been opened to the public in 1938, as the country’s first Museum of Painting and Sculpture (İstanbul Resim Heykel Müzesi). An important development for artists in Turkey, this institution, unlike the more central ethnographic and archaeological museums in Ankara, did not become a model for many others in the country: only in Izmir in 1952 (as

part of the Kültürpark exhibitions) and in Ankara in 1981 (at the former building of the Turkish Hearth Organization, next to the Ethnography Museum) were similar museums of art established.

ART MUSEUMS AND THE USE OF GRAND NARRATIVE

By the 1950s, the major museums of the Republic (excluding those devoted to Atatürk, which are not addressed in this paper) could be categorized as follows: museums of archaeology in Istanbul and Ankara; an ethnographic museum in Ankara; combined archaeology and ethnographic museums throughout the country; former religious institutions categorized as or within museums—Hagia Sophia Museum, the Shrines of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi in Konya, Hacı Bektaş in Nevşehir, and Seyyid Battal Gazi in Kırşehir (not discussed in this paper), and the Pavilion of the Holy Prophet; palace museums; military museums (also not covered here); and art museums—the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art and the Museum of Painting and Sculpture, both in Istanbul. Divided among a wide array of institutions, works within these museums were associated with multiple and disparate systems of value. In contrast to the model of museums in the West, Turkish museums, by not using the discourse of art as a systemic meta-narrative, functioned not to bring together material culture into a systematic grand narrative of heritage but rather to provide each aspect of heritage with a separate relationship to national identity.

Could this have been otherwise? As already mentioned, the sense of the segregation of multiple aspects of heritage is a common feature in many museums of the region beyond Turkey where colonial rule did not determine institutional patterns. Where colonial governments did establish museums in the Middle East, however, these museums have tended to follow a system similar to that of universal survey museums. In French Algiers, a National Museum of Antiquities and Islamic Art was established in 1897, unifying the types of collections that remain separate in Istanbul and Cairo. The Alaoui Museum in Tunis was established in 1882 as a museum of antiquities, but by 1899 a second section had been added for Islamic art, and now the museum includes prehistoric, Carthaginian, Roman, Christian, and Islamic collections. Likewise the Rabat Museum, established in 1937, includes pre-

historic, Roman, and Islamic sections. The National Museum of Damascus, founded between 1918 and 1920 and housed in an expressly constructed building in 1936, includes preclassical, Arab-Islamic, classical, and Byzantine collections; while many Arabs sought to emphasize the Arab heritage on display within it, the French used the scope of the museum as a means of emphasizing pre-Islamic and non-Arab works, thus serving contemporary political ends. Similarly, the National Museum of Beirut, formulated in 1923 and established ten years later, comprises a chronologically arranged survey of works that includes small displays of Arab art but emphasizes the Phoenecian period in order to promote a pre-Islamic, pre-Arab national identity.⁵⁴ The National Museum of Baghdad, established in 1921, included exhibits from the Stone Age and the Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Chaldean, Arab, and Islamic periods. Similarly, the Archaeology Museum of the Citadel of Amman, founded in 1951 and closely following the model of the Museum of Palestinian Archaeology of Jerusalem, which had been the sole museum of the region before Jordanian independence, belied its name by displaying a chronological survey of works from prehistory through the Umayyad, Abassid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk eras.⁵⁵

In all these cases, national museums have emphasized cultural heritage as a wellspring of identity from the past, dissociated from the modern and contemporary world. In contrast to universal survey museums of Europe and America, which encompass everything from the prehistorical to the modern, Middle Eastern museums of modern and contemporary art are, without exception, separate institutions established much later. The National Museum of Fine Arts of Algiers opened in 1930 and the Gezira Center for Modern Art in Cairo in 1931; the Museum of Painting and Sculpture was established in Istanbul in 1938, the National Museum of Modern Art in Baghdad in 1958, and the Contemporary Arts Museum of Tehran in 1977.⁵⁶ Each of these museums is not only segregated from any National Museum but also suffers from a lack of funds and attention, much as does the Museum of Painting and Sculpture in Istanbul.

A comprehensive plan for Turkish museums was actually once envisioned by the Austrian scholar Joseph Strzygowski (1862–1941); it suggests an alternative to both the grand narrative of Western museums and the present organization of Turkish museums. Strzygowski recognized in the close proximity of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, with its emphasis

on the Hellenistic and Roman past, the Topkapı Palace Museum, with its Ottoman exhibits, and the two Byzantine churches beside the palace a linear Hellenistic-Roman-Christian-Ottoman narrative that could provide a valuable field of analysis against which to measure the grand narrative informing Western art history. This narrative was not, however, representative of the Turkish nation; therefore, a national museum was to be established in Ankara. It would focus solely on ancient tribal Turkish art, thus avoiding any resemblance to European museums. To this end, he suggested that the government immediately begin collecting Central Asian artifacts.⁵⁷ Strzygowski framed his concept of a national Turkish museum within two discourses relatively foreign to the Turkish national project. First, he perceived the story of Turkish art as an ethnic one, stemming from the steppes of pre-Islamic Central Asia. While this was certainly a formative and central element in developing the mythology of a national spirit and character, not only for the Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties but also during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such a concept did not meet the need to associate the nation with the geography of the modern state. (In the Archaeology Museum in Ankara, the Turkish History Thesis, composed in stages between 1930 and 1945, would conflate the nomadism of Turkic tribes on the Central Asian steppes with prehistoric migrations from Central Asia.)⁵⁸ Even to the extent that Strzygowski's proposal did fit with a Turkish sense of identity, it was not practical, since what he regarded as appropriate works were in collections or awaiting excavation from archaeological sites in the Soviet Union and China, the ancient homelands of the Turks.

The primary problem, however, was conceptual. Grounded in art history, Strzygowski imagined the discourse of Turkish art as responding to the Hellenocentric focus of Western art history against whose humanism he rallied. Like his more famous, slightly older colleagues Aby Warburg and Carl Einstein, he sought an alternative to the increasingly reified, linear grand narrative that remains prevalent in art history surveys today, both in textbooks and in museums. For Strzygowski this lay in Central Asian Turkish art, through which he imagined a Turkish nation that could prove, via the logic of artifacts, its credentials as a civilization in its own right. In Turkey, however, as has been noted, such artifacts were contextualized through narratives of history, not of art, and Turkish museums did not perceive a need to counter dom-

inant art-historical discourse by producing a grand narrative.

The efficacy of following a Strzygowskian model is illustrated by the exhibit "Turks" at the Royal Academy in London (January–April 2005), assembled from the collections of the Topkapı Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art as well as from those of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and the National Museums in Berlin. As described by John Carswell, the exhibit's "avowed intention [was] to show through the choice of several hundred carefully chosen artifacts how the Turkic race moved westwards from its origins in Central Asia bordering on China." Proceeding through the chronologically arranged exhibit, Carswell writes, "one is immediately aware of being led by the hand of a master designer who knows exactly what responses he wants to evoke."⁵⁹ Similarly, Norman Rosenthal, exhibitions officer of the Royal Academy, explains, "We did the exhibition because we're trying to tell a story—we are trying to do it through wonderful objects."⁶⁰ Thus the exhibit presented a narrative that could integrate the notions of culture, art, and nation in a way that Turkish museums have chosen not to.⁶¹

The absence of a survey museum in Turkey doubtless results in part from the complex history of multiple institutions founded at different times to address different needs; if established today, such a museum would have to reclaim hundreds of thousands of works from established institutions and create appropriate conditions for their maintenance—an arduous project, particularly in an era of decentralization. The lack of a survey museum, however, makes it difficult to imagine for Turkey any art-historical trajectory akin to the grand narrative of Western art history, which flows with seeming fluidity from "then" to "now," seamlessly blending Mesopotamia with New York or Paris in a flow of artistic development driven by a model of dialectical progress. The construction of such a narrative is deeply embedded in the tradition of Western art history as rooted in the Renaissance. As Stephan Melville points out,

The Renaissance achievement of rational perspective becomes the condition of possibility of the art-historical discipline, and we are compelled to its terms whenever we look to establish another world view that would not, for example, privilege the Renaissance, because we can neither "look" nor imagine a "world view" without reinstalling at the heart of our project the terms only the Renaissance can expound for us...[Panofsky's] valoriza-

tion of perspective forges an apparently nonproblematic access of the rationalized space of the past. We are freed then to imagine ourselves henceforth as scientists of a certain kind, and within this imagination the grounds of privilege become invisible and profoundly naturalized.⁶²

Museums in Turkey are organized from precisely this kind of problematic viewing position, a world-view that does not privilege the Renaissance. If we envision the institution of the universal survey museum as the frame of a painting through which we, as spectators, gaze from the present towards a past envisioned at the distant vanishing point on the horizon, then the spectator of Turkey is out of place: from his or her position, each unit within the frame is no longer arranged within a properly illusionistic perspectival structure. Turkish museums view the material of art history from an anamorphic perspective, looking at it not head-on as intended, but from the side, where perspective loses its power to produce spatial illusion. While the survey model accounts for several elements of the heritage on which Turkey draws—the prehistoric, the Hellenistic, the Byzantine, the Islamic, and even the modern—the relationship between these elements is structured from a Western viewing position. Even the two paradigms of Turkish history that dominated the early republican era—that of a succession of Anatolian dynasties from Seljuk through Ottoman, and that of the pan-Turkic from China to Anatolia—never proposed a dialectic continuity with the present or provided key links between multiple aspects of Turkish national culture, including folk, Islamic, and modernist traditions. Museums followed neither native historiographic models nor those provided through Western meta-narratives of culture grounded in art. Nationalist historiography informed museum collections as independent strands of the cultures of Turkey, but museums did not use art as a means of constructing links between these cultures.

During the early years of the Republic, several scholars—most notably Celal Esâd Arseven, Ernst Diez and Oktay Aslanapa, and Doğan Kuban—attempted to write art histories of Turkey, but these histories do not encompass the broad spectrum of material culture (which could also be narrated as art) represented in Turkish museums. Rather, they depend on the dominant paradigms of Turkish historiography first promoted during the republican era: the dynastic model and the pan-Turkic narrative. Rather than including works of prehistoric Anatolia, the art

of nomadic Turks, the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine legacies, and the modern art of Turkey, these books bracket the art history of Turkey between the Seljuk entry into Anatolia and the era of classical Ottoman culture and link it with broader Islamic art history. Just as Islamic art is outside the framing narrative of Western art history, so are elements of Western art outside the frame of Turkish art. Without an overarching perspectival structure, even those museums—such as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art and the Museum of Painting and Sculpture—that envision their holdings as art enclose these works within mutually exclusive historical frames. “Art,” as a concept developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, depends on a broad enabling discourse that can cross time and space, placing select objects within its diachronic embrace. Rather than flowing from one geo-temporal zone to another, as in a survey of Western art history, the concept of art in Turkey starts and stops in an entirely disconnected manner that weakens the construction of seemingly logical, but actually ideological, links between the histories of multiple objects and the present.

Established largely as independent institutions, both the museums inherited from the Ottoman Empire and those established during the Republic used segments of various historiographies of the nation without following or developing a unified narrative of culture that could tap the wide variety of sources constituting the heritage of the Turkish nation. One might imagine a “museum without walls,” such as that suggested by André Malraux, that could root the present culture of Turkey in the prehistory of Anatolia, proceeding through Hellenistic, Roman, Mesopotamian, and Central Asian antiquities into the Christian and Byzantine legacies and thence from the Seljuk and Beylik to the Ottoman era and into the modern and contemporary periods. Such a museum of ideas would serve to bring out the complex ethnic, religious, and cultural roots of a nation often deeply vested in a singular identity.

On the other hand, in a postmodern era when overarching meta-narratives have come to be regarded with suspicion, the complex independence of Turkey’s museums may represent an alternative means of exploring culture through the juxtaposition of multiple, and even contradictory, narratives. Rather than limiting options on how to interpret the world, however, this alternative narrative structure may well expand them. From a poststructuralist, critical point

of view, it is possible to interpret the absence of grand narrative as an opportunity towards a non-Eurocentric and more heterogeneous and pluralistic reading of the past. In the process of rendering history as a natural system rather than a cultural artifact, survey museums provide the appearance of a teleologically necessary history. Emerging from an effective museum narrative, the visitor leaves with a sense that the world must indeed be as logically ordered as it appears within the museum. The availability of alternative systems of myth, or alternative systems of museum organization, renders visible this process of mythical inscription. In the rupture between narratives effected by the disjunction of Turkish museums lies the possibility of seeing the ideologies that structure national identity in Turkey, revealing them to be, as much as those of any other nations, figments of the historical imagination. Rather than gazing at art history through a metaphor of perspective, such a model suggests a metaphor located instead in another geometric system grounded in Euclidean geometry: that of the regular patterns, or *giriş*, that underlie much of Islamic art. As Gülru Necipoğlu explains,

...composed of interlocking stars and polygons rotating around multiple foci of radial symmetry, [*giriş*] embodied a multiplicity of viewpoints contradicting the Renaissance concept of the picture plane as a window frame that cuts through the spectator's cone of vision on which rays converge at a central vanishing point. The absence of a fixed viewpoint in the abstract geometric matrices of *giriş*s yielded an infinite isotropic space that amounted to a denial of naturalistic representation of the visible world. *Giriş* patterns filtered the visual data offered by the natural world into mental abstractions.⁶⁵...Their infinitely extendable, nondirectional patterns of line and color, with no single focal point or hierarchical progression toward a decorative climax, required the insertion of subjectivity into the optical field; they presupposed a private way of looking.⁶⁶

A system of museums based on *giriş* rather than on perspective as an enabling metaphor for art-historical discourse might look a lot like the panoply of Turkey's museums. Rather than following a modernist model of naturalizing historical change through a teleology of progressive development, such a system would follow a more Foucauldian model, where historical change is characterized by discontinuity. In the panoply of Turkey's museums today, however, this discontinuity is conceived as a series of absolute ruptures: the system of objects within each museum space is presented as mutually exclusive and epistemically unrelated

to those in other museums. Each of these ruptures, emerging *ex nihilo*, seemingly provides an alternative and yet comprehensive answer to the problem of national heritage, like a meal on a menu of histories. But as Foucault suggests, even rupture involves a "redistribution of the *episteme*" that preceded it.⁶⁷ Thus the *giriş* model of art history would permit, and even emphasize, a fluid investigation of the relationships between the isotropic nodes set up by geography and history. It would allow for questions across nodes of knowledge ordered sequentially within a perspectival system, such as: how did the nomadic past inform the Islamic? How did largely Christian and Muslim communities relate to antiquities and to the ancient sites in their midst? How do we construct the difference between a village carpet and one made for the palace? How and when did paintings, tiles, and calligraphic panels coexist in living spaces? What aesthetics might govern a system of art not grounded in perspective and the human form? In asking questions that thus cross the disciplinary boundaries erected by museum collections, such an art history would also follow the model of Foucauldian archaeology, in which discourse comes to reflect upon its own processes of systematization by looking at the boundaries constructed by its epistemic structure.⁶⁸ Such concerns echo Strzygowski's discomfort with the humanism of his era, providing an alternative model again rooted in the arts associated with Turkey but based in theories of history not yet available to him.

Museum exhibits, like art, rely on the proliferation of meanings. The more associations the viewer can make with objects on display, the richer that display becomes in the viewer's mind. Sophisticated exhibits do not just memorialize the past and put it in a coffin; they use it in order to reflect upon often-difficult issues in the present, issues that even if put in boxes never really go away. If Turkey's museums can begin to use the diversity of their collections and approaches to engage the past in modes that provide alternative perspectives on present-day issues, viewers will be smart enough to add these alternative perspectives to their own, broadening their relationships with and constructing their own understandings of the objects and spaces within the institutions that house them. Such an approach might generate an art history of multiplicity as perceived in each visitor and might also provide the seedling for a non-perspectival model of art-historical discourse.

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APPENDIX

Museums of the Late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic

Location		Name of Institution	Date		
Istanbul	Palace Point (the peninsula which in large part comprises historic Istanbul)	Church of Hagia Irene	House of Weapons (Dar ül-Esliha)	1723–1869	
			Magazine of Antiquities (Mecmua-i Asar-i Atika) and Magazine of Antique Weapons (Mecmua-i Esliha-i Atika)	1846–69	
			Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun)	1869–77	
			Military Museum	1913–30	
		Tiled Pavilion	Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun)	1877–91	
			Imperial Museum, Department of Near Eastern Antiquities	1891–1908	
			Imperial Museum, Department of Islamic Art (in main building since 1891)	1908–14	
			Museum of Mehmed the Conqueror (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Müzesi)	1953	
		Archaeology Museum Building (built 1891; additions 1903, 1908)	Sarcophagus Museum	1891–93?	
			Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun)	1893–1923	
			Istanbul Archaeology Museum	1923	
		Academy of Fine Arts Building (built 1885)	Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) (founded 1881, opened 1883); name changed to Güzel Sanatlar Okulu, 1924	1883–1916	
			Museum of Near Eastern Antiquities (Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi)	1917	
		Topkapı Palace Museum	Treasury Collection	ca. 1910	
			Chinese Porcelains Collection		
			Topkapı Palace Museum	1924	
			Topkapı Palace Museum, Relics of Holy Prophet (closed in 1924)	1962	
		Building on Hippodrome	Antique Costumery (Elbise-i Atika) (established in the House of Weapons around 1846; moved to Military Museum, 1916)	1852–1916	
		İbrahim Pasha Palace (on Hippodrome)	Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (renamed collection of the Pious Foundations Museum, located in the <i>imaret</i> of the Süleymaniye Mosque since 1914; renamed 1924)	1981	
	Hagia Sophia	Hagia Sophia Museum	1935		
	Dolma-bahçe Palace	Quarters of the Crown Prince	Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture	1938	
		Main Hall (<i>Selâmlık</i>)	Dolmabahçe Palace Museum	1952	
		Harem	Harem section of museum (with deathbed of Atatürk)	1985	
	Ankara		Ethnography Museum	Ethnography Museum	1928
			Archaeology Museum	Hittite Museum	1946–68
Museum of Anatolian Civilizations				1968	
Ankara Turkish Hearth Building (<i>Ankara Türk Ocağı Binası</i>)			Ankara State Museum of Painting and Sculpture (Ankara Devlet Resim ve Heykel Müzesi)	1981	
			Mevlana Museum	1953	
Izmir			Archaeology Museum	1927	
		(new building in Konak)		1984	
		Kültürpark	Museum of Painting and Sculpture	1952	
		(new building)		1973	

NOTES

1. Hüseyin Zekai Pasha, *Mübeccel Hazineler* (Holy Treasures) (Istanbul: İstanbul Şehir Matbaası, 1329/1913), 146.
2. James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 15–21; Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 57; Stephen Melville, “The Temptation of New Perspectives,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 401–12.
3. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Colonial Press, 1900), 103–4; Robert Nelson, “The Map of Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 79, 1 (Mar. 1997): 28–40.
4. Gabriele Bartz and Eberhard König, *The Louvre: Art and Architecture* (Germany: Könemann, 2000), 17–51; “History of the Louvre,” http://www.louvre.fr/llv/musee/histoire_louvre.jsp?bmLocale=en (accessed Oct. 5, 2006).
5. Michael S. Cullen and Tilmann von Stockhausen, *The Altes Museum* (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 1998), 24.
6. Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), 48–71.
7. Stephen Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 20, 32.
8. Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 29, 32.
9. The Metropolitan Museum, Introduction to Islamic Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/Works_Of_Art/introduction.asp?dep=14 (accessed Oct. 5, 2006).
10. For information concerning the treasures of the Ottoman palace see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 46–47, 72, 133–55. For a discussion of the transition from princely collections to museums in the Western tradition see O. Impey and A. G. MacGregor, eds., *The Origin of Museums* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
11. Although Osman Hamdi is often remembered as the first director of both the museum and the academy, he actually took over preexisting projects. The museum was more developed when he became its first Turkish director, but the academy had actually grown out of the Academy of Drawing and Painting, founded in Pera in 1874 by the French artist Pierre-Désiré Guillemet. After Guillemet’s death, in 1877, the project was left hanging until 1881, when Osman Hamdi applied to the government to revive it. A new building was built, and classes began in 1883.
12. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 31–58.
13. Donald Malcolm Reid, *Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 106. The traveler W. J. Loftie expressed a diametrically opposed interpretation of the museum in 1879, noting its concerted effort to arrange its objects in a strict developmental sequence of style and complexity; his words are quoted in Donald Preziosi, “The Museum of What You Shall Have Been,” in Nezar AlSayyad, Irene Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat, *Making Cairo Medieval* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 138. The conflict between Mariette’s interpretation and that of Loftie, a museum visitor, may have resulted from their different degrees of intimacy with the works at hand, as well as from Mariette’s convincing portrayal of a naturally developing aesthetic of Egyptian art, which had previously been considered scandalously regressive after distant antiquity. Indeed, like early arrangements of the Ottoman Imperial Museum at the Tiled Pavilion (see Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 155), an early display at the Egyptian museum (see Reid, *Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity*, 107) shows a vignette-like approach to the display of objects, reminiscent less of developmental taxonomies than of the foreground of the famous frontispiece of the *Description de l’Égypte*, which is littered with enticing antiquities that pave the way towards uncharted French conquests.
14. Michele Haddad, *Halil Şerif Paşa: Bir İnsan, Bir Koleksiyon* (Istanbul: P. Kitaplığı, 2001).
15. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı’ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayını, 1995), 2:547.
16. Suzanne Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 105. For a more extended discussion of the absence of museums of natural history and art from the Ottoman Imperial Museum, see Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 217–25.
17. Zarif Orgun and Serap Aykaç, “La fondation du Musée turque et le Musée des Arts turcs et islamiques,” *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie* 1 (1982): 135–41. See also Nur Altınyıldız’s essay in this volume.
18. Nazan Ölçer, *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi* (Istanbul: Akbank, 2002), 16.
19. Reid, *Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity*, 238.
20. Preziosi, “Museum of What You Shall Have Been,” 134.
21. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar Mimari, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Tezyini Sanatları* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Vekaleti, n.d.) and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931).
22. The rooms of the exhibits are indicated in Halil Edhem, *Topkapı Sarayı* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931), 25–26. Permission is mentioned in Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Müzeler Tarihi* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1936), 78.
23. According to Remzi Oğuz Arık, the head of the Istanbul Antiquities Museum, these collections were reorganized “in scientific fashion” in 1925. See R. O. Arık, *L’histoire et l’organisation des musées turcs* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1933), 14.
24. Halil Edhem, *Elvahı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1924), 20.
25. The name of the academy first changed in 1928, when it was titled *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (Fine Arts Academy) in modern Turkish. It became the Fine Arts Faculty of Mimar Sinan University in 1969. The museum opened on September 20, 1937.
26. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar* (Istanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1950), 13–16.
27. Ministry of Culture document: see İnci Bayburtoğlu, “Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi,” *Ankara Dergisi* 1, 2 (May 1991): 109.

28. Ibid., 96–124.
29. Hamid Zübeyr (Koşay), *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1963), 2.
30. Sema Koç, "Museum of Ethnography in Ankara Carpet and Kilim Collections," *Ariş* 1, 4 (Apr. 1998); Ethnographic Museum, Budapest, "History of the Museum" <http://www.neprajz.hu/english/muzeum/index.html> (accessed October 5, 2006).
31. Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu*, 2.
32. Nurcan İnci Fırat, *Etnografya Müzesi ve Eski Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası (Devlet Resim ve Heykel Müzesi): Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarisinden İki Örnek* (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998), 13.
33. As Fırat himself said with regard to the project, "As most of the works to enter the museum are of national and religious significance, it is appropriate that the building suit the works inside it and take inspiration from old Turkish architecture": ibid., 21.
34. Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu*, 1–2.
35. Ibid., 6–10.
36. Anonymous, *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939); Ölçer, *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*.
37. Turkey, Prime Ministry Archives, doc. 030.10/190.304.4 (May 3, 1939).
38. Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu*, 310.
39. Hans Güterbock, *Ankara Bedesteninde Bulunan Eti Müzesi Büyük Salonunun Kılavuzu = Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 2.
40. Bayburtoğlu, "Müze Belgelerine," 96–124.
41. Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu*, 312.
42. Erdem Yücel, *Türkiye'de Müzecilik* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1999) 78–79.
43. Sezer Tansuğ, *Çağdaş Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1986), 161.
44. Arık, *L'histoire et l'organisation des musées turcs*, 14.
45. Sedat H. Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* (n.p. [Ankara], 1981), 1–2.
46. Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese* (Istanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1953). For more information on the earlier history of the chamber see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 151–52.
47. Turkey, Prime Ministry Archives, no. 11195, code 30.18.1.2, place no. 20.37.18 (June 7, 1931).
48. Turkey, Prime Ministry Archives, no. 30.18.1.2, place no. 49.79.6 (Nov. 24, 1934).
49. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar*, 32–33.
50. The note, originally published in the newspaper *Tevhid-i Efkar* (Mar. 30, 1922), was reprinted in his posthumously collected works, *Aziz İstanbul* (Istanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü, 1964) and quoted in Hilmi Yavuz, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler* (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004), 40.
51. Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, 1–2.
52. Tahsin Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları," *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (1949): 7.
53. Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, 1–2.
54. Ibid., 3.
55. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, includes photographs of these restorations (e.g., figs. 109, 111), which are also discussed in Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*.
56. Heghnar Watenpaugh, "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective = Les mandats français et anglais dans une perspective comparative*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 185–202; L. G. Tahan, "Archaeological Museums in Lebanon: A Stage for Colonial and Post-Colonial Allegories" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2004).
57. Irene Maffi, *Pratiques du patrimoine et politiques de la mémoire en Jordanie* (Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 2004), 128–29.
58. "The Arabian Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean, 1900–Present," Metropolitan Museum of Art, <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ht/11/wap/ht11wap.htm> (accessed Oct. 5, 2006).
59. J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, and Fuat Köprülü, *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupaya Etkisi*, trans. Cemal Köprülü (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, n.d.), xi–xv, 1–3, 95–98.
60. For a discussion of the conflation of historical migrations in Turkey, see also Wendy Shaw, "The Rise of the Hittite Sun," in *Peddling the Past*, ed. Phillip Kohl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).
61. Cornucopia 33 (2005): <http://www.cornucopia.net/about-tec.html> (accessed Oct. 5, 2006).
62. BBC News, Jan. 19, 2005: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4184715.stm> (accessed Oct. 5, 2006).
63. An alternative to the pan-Turkic framework of this exhibition was exemplified by the prior exhibition "Anatolian Civilizations," held in Istanbul in 1983, which traced all civilizations within Turkey's national borders in diachronic sequence but did not link past civilizations with contemporary artistic modes. See the exhibition catalogue: Ferit Edgü and Ekrem Akurgal, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri: Aya İrini-Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, İstanbul, 22 Mayıs–30 Ekim 1983* (Istanbul: T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983).
64. Melville, "Temptation of New Perspectives," 409.
65. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 166.
66. Ibid., 204.
67. Stephen Best and Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern Theory* (New York: Guilford Press, 1991), 44.
68. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 205.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF ISTANBUL AND THE IDEOLOGY OF PRESERVATION

Space is nothing but the inscription of time in the world, spaces are the realizations, inscriptions in the simultaneity of the external world of a series of times...

Henri Lefebvre¹

The building legacy of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul's historic peninsula has been the object of complex, often contradictory practices and policies during the republican period. To account for the continuities as well as the disruptions that mark the predicament of this patrimony, it is necessary to explore changing urban development policies and shifting functional, material, and visual meanings attributed to buildings from the past. Early years of the Republic were marked by a modernist architectural practice that renounced ties with Ottoman precedents, in opposition to an architectural historiography that venerated them.² Caught between these two, the field of preservation became a stage on which history was played off against modernity. Leading figures engaged with the survival of the Ottoman heritage faced the task of reconciling significations ascribed to historic buildings with priorities that guided contemporary agendas of urban renewal. Seemingly incongruous moments in time inscribed upon city space were coded and recoded to suit prevalent ideological priorities.³ Acts of construction, restoration, or destruction became powerful visual manifestations of cultural politics, addressing the religious and national sentiments of the public.

With the proclamation of the Republic, the status of Istanbul, the unrivaled primary city of the Ottoman Empire, was ceded to Ankara, which became the capital of the Republic and the symbolic site of the new order. Before long, the mission of modern architecture was explicitly connected to that of Kemalist reforms.⁴ The pure and abstract forms of modernism, purged of historicism, were tied up with such aspirations of the Republic as emancipation from Oriental identity and participation in contemporary

Western civilization.⁵ In this framework, Istanbul represented the forsaken Ottoman past. As the nation's scarce resources were allotted to the construction of Ankara, Istanbul was left in a state of despairing misery and devastation that had begun with the fires of the nineteenth century and continued with years of poverty and neglect.

Throughout the early years of the Republic, certain patterns emerge in the treatment of the timeworn city of Istanbul that refer back to its remaking as an Islamic capital after the Ottoman conquest. Among the heirs of the city, several scholars and architects stand out as persistent but at times inconsistent shapers of its preservation policies. Since the same persons who were involved with articulating architectural historiography in the early Republic were often also influential in formulating preservation principles, their endeavors shed light upon the complexities and contradictions of their positions as manifested by discrepancies between their practice and their discourse.

In the Ottoman period, until the nineteenth century, the esteem bestowed upon charitable and religious complexes as well as their expedience had ensured their continued maintenance and repair within the framework of their individual pious foundations. Their vital role as agents of city building had enhanced their prominent status for centuries. The decline and deterioration of the illustrious city, which started towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued into the 1930s, transformed its monuments into dilapidated, dysfunctional, and fragmented buildings surrounded by empty plots and derelict houses. The 1930s were marked by resignation to overwhelming decay, resulting in efforts to document the threatened architectural heritage with immaculate drawings—idealized representations that compensated for actual decrepitude. The redevelopment of Istanbul began in the 1950s, after the revolutionary fervor of the early Republic had subsided. Under the pretext of recuperating monuments from ruins and clearing their environs,

the crumbling city was modernized by opening roads from one end of the historic peninsula to the other. Roads replaced socio-religious complexes as regulators of urban form; demolition took the place of construction. Divested of their previous significance, monuments became isolated visual objects displayed in newly opened urban vistas. Sustained maintenance and repairs provided by pious foundations gave way to occasional restorations reduced to saving appearances. To fully understand these subsequent shifts in positions and policies regarding the Ottoman heritage, it is important to begin with the traditional order of Ottoman *imarets*.

OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF *IMARETS*

The transformation of the ruinous Byzantine capital into the thriving (*mamur*) city of the Ottomans was achieved through the construction of socio-religious complexes, or *imarets*. The urban image of Istanbul was Islamized by monumental mosques and their dependencies that crowned prominent sites facing the Golden Horn and distinguished lesser locations in the walled city. Built as imperial feats or as enterprises of lower-ranking patrons, *imarets* constituted the cores of residential settlements. Neighborhoods grew around them and were named after them. They not only served as indispensable public institutions and estimable monuments but also as signs of permanence amidst ephemeral gardens and precarious wooden mansions.⁶ The upkeep of *imarets* was ensured by their individual pious foundations (*waqfs*, Turkish *evkaf*), and substantial repairs of distinguished buildings were carried out by the corps of royal architects.⁷ Patrons endowed property not only for the management of *imarets* but also for their upkeep in perpetuity. Revenue from vast lands as well as innumerable buildings thus bequeathed provided for running and maintaining the charitable institutions. In fact, expenses pertaining to the care of *imarets* had precedence over the salaries of their staff.⁸ Each *waqf* was intended to be autonomous and permanent, as were its institutions and buildings.⁹ The terms of *waqfs* were absolute and unchanging, since their legal force relied on Muslim religious law, the *shari'a*. *Waqfs* were overseen by *kadis*—judges who enacted the *shari'a* in each of the four districts of Istanbul as well as being chief urban administrators.

Churches converted to mosques also acquired endow-

ments to run and preserve them as well as adjunct buildings to complement them. Primary among all such buildings was the city's first imperial mosque, the Hagia Sophia.¹⁰ Mehmed II converted six churches to mosques, one to a madrasa, and still another to a convent.¹¹ Transformation of churches and monasteries continued under Beyazid II and Selim I. Although the *shari'a* banned the construction of new churches in Muslim neighborhoods and restricted their repairs, arbitrary demolition or appropriation of a church or *masjid* that was intact and in use was discouraged. Only with imperial consent could it be replaced by a Friday mosque;¹² following this, a substitute sanctuary had to be constructed in a relatively uninhabited area, or an existing one in bad condition restored as compensation (*bedel*) for the place of worship that had been torn down.¹³ Dilapidated and deserted smaller churches, on the other hand, were subjected to a practice called *şenlendirme* (revitalization), whereupon they were either reused as neighborhood *masjids* or annexed to convents to avoid their total dereliction.¹⁴

The *imaret* bestowed welfare on its environment and was itself intended to thrive indefinitely. In fact, *imar* (to build), *tamir* (repair), and *imaret* all derive from the Arabic word *ʿumrān*, which signifies “bringing or returning to a state of prosperity.” *Imarets* regulated urban growth and encouraged settlement in scantily built districts.¹⁵ Residences eventually filled the spaces between *imarets*; streets took form as semiprivate, narrow tracts leading to houses.¹⁶ Contrary to *imarets*, timber dwellings were modest in dimension and transient by nature. Hence the cityscape acquired a dual character in terms of scale, status, and endurance. Contemporary depictions and descriptions of the city accentuated its monuments, with the uniform residential fabric interpreted as an uninterrupted neutral background (fig. 1). European visitors often remarked about the absence of street names, pointing to the function of *imarets* as reference points in identifying directions.¹⁷ On late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman maps, houses formed a continuous texture, without streets between them (fig. 2). In fact, streets were virtually unrepresented, and even the most significant thoroughfares were barely implied.¹⁸ Above all, this idealized cityscape was depicted facing the Golden Horn, its skyline crowned by imperial mosques (fig. 3). Istanbul was shaped to be viewed from outside, from vantage points along the coasts.¹⁹ This externally projected, idyllic view was lost to pedestrians who rambled along its cramped streets.²⁰



Fig. 1. Istanbul from the Süleymaniye Mosque, painted by the Austrian artist Hubert Sattler in 1844 for his cosmorama. (After Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* [Boston: Bulfinch, 1991], 298–99)



Fig. 3. The mosque of Beyazid II, the Old Palace, and the Süleymaniye complex by Heinrich Hendrofski. (After Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul* [Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 2002], 40)

The nineteenth century signaled a rupture with tradition in the Ottoman city. The court, along with the grandees, left Istanbul for the suburbs.²¹ But with Muslim refugees arriving from southeastern Europe and



Fig. 2. Map of Istanbul by Matrakçı Nasuh, ca. 1537. (After Serpil Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* [Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006], 75)

southern Russia, the population nevertheless grew at an unprecedented rate.²² The immigrants settled in Istanbul, complying with the old custom of ignoring building regulations: houses invaded open spaces in and around monuments and encroached upon streets whose already narrow widths diminished even further (figs. 4 and 5), increasing the risk of fire not only for the densely packed houses but also for the public buildings they abutted. In fact, 117 great fires devastated vast areas of Istanbul between 1853 and 1906 (figs. 6 and 7).²³ Consequently, a third of the Muslim population—some 30,000 refugees in addition to fire victims—was homeless in 1882.²⁴ They provisionally resided in mosques, convents, and madrasas, an intrusion that further afflicted the already imperiled monuments.²⁵ In a survey conducted in 1920, *Constantinople Today*, many mosques were reported to be occupied by fire victims and refugees (figs. 8 and 9).²⁶ The congested residential fabric was no longer a neutral backdrop to the *imarets*, but a virtual threat.²⁷ Since houses continued to be hastily constructed and reconstructed, elaborate mansions slowly gave way to makeshift dwellings.²⁸ The recurrence of fires diminished the city's capacity to recover after each disaster.²⁹ A report prepared for Abdülhamid II in 1879, which compared the ruinous condition of Istanbul to the prosperity of Galata, indicated vacant plots left unbuilt for as many as fifty years after the fires.³⁰

Two institutions emerged in this climate. As depleted revenues and neglectful trustees were menacing the waqf system, pious foundations were brought under the jurisdiction of a central state authority, the Min-



Fig. 4. The immigrants' quarter along the sea walls near Yedikule, ca. 1880. Photograph by Guillaume Berggren. (After Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople*, 2 vols. [Istanbul: Aygaz, 2003], 1:294)



Fig. 6. The environs of the Hagia Sophia after the 1865 fire. Photograph by Abdullah Frères. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:587)

istry of Pious Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümâyun), in 1836.³¹ Not only was the legal autonomy of each pious foundation violated but its financial independence was also terminated, since collecting waqf funds soon became the responsibility of the treasury, with only a percentage, at the discretion of the state, returned to the waqf system.³² On the other hand, the regulation of urban life, which had been the responsibility of kadıs, was entrusted to the municipality (*şehremaneti*) in 1855. Urban administration as well as preservation thus broke loose of religious authority. Henceforth, *imar* and *tamir* would no longer be complementary concerns but conflicting acts. City devel-



Fig. 5. Wooden houses surrounding the Hagia Sophia in 1854. Photograph by James Robertson. (After Çelik Gülersoy, ed., *Cumhuriyet'in Devraldığı İstanbul'dan Bugüne* [Istanbul: Türkiye Sanayi ve Kalkınma Bankası, 1999], 52)



Fig. 7. The aftermath of the 1908 fire at Çırcır. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 436)

opment, taken by progressive municipal officials to be synonymous with clearing operations and the opening of roads, would clash with the preservation of monuments, the urgent task of the conservative Evkaf Ministry functionaries, who tried to save them from being sacrificed. The unsightly residential fabric and deficient street network, in the meantime, would serve as the rationale for each overhaul in the old city.



Fig. 8. Refugees sheltered in a tower of the ancient Byzantine city walls, 1920. Photograph by Resne. (After Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, "Community Organization," in *Constantinople Today*, ed. C. R. Johnson [New York: Macmillan, 1922], 150)

The most noteworthy case of such discord concerned Cemil Pasha, a modernizing, secular urban administrator whose views were at odds with the pious concerns of the Evkaf ministers; as *şehremini* (mayor) from 1912 to 1914, then again in 1919–20, he was their most vocal critic. Making a case for the complete obliteration of old Istanbul except for its major monuments and the construction of a modern city, Cemil Pasha complained that neither he nor his successors would ever be able to evade Evkaf administrators.³³ Compelled by the urgency of a cholera epidemic among refugees arriving after the Balkan War (1912–13), he petitioned to collect the gravely ill at the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, and Şehzade mosques but was denied permission by Ziya Pasha, the Evkaf minister, on the grounds that a place of worship would be defiled by such use. Receiving subsequent consent from the Şeyhülislam, the supreme religious authority, Cemil Pasha nevertheless proceeded to deal with the crisis on his terms.³⁴ On another occasion, he cleared the surroundings of the Hagia Sophia, but his attempt to demolish Sinan's Ayasofya baths across from it was thwarted. He encountered the resistance of the minister Hayri Efendi when he removed a portion of a cemetery that was in the way as he widened the road from Sirkeci to Gülhane. Blamed for abusing Islamic monuments (*abidat-ı İslamiye*) when he also tried to remove a dervish convent and a sacred tomb, Cemil Pasha was forced by the ensuing outcry to resign.³⁵



Fig. 9. Refugees inhabiting a mosque in 1920. Photograph by Resne. (After Huntington, "Community Organization," 150)

Dispute over the preservation of waqf monuments had roused religious sentiments.

The Commission for the Improvement of Roads (*İslahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu*), established after the 1865 Hocapaşa fire, instigated the first clearing operation as part of the Tanzimat city reforms. Divanyolu, the "invisible" main street of the walled city, was widened from an average of 5 meters to 16 meters in order to accommodate trams (fig. 10). Not only did the street itself become visible, but the expanded space also revealed the monuments flanking it. Yet to this end, two rooms of the Atik Ali Pasha Madrasa and its entire public kitchen and convent (1496), half of the Köprülü Madrasa (1659), portions of the Çemberlitaş baths (1583) and the Elçi Hanı, and various tombs were also demolished; Köprülü's mausoleum was dismantled and moved elsewhere. Hence the integrity of two *imarets* was irrevocably lost. This was the earliest incidence of monuments being surrendered to roads in a quest for modernization. It would not be the last.

Destructions and disruptions in the city placed a certain distance between the Ottoman past and present. Disasters were taking their toll of monuments, and the Evkaf Ministry was overpowered by the scale of the task at hand, unable to deliver the day-to-day care that *imarets* had previously received.³⁶ Moreover, functional obsolescence emerged as a result of modernization efforts.³⁷ The poorly maintained *imaret* buildings were becoming aged and outdated. Ottoman buildings even began to be viewed as antiquities, a des-



Fig. 10. The Divanyolu in 1865, after it was widened. Photograph by Pascal Sebah. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:595)

ignation until then reserved for ancient Greek and Roman remains. To cite an early example, the minister of education Münif Pasha referred thus to the Çinili Köşk, in the precinct of Topkapı Palace, on the occasion of its conversion into a museum in 1880: “Even this building we are in is equal in rank to an ancient one.”³⁸ The statute regarding the opening of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1883 listed as a required course “Science of Antiquities” (*ilm-i asar-ı atika*), because of the notable failure to preserve mosques, mausoleums, and madrasas as well as an observed decline in the quality of architectural design.³⁹ The most apparent indication of the rupture with precedent was the Ottoman Revival style of architecture introduced in 1909, a concession that Ottoman monuments already belonged to an irredeemable past that could only be revived with new interpretations and references.

In 1912, a law for the preservation of monuments (*Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname*) was drafted, vaguely specifying that “places and works from any period whatsoever” be preserved as antiquities.⁴⁰ This law repeated articles of an earlier antiquities law (1906), which had focused on archaeological finds but counted all historical buildings among property to be preserved. Established in 1915, the Council for the Preservation of Monuments (*Asar-ı Atika Encümeni*) was an advisory body for the implementation of the law in Istanbul.⁴¹ However, two issues introduced with the new law paradoxically concerned demolition, not pro-

tection. By appealing to the council and following a complicated procedure, a government might indeed tear down a historic building; in fact, one of the main functions of the council was to decide which buildings were worthy of preservation. Moreover, if such a building were in a precarious condition and posed danger to its surroundings, it could be pulled down immediately, skipping the bureaucratic process, provided that any decorated and inscribed parts of it were preserved.⁴² This would prove to be an enduring and convenient pretext exploited by local administrators for demolitions. Thus the law can be interpreted as both an endeavor at protection and a recognition of the inevitability of loss. Another ambiguous and connected venture was the creation of a museum where precious items from mosques, masjids, mausoleums, and convents would be collected and displayed. Its venue was the public kitchen of the Süleymaniye complex, apparently in need of a new function.⁴³ As a concession that under the new law some buildings in the care of the Evkaf administration would soon cease to exist, the Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi (Islamic Endowments Museum) was founded in 1914 to save at least the holdings of these buildings, including such treasured components as tiles.⁴⁴

The reorganization of the Evkaf Ministry following the 1908 constitutional revolution raised Kemalettin Bey to prominence as an architect and restorer. A new department, the Technical Commission for Construction and Repairs (*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*), was created in 1909, and Kemalettin Bey was appointed its head.⁴⁵ He became one of the founders of the Revival style that turned to Ottoman monuments for inspiration and was in addition the main authority for their restoration. During ten prolific years in office, he restored several imperial mosques⁴⁶ and built numerous mausoleums, mosques, schools, and office and apartment buildings. Subscribing to the prevalent Turkish nationalist movement of the time, Kemalettin Bey contended that Turkish monuments, long neglected under Western influence (*Frenk tesir-ati*), should be treasured: “Every Turk should protect as his own these monuments of national civilization (*medeniyet-i milliye asarı*) and create his new civilization (*medeniyet-i cedide*) by enhancing them.”⁴⁷ At the Academy of Fine Arts, Kemalettin Bey taught a course comparing Ottoman monuments with other world masterpieces. More important, his workshop at the Evkaf functioned like a school for teaching and reviving Ottoman architecture that had “deteriorated after

the eighteenth century.”⁴⁸ His so-called National Style was derided as the “Evkaf Style” because it drew on emblematic elements of Ottoman religious architecture,⁴⁹ but his students would continue to pursue the history and preservation of Ottoman architecture and deploy it as an architectural source. Among these students were Sedat Çetintaş and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. In retrospect, Çetintaş weighed an apprenticeship at Kemalettin Bey’s workshop against an education at the academy as follows: the former, in his view, was dedicated to an appreciation of Turkish architecture; the latter, under the tutelage of foreign instructors, to that of Greco-Roman and Renaissance architecture.⁵⁰ Kemalettin Bey was instrumental to imbuing Ottoman monuments with national significance beyond their obvious religious associations.

Kemalettin Bey’s career at the Evkaf also reflects the inherent conflicts between *imar* and *tamir* during the final years of the Ottoman Empire, even though his office sought to reconcile them. In 1910, the advent of a new minister changed the priorities of the ministry; increasing resources by either selling waqf land and ruinous waqf buildings or replacing them with revenue-generating edifices took precedence over repairs.⁵¹ Ironically, several buildings designed by Kemalettin Bey brought about the demolition of Ottoman monuments seemingly under his protection. Three madrasas, three public kitchens, a primary school, and a bath were razed to clear sites for seven of Kemalettin Bey’s buildings for the Evkaf. To open space for his First Vakıf Han near Eminönü, the seventeenth-century Vani Efendi Madrasa was pulled down and a substitute madrasa built nearby.⁵² Likewise, for the construction of his colossal Fourth Vakıf Han in the same district, Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen and school were demolished; its *sebil* and fountain were dismantled and assembled elsewhere, while the madrasa and mausoleum survived across the road. The substitute for Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen, for its part, was constructed on a site emptied by tearing down Selim I’s older building with the same function (fig. 11).⁵³ The Fethiye Madrasa, which had been built as an adjunct to the Pammakaristos Church when it was converted to the Fethiye Mosque in 1588, was knocked down by the Evkaf Ministry some time between 1911 and 1915 because it was dilapidated; Kemalettin Bey designed a new madrasa on the model of the old one.⁵⁴ Paradoxically, during roughly the same years Kemalettin Bey was writing newspaper articles strongly condemning the practice of “brutally cutting through” precious



Fig. 11. Kemalettin Bey’s substitute for Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen. (After Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* [Ankara: ODTÜ, 1981], 230)

remnants of the past in order to build “sickly and ugly straight roads,” blaming this on ignorance and rancor.⁵⁵ His protest was apparently directed against the İslahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu for past crimes and at Cemil Pasha, then *şehremini*, for vehemently trying to pull down the Ebu’l Fazl Mahmut Efendi Madrasa for the tramway.⁵⁶ A reverent Muslim as well as a fervent nationalist,⁵⁷ Kemalettin Bey asserted that “sacred places demolished, ancient trees cut, bones of the dead broken, their ruins will all be buried under broad and hideous, long and gruesome roads.”⁵⁸ Like legislation and institutions for preservation, his ambivalent attitude, torn between protection and demolition, was a legacy of the late Ottoman period to the Republic and would survive until the latter half of the twentieth century.

REPUBLICAN ISTANBUL: THE PRESERVATION OF RUINS

The 1906 antiquities law and the 1912 law for the preservation of monuments remained in force until 1973. The Council for the Preservation of Monuments, which had been established in 1915, was ratified by the republican government in 1925 and renamed Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni; its founding members, Kemalettin Bey, Halil Edhem (Eldem), and Celâl Esad (Arseven), maintained their positions.⁵⁹ It acted as the main advisory body on preservation in Istanbul until 1951.⁶⁰ Kemalettin Bey’s service was brief because



Fig. 12. Urban terrain abandoned after a fire: the environs of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in 1928. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 388–89)

of his death in 1927, but Halil Edhem and Arseven's preeminence as influential intellectuals in the fields of history, art, archaeology, architecture, and preservation continued throughout the early years of the Republic. Besides their collaboration on the council, they both became founding members of the Turkish Historical Society, which sought to establish the roots of Turkish history in the pre-Ottoman past of Anatolia. Halil Edhem had replaced his brother Osman Hamdi Bey as the director of Müze-i Hümayun, the Imperial Museum, in 1910; for twenty-one years he held this post, which also made him responsible for the supervision of monument preservation.⁶¹ It was he, in fact, who in 1915 had proposed the constitution of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, as a consultative body to the imperial museum. He presided over the conversion of the Topkapı Palace into a museum in 1924 as well as its ensuing restoration.

In 1909 Arseven had published *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul*, the first of his many publications on art, architecture, and urbanism. He wrote *Türklerde Sanat* (Art of the Turks) in 1932 as part of the ideologically driven Turkish History Thesis of the Turkish Historical Society.⁶²

The Evkaf Ministry was closed down in 1924, but its functions were transferred to the directorate of the same name. In 1925, Kemalettin Bey was once again appointed the director of its department of construction and repairs.⁶³ One of two significant restorations undertaken during these initial years of the Repub-

lic was the repair under Kemalettin Bey of the dome of Hagia Sophia, thus sustaining its status as the foremost monument of Istanbul.⁶⁴ The other major restoration, ordered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, concerned the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.⁶⁵ These were the continuities, but there were also discontinuities.

Istanbul as it had been rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a view to creating a uniformly urbanized and densely populated city, gave way to abandonment in the 1930s. It suffered not only the loss of its longstanding eminence as the capital city but also the departure of its inhabitants. Since its population was almost halved, vast fire-stricken areas remained empty,⁶⁶ wastelands constituted about a third of its terrain (fig. 12).⁶⁷ In this context, in Halil Edhem's words, "ruins became more ruinous";⁶⁸ until the 1950s, "ruin" would be the term most frequently and consistently used to describe the old city.

Despite the discourse exalting national monuments, the building legacy of the past was suspended in a state of decay. Moreover, the inevitability of its loss was conceded even by those who were responsible for its protection. Three members of the Preservation Council used exactly the same words to voice their helplessness in the face of perishing monuments as well as houses. Halil Edhem wrote that "the most important Turkish architectural works are...doomed to be abandoned,"⁶⁹ continuing, "If we were to pass by one of the many burned areas in the city, we would see hundreds of mosque ruins, wrecked tombs, and cem-



Fig. 13. The baths of Beyazıd II surrounded by makeshift buildings, ca. 1935. (After Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarih-sel Topoğrafyası* [Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998], 389)



Fig. 15. The courtyard of the madrasa of Selim I filled with ramshackle structures. (After Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu*, 45)

etry remains. These are beyond being repaired and restored. Their presence in destitution, on the other hand, is a shame for our city; to cope with such ruins, it is necessary to abide by the preservation law," i.e., its article allowing demolitions. He added, "Today Istanbul is the greatest wasteland (*virane*) of the world... some buildings can be sacrificed to put an end to this situation."⁷⁰ Arseven asserted that "mansions and big houses are...doomed to disappear."⁷¹ The architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem reiterated that "the residential tradition of old times is doomed to disappear, in fact is disappearing, only too rapidly."⁷²

Decrepit residences surrounded dilapidated *imarets* (figs. 13–16). Disrepair and dereliction marked monumental public buildings as well as modest houses.



Fig. 14. The madrasa of Selim I in the 1950s. (After Cahide Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu* [Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 2002], 7)



Fig. 16. The Şehzade Mosque and its dilapidated madrasa in the early 1930s. (After Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz, Topkapı Sarayı* [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932], 32)

Imarets ceased to be indispensable functional cores of neighborhoods. Madrasas were closed down in 1924, followed by mausoleums, convents, and *zaviyes* (dervish lodges) in 1925. Their buildings were turned over to the Ministry of Education and the city administration, *İdare-i Hususiye*. Any with historical and aesthetic value were to be kept by the Evkaf, the rest sold for the construction of new school buildings.⁷³ Fountains and *sebils* along with their water sources were given to the municipality in 1926, as were cemeteries. Mosques were transferred to the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Reisliği*) in 1924, only to be retrieved and returned to the waqf administration in 1931.⁷⁴

Preservation came on the agenda of the republican government when in 1931 Atatürk drew attention to

the dilapidated state of historic buildings. Within a month, the Council of ministers decided to establish a preservation board, Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu, aiming at “the conservation of antiquities everywhere.”⁷⁵ Subsequently, the Ministry of Education prepared the bill for a law to replace the one enacted in 1906 and published a booklet titled *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korumağa Mecburuz* (We Are Obligated to Conserve Our Historical Monuments and Antiquities),⁷⁶ in which an article by Halil Edhem acknowledged the destruction of many such monuments, admitting that works from the Turkish era, like others, were in a “despicable state” of disrepair.⁷⁷ The bill was never brought to parliament for ratification, however, and therefore never enacted. The whole effort remained without consequence. The lack of maintenance that Halil Edhem had justified by financial insufficiency continued to impede the preservation of historic buildings.

Mosques and masjids had become redundant for the sparsely populated city, and several that were crumbling and no longer attended were closed down. Consequently, a commission was constituted by the Evkaf administration to classify mosques, list them according to the population they served, and eliminate those that were unneeded. The ones retained would eventually be repaired.⁷⁸ The Evkaf assessed the state of certain buildings under its care as too dilapidated to be repaired and started selling their remains (*enkaz satmak*), thereby getting rid of superfluous buildings in its hands and also generating income for the upkeep of remaining ones. In the process, heritage was reduced to wreckage.⁷⁹ The public referred to such discarded buildings as *kadro harici*: literally, “dismissed from staff.”⁸⁰ One striking case of squander concerned the remains of the Balaban Ağa Mescidi, which were sold to a contractor.⁸¹ The officials of the Imperial Museum intervened and started what would be the first Turkish archaeological excavation of a Byzantine building.⁸² This stands in contrast to the Ottoman tradition of *şenlendirme*, the reuse of decaying and deserted minor churches to stop their further ruin and, at the same time, to encourage settlement around them. In these years, however, it was not only the smaller buildings but even imperial complexes that suffered from selectivity in the treatment of historic buildings. Zeki Sayar, working as an assistant architect in the city administration circa 1931, was asked to prepare a report for the demolition of the derelict school of the Sultan Ahmed complex and the sale of its stone. Filled with indignation, he applied for its restoration. In 1952,



Fig. 17. The rooms over the gate of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque before their demolition, 1863. Photograph by Abdullah Frères. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:584)

the school was still unrepaired and its ruin occupied by the homeless.⁸³ Along similar lines, Halil Edhem, in an address to the first Congress of Turkish History in 1932, referred to the proficient repair work at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque but finished his talk with slides of one of its courtyard gates before and after the demolition of the rooms over it. The Evkaf had sold off the rooms and consequently could not prevent the destruction.⁸⁴ Auxiliary spaces of *imarets* that had formerly accommodated such functionaries of pious foundations as Qur'an reciters had apparently become obsolete (fig. 17); what were in actuality integral parts of monuments were interpreted as later additions and disposed of.⁸⁵

Even grand imperial mosques fell into disrepair, the Süleymaniye among them: although the Evkaf claimed to have repaired the monument in 1933, it remained in markedly poor condition.⁸⁶ In 1935, a front-page caricature in the daily *Cumhuriyet* represented the apparition of Mimar Sinan on the anniversary of his death, saying, “They speak praises to my memory at the Süleymaniye and the Selimiye, as I cry out in lamentation for each and every one of my thousand-and-one ruinous buildings” (fig. 18).⁸⁷ The next day, the paper published an article titled “The Condition of the Süleymaniye Monument” with a photograph showing the mosque courtyard filled with rainwater. The caption denounced the disastrous state of the building, in whose vicinity Sinan’s anniversary celebrations had been conducted that very day. Also in 1935, the preservation board acknowledged in a report that “monuments created by the Turk,” among



Fig. 18. “Mimar Sinan: ‘They speak praises to my memory at the Süleymaniye and the Selimiye as I cry out in lamentation for each and every one of my one-thousand-and-one ruinous buildings.’” Political cartoon by Ratib Tahir. (After *Cumhuriyet*, April 10, 1935)

them buildings belonging to the Fatih, Süleymaniye, Şehzade, and Topkapı Palace complexes, were about to collapse due to neglect. The Board admitted that the distribution of *imaret* buildings to various state agencies had been detrimental to their upkeep, leading not only to negligent disrepair but also to deliberate damage.⁸⁸ Ironically, the celebrated Ottoman architect Sinan was being hailed as a national hero while major Ottoman monuments—among them his buildings—were suffering.⁸⁹

İmarets, originally envisioned as self-sufficient and integrated complexes, not only became functionally and administratively dispersed, but would also be physically divided. The Building and Roads Law of 1933 required that an open space with a radius of 10 meters be left around each monument.⁹⁰ It thus established as standard practice the previously random Tanzimat procedure, based on Haussmann’s model, of clearing the surroundings of monuments. Each building, individually encapsulated within a space of its own, was envisioned in isolation (fig. 19). The implementation of this law was delayed until the 1950s, however, simply because the buildings were derelict. In 1935, during discussions on a city development plan, proposals for



Fig. 19. The madrasa of Beyazîd II, after its environs were cleared in the early 1940s. (After Gülersoy, *Cumhuriyet’in Devraldığı İstanbul’dan Bugüne*, 232)

clearing and opening the environs of monuments were rejected by Halil Edhem on the grounds that “they were all ruinous” and unfit to be exposed.⁹¹

Mosques and masjids, which had been the cores of Istanbul’s redevelopment, became signifiers of its downfall. The tight and continuous urban fabric depicted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps gave way to recurrent vacant grounds. Since there was no demand for new construction, converting empty urban land to green areas was the only remedy found to supplant the wrecks and ruins; Istanbul’s “legendary gardens” would be revived as compensation for the loss of its built environment.⁹²

Churches and city walls were not excepted from the overall dilapidation (fig. 20). Since lack of resources constituted the main justification for deficiencies of upkeep, however, priorities had to be set, and this was accomplished with recourse to the designations “national patrimony” and “national monument.” The 1931 draft of the law for preservation referred to “national monument” (*milli abide*) and prime ministerial decrees of 1934 and 1935 to “national and historical works” (*milli ve tarihi eserler*) and “superior monuments of Turkishness” (*Türklüğün yüksek abideleri*).⁹³ In the mid-1930s the Ministry of Education issued to every school the following decree: “All historic works in Turkey attest to the creativity and culture of the Turkish race, even if they are referred to as Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Roman, Byzantine, or Ottoman. Denomination only designates periods. All are Turkish, and hence it is the duty of all Turks to preserve them.”⁹⁴ The preservation board, for its part, acknowledged the histori-



Fig. 20. The Bodrum Mosque (formerly the church of Myre-laion) in 1935–36. (After Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 105)

cal and artistic merit of Byzantine works but declared that Turkish monuments had an additional political value, being “imperishable, petrified testimonies of our existence on this land.”⁹⁵ Consequently, it justified the maintenance of Byzantine structures in a round-about way, by asserting that these monuments attested to “the advanced level of Byzantine civilization and hence expose[d] the intensity of the Turkish struggle to defeat and replace it.”⁹⁶ In his speech at the Congress of Turkish History, Halil Edhem defended the city walls against attempts at demolition by claiming that Turkish repairs made them more Turkish than Byzantine.⁹⁷ Likewise, the architect Kemal Altan, who was also a member of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, referred to the Hagia Sophia as “this crippled, aged historic monument that owes its lengthy existence to our maintenance and hence has become ours in essence.”⁹⁸

Henri Prost, the French urban planner who completed a proposal for Istanbul in 1938, granted that the preservation of preconquest monuments, with the exception of the Hagia Sophia, awaited foreign resources, since the means of the country were hardly adequate to look after the Turkish monuments.⁹⁹ On the other hand, his plan was criticized for privileging the Byzantine heritage of the city, since he designated the area encompassing the Hagia Sophia, the Hippodrome, and Great Palace as an archaeological park



Fig. 21. Henri Prost, archaeological park, 1947. (After *Penser la ville, créer la ville: L'oeuvre d'Henri Prost à Istanbul 1936–1951 = Şehri Düşünmek, Şehri Yaratmak: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Üzerine Çalışmaları 1936–1951* [Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996])

and the environs of the land walls as a protected zone (fig. 21).¹⁰⁰ (In the 1950s the planner Hans Högg would be similarly blamed for overemphasizing Byzantine monuments.)¹⁰¹ One critic of Prost's conclusions was Sedat Çetintaş, who contended that his plan erased all traces of the Ottoman era in the so-called archaeological park except the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. He therefore questioned whether “the ‘monument,’ according to Mr. Prost, was limited to the Byzantine.”¹⁰²

Çetintaş took the approaching 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople (1953) as an opportunity to highlight Turkish heritage, in keeping with his training under Kemalettin Bey at the Evkaf. In 1939 he put together a celebration committee, the *Güzidelir Komisyonu*, comprising the intellectual elite.¹⁰³ Employing the poet Yahya Kemal's slogan “Turkish Istanbul,” a comprehensive program of celebration was prepared and a considerable budget allotted for the restoration of Mehmed II's monuments. The aim was to draw attention to the Ottoman past, but the repair of the city walls and of Byzantine monuments

converted to mosques during the time of Mehmed II were also foreseen, to be financed by a separate budget.¹⁰⁴ The mayor of Istanbul, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, proclaimed that “this would show the entire world our respectful preservation of Byzantine works and, hence, our contribution to the culture and civilization of mankind.”¹⁰⁵ The program was given up in 1951, allegedly due to budget constraints.¹⁰⁶ But in 1950 the intellectuals of the celebration committee formed an institute, the İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, which still survives. Although the restoration of even the mosque of Mehmed II failed to take place, the institute issued a series of publications in time for the anniversary. The volume on the architecture of the period, *Fatih Devri Mimarisi*, was prepared by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, another student of Kemalettin Bey and the head of the institute for thirty years, whose works on early Ottoman architecture were inspired by K. A. C. Creswell’s *Early Muslim Architecture* and *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*.¹⁰⁷ More radically Ottomanist and Islamist than Çetintaş, Ayverdi voiced reactionary sentiments against revolutionary modernization efforts, accusing early republican bureaucrats and intellectuals of outright hostility against Ottoman culture and misplaced partiality towards “even the shards of the Romans and Byzantines.”¹⁰⁸

Republican administrations neither undertook extensive repairs of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments nor embarked upon outright demolitions. They perpetuated the dilapidated condition of Istanbul as handed down from the Ottoman Empire, since ruins provided a convenient pretext for treating its architectural heritage with ambivalence. Material vestiges of the Ottoman past were proclaimed as the national patrimony of the emerging Turkish state, supporting its claims over the land. Yet this same heritage was kept at a distance, abandoned in wreckage, since it also represented a disowned past. The seemingly inert neglect and oversight generated its own powerful symbolism of demythification. Decaying Istanbul was the reminder not of the Ottoman age of splendor and magnificence but of its later period of decline, disaster, and darkness. It represented a history that haunted the present and screened from view the earlier history of glory, which, for its part, was honored in historiographic texts and immaculate drawings.

SAVING APPEARANCES: METICULOUS REPRESENTATION AND MAJESTIC DISPLAY

In this climate of submissiveness, two separate but almost simultaneous endeavors stand out. Both were directed towards documentation—one of Ottoman monuments, the other of houses. In 1932 Sedat Çetintaş was commissioned by Atatürk to prepare measured drawings of Sinan’s Şehzade Mosque for exhibition at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair. (This echoed İbrahim Ethem Pasha’s earlier venture for the Vienna World Exposition of 1873, which included preparation of the official volume on Ottoman architecture, the *Uşûl-i Mi’mârî-i ‘Osmânî*, exalting Sinan.) Concurrently, Çetintaş wrote *Osmanlı Türk Mimarisi* (Ottoman Turkish Architecture) for the Turkish Historical Society’s venture of compiling a new history; Arseven had undertaken its section on Turkish art.¹⁰⁹ Drawing became Çetintaş’s lifetime occupation; nine exhibitions of his works were held over twenty-two years, and he published two volumes on the monuments of Bursa (fig. 22).¹¹⁰ His aim was “saving the monuments of our civilization from assaults, disguises, and destruction through ignorance, providing them with the means of scientific restoration.”¹¹¹ Although he mentions restoration as the ultimate aim, what he produced were not working drawings of ailing buildings but rather idealized depictions of perfect monuments (fig. 23).¹¹² Each drawing, in fact, had two versions: a draft of the building’s “current condition” and a meticulous rendering of its so-called original state, a timeless image that eliminated all traces of destruction and decay. According to a reviewer of one of his exhibitions, “The drawings exposed the noble past and the ignoble present state of our monuments.”¹¹³ Although Çetintaş worked as the first architect member of the preservation board and the chief architect of its survey office, he favored monumental and classical examples of the Ottoman heritage over “lesser” and later specimens, thereby illustrating the impact of an ideologically charged architectural historiography on the practice of preservation.¹¹⁴ He became influential in the selection of buildings to be preserved and was even instrumental in the demolition of several.

A prominent and prolific European-educated architect and a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts as well as a member of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, Sedat Hakkı Eldem described Istanbul between 1925 and 1930 as distinguished by “vacated neighborhoods, but [with] houses, mansions,

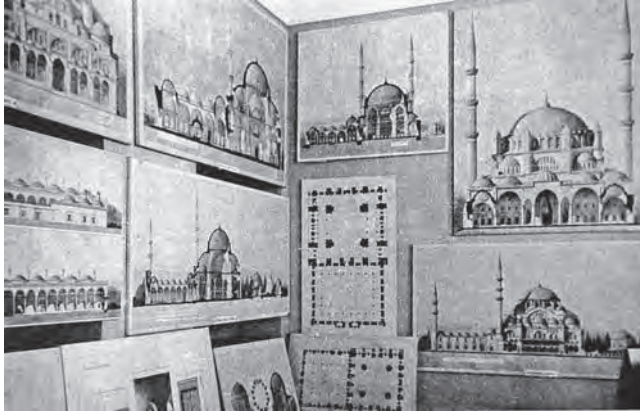


Fig. 22. Exhibition of drawings by Sedat Çetintaş, 1942. (After Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* [Istanbul: İTÜ Yayinevi, 2004], 14)



Fig. 23. Sedat Çetintaş, drawing of the Süleymaniye Mosque, 1936. (After Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, pl. 100)

and seaside residences still standing as if living their final days.”¹¹⁵ He made beautiful charcoal drawings and watercolor paintings of idyllic houses and exhibited them in Paris in 1928 and Berlin in 1929–30.¹¹⁶ These were not depictions of specific buildings but hypothetical renderings of nameless and timeless structures. They would inspire him to start a new Ottoman Revival, this time based on the residential tradition, much as Ottoman monuments had motivated Kemalettin Bey in the 1910s. Ironically, one of Eldem’s early works, the Ahmet Ağaoğlu house (1936), was raised over the remaining ground-floor walls of a wooden mansion that had been dismantled for the construction of the new house. The discarded building’s material was reused to give the current one its “old Turkish character.”¹¹⁷ Coincidentally, in 1932, the same year that Çetintaş began his career, Eldem

initiated what he called “national architecture seminars” at the Academy of Fine Arts.¹¹⁸ His students prepared pristine representations of old and often run-down houses and mansions (fig. 24).¹¹⁹ These too were idealized depictions despite being called *rölöve*, “survey drawings.” Although a major portion of the archive was destroyed during a fire in 1948, Eldem’s sustained efforts resulted in several volumes of publications in which timber-frame houses were categorized according to plan types (fig. 25).¹²⁰

Neither Çetintaş nor Eldem took preservation as his aim. Rather, each was aspiring to compile the necessary documents to generate his version of national architecture. In fact, it was Arseven who had initially suggested the preparation of measured drawings of important monuments in order to establish the fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture, so that it might be distinguished from Arab and Persian architecture and utilized as a source for contemporary building practice.¹²¹ Çetintaş wanted to provide material not only for writing architectural history but also for “connecting modern Turkish architecture to its roots”;¹²² in his words, “The constructions of the Republic should rely on national traditions.”¹²³ Eldem referred to a lost tradition awaiting rebirth, one that would also awaken students of architecture to “beauties other than those of the West.”¹²⁴ Although both sought a national idiom for contemporary architecture, Çetintaş’s highlighting of Ottoman classicism as the singular site of Turkish identity was a nationalist reaction to the modernist break with the Ottoman and Islamic past in the early republican period, whereas Eldem’s interest in the traditional Turkish house was a modernist appreciation of the vernacular as a timeless source of that same identity. Çetintaş’s views were shaped by his education under Kemalettin Bey at the academy and at the Evkaf Ministry, while Eldem discovered the modern traits of the Turkish house during his stay in Europe.¹²⁵ Since their ideologies and agendas were divergent, Çetintaş could not refrain from criticizing Eldem’s efforts as futile. He wrote reviews for Eldem’s seminar exhibitions, declaring that it was impossible to achieve a national architecture based on the vernacular. In his two reviews of the 1942 exhibition, he voiced his disappointment at not finding any works of the classical period among the drawings. He denounced the “cubic architectural education” at the academy, claiming that “we impair the minds of our youth with foreign scrap,” and declaring that “in twelve years the seminar has not yielded

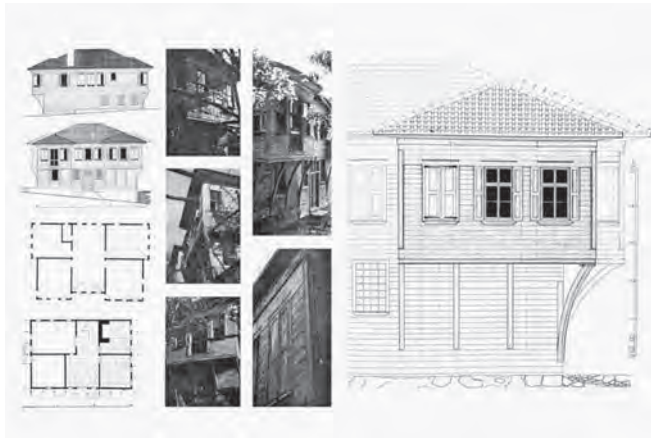


Fig. 24. Survey drawings and photographs of the Bekir Reis House, Büyükdere. (After Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi* = *Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, 3 vols. [Istanbul: TAÇ Vakfı, 1984], 1:236–37)



Fig. 25. Plan types of traditional houses. (After Eldem, *Turkish Houses*, 1:32–33)

any architects who appreciate and embrace national architecture.”¹²⁶

The refocusing of attention on the predicament of Istanbul in the 1950s coincided with the end of the revolutionary single-party regime of the Republican People's Party and rise to power of the conservative Democrat Party. The new government called for the restitution of Istanbul to reestablish connection with the Ottoman heritage.¹²⁷ To make its politics visible, it initiated an extensive urban development operation in 1956.¹²⁸ In Prime Minister Adnan Men-

deres's words, the time had come “to conquer Istanbul once again.”¹²⁹ The alleged aim was to reinstate the monuments that were surrounded and obstructed by ruins—to return them to their past majesty and display them in their new contexts.¹³⁰ Paradoxically, Istanbul was to reconnect with its past by being dramatically renewed through the construction of 50-to-60-meter-wide straight roads that cut through the historical peninsula (fig. 26).¹³¹ The street, conspicuously missing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of the city, was transformed into the highly prominent boulevard. As Menderes's advisor, Hans Högg, conceded, the new scheme was nothing but a reproduction of Haussmann's nineteenth-century model for Paris.¹³² During the overhaul, not only were the scale and texture of the traditional city irrevocably altered but countless buildings were moved to new locations, several were chopped off, some were half buried, others had their foundations exposed, and 7,289 buildings—among them mosques, masjids, baths, fountains, *sebils* and cemeteries—were demolished (figs. 27 and 28).¹³³ When the Patriarchate protested the demolition of a church in Karaköy, the complaint was received with indignation, since forty-six mosques had already been pulled down and this was the first church to be sacrificed.¹³⁴ Naturally, no substitute buildings were constructed to compensate for the losses, as had been the custom in Ottoman times; in any case, sanctuaries were being sacrificed to roads, not to grander places of worship.

The operation started at the city gate where Mehmed II had made his entrance to Istanbul: ironically, this symbolically loaded gate was demolished to make way for the impressive road (fig. 29). The towers flanking the road, on the other hand, were hastily repaired and reconstructed.¹³⁵ To mask the demolitions that were “wiping the city clean of its architectural and historical character,”¹³⁶ imperial mosques were glorified by being restored and displayed along the new avenues (figs. 30–32). Each would be viewed like a carefully framed easel painting, from vistas created along the roads and between the newly constructed buildings bordering them; the prospects created within the city would now rival the privileged panorama of Istanbul from the sea.¹³⁷ *İmar* and *tamir* were seemingly reconciled, but effort was concentrated on the repair of building exteriors rather than on interventions that would be conducive to structural survival. “Financial, scientific, technical, and aesthetic misdeeds” in restorations of the 1950s resulted in the 1960 dismissal of



Fig. 26. Vatan and Millet Avenues being opened in the 1950s. (After Yıldız Sey, ed., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* [Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998], 40)

the director-general of the Evkaf and his team.¹³⁸ The restoration of the Süleymaniye Mosque, for example, resulted in the removal of its original timber components and damage to its exterior stone surfaces¹³⁹—the aim having been to scrub it clean of all accretions of age and present it as a perfect, sublime object, much like Çetintaş’s timeless depictions. Likewise, faulty restorations deprived other monuments of basic maintenance but deeply abraded their stonework to expose clean surfaces. The fragmentary visual presence of *imaret* buildings in new urban contexts took precedence over the sustained permanence of their materiality and unity.

The use of lead in prominent monuments is a revealing indication of this change. One distinguishing sign of high status in Ottoman *imarets* was their lead-covered domes.¹⁴⁰ Sheathing roofs with lead also ensured the buildings’ impermeability and endurance. A lead foundry conceived as part of the foundation of the Fatih complex had made this indispensable material available for later repairs,¹⁴¹ and two craftsmen responsible for the repair of lead on its domes were among its permanent staff.¹⁴² Over time, constant maintenance apparently waned. Kemalettin Bey had recommended the revival of the old lead foundries in the draft of his preservation resolution, prepared in 1908.¹⁴³ In the 1930s, however, not only was lead frequently stolen

from the roofs of decaying monuments, but the Evkaf started selling it off—in one case, by auction.¹⁴⁴ Restorations of the 1950s frequently dispensed altogether with the use of this expensive material, substituting cement, which from a distance could not be visually distinguished from lead but which proved detrimental to the historic buildings.

The entire Byzantine heritage of Istanbul became the object of fleeting attention in the 1950s because the International Congress of Byzantine Studies would meet there in 1955. Yet again, interventions addressed appearances. Monuments that scholars would visit were hastily cleaned and patched up to avoid embarrassment.¹⁴⁵ More substantial repairs would wait until subsequent years.¹⁴⁶

Broad avenues that replaced the “invisible” narrow streets of earlier times opened up the interior of the city. Ruinous monuments concealed behind the shambles and wrecks were rediscovered and reconstructed.¹⁴⁷ Others, unornamented and of smaller scale, were “not considered worthy of being exhibited along asphalt roads,” and consequently were demolished.¹⁴⁸ Much as *imarets* had been generators of urban development in the Ottoman reconstruction of Istanbul, roads gave form to the “reconquered” city. The road became the new monument (fig. 33).¹⁴⁹



Fig. 27. Atatürk Boulevard in the making, 1950s. (After Sey, *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 40)



Fig. 28. Widening Ordu Avenue towards the baths of Beyazid II. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı* [Istanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti, 1957(?)], 38)



Fig. 29. Millet Avenue crossing the city walls at the site of the Topkapı gate. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı*, 17)

CONCLUSION: CONNECTIONS AND DISCONNECTIONS

The radical redevelopment of Istanbul that administrators in the 1950s dared to undertake ultimately differentiated contemporary from traditional Istanbul. The rudimentary restoration of selected monuments, “made to sparkle like rare diamonds,”¹⁵⁰ merely masked

the audacious demolitions. In urban topography, the asserted aim of reconnecting with the Ottoman heritage resulted in disrupting continuity with the past more drastically than ever before.

In terms of the values that guided the treatment of the built legacy, the sweeping operations of the 1950s were tied up with a definitive break with tradition that had emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Incongruously, the turning point in urban development as well as preservation came about in the final years of the Ottoman Empire rather than the initial years of the Republic, when the Ottoman past was explicitly disowned. Introduced at that time were not only laws, institutions, and practices that shaped



Fig. 30. The Valide Mosque before the overhaul. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 543)



Fig. 31. Opening the road that crosses in front of the Valide Mosque. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı*, 33)



Fig. 32. The Valide Mosque in its new setting. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 543)

preservation policies but also contradictory customs that would set the pattern for years to come. Above all, after the disintegration of the waqf system in 1836, the perpetuity ascribed to *imaret* buildings maintained by their individual waqfs gave way to the concession of their mortality. At roughly the same time, Ottoman monuments built in the past started being regarded as “antiquities”—an ambivalent label that conveyed the recognition of their obsolescence as much as the bestowal of esteem. Consequently, in the second decade

of the twentieth century, Kemalettin Bey became as instrumental to demolitions as to the restoration of historic buildings, while the 1912 law for preservation provided the alibi for eradicating monuments precisely at the same time that it ordained the terms of their safeguarding. Along these lines, members of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments would concede in the 1930s that, given their desolation and redundancy, historic buildings were destined to disappear. The Evkaf administration’s policy of generat-



Fig. 33. The old road and the new highway, Londra Asfaltı, connecting Istanbul to the West. (After *Istanbul'un Kitabı*, 13)

ing revenue at the expense of waqf property between 1910 and 1920 prefigured the 1930s practice of selling the remains of historic buildings, much as the prioritization of roads over monuments during the urban reforms of the Tanzimat period constituted a precedent for the Democrat Party's overhaul of Istanbul in the 1950s.

Ironically, the architectural patrimony of the Ottomans was squandered as it was venerated. From the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, endeavors at preservation were linked with the quest to find a national idiom in architecture. The two were connected because the decline in the design quality of new buildings came to be associated with submission to Western influence and the denunciation of tradition. The course titled "Science of Antiquities" introduced into the curriculum of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1883 is emblematic of their correlation: it was foreseen as a remedy to both the deficiency in protecting the architectural heritage and the failure in creating distinguished architectural works. Hence Kemalettin Bey would call for the preservation of the monuments of national civilization in order to create a new civilization. Prominent protagonists of preservation also engaged with historic buildings in their pursuit of a national iden-

tity for contemporary architecture. A search for roots in the Ottoman past to stimulate the present permeated Arseven's discourse and Kemalettin Bey's efforts at the Evkaf, as well as the ventures and projects of Çetintaş, Ayverdi, and Eldem, whose writings offered the classical monuments of the Ottomans and Turkish houses as alternatives to Western models. With these buildings given such an abstract, inspirational role, their materiality was quite readily relinquished; their immortality was sought in the drawings that documented them—idealized images, meticulously drawn on paper and published in architectural history texts. Çetintaş' first volume of *Türk Mimari Anıtları* (Turkish Architectural Monuments), published in 1946, would be introduced as a work that bestowed "immortality to our monuments."¹⁵¹ The images of monuments in their perfected form covered up their actual wretched state in the 1930s. On the other hand, the superficial restorations and reconstructions of the 1950s simulated the idealized drawings by treating monuments as views and displaying them like framed paintings.

During the 1930s, at the height of the revolutionary zeal for nation building, Istanbul was ignored as the ruinous site of the abandoned Ottoman and Islamic past, while Ankara was prioritized as the modern and secular site of the emerging nation-state. Istanbul's dilapidation, inherited from the Empire, was sustained for decades, its decadence conveniently serving as a foil for modern and pristine Ankara. While material vestiges of the Ottoman past waned in the historical center of Istanbul, its masterpieces epitomized by Sinan's works were exalted in the discourse of the nation-builders as signifiers of Turkish identity and creativity. They simultaneously dissociated the new, modern nation-state from its predecessor, the diseased Ottoman Empire of the recent past, and took pride in the remote heroic age of that empire. The 1950s return to Istanbul signified an end to the role of the city as the site of abandoned history. Urban renewal prioritized the modernization of old Istanbul, the cursory restoration of its monuments serving merely to adorn drastically altered inner-city spaces.

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NOTES

Author's note: Some of the data used in this paper, including references to the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, are taken from my dis-

sertation, "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları, İstanbul 1923–1973" (Circumstances Specific to Turkey in the Conservation of the Historical Environment, İstanbul 1923–1973), completed in 1998 at İstanbul Technical University. The framework for this paper is partially the result of research conducted at Harvard University in the summer of 2000 with a post-doctoral fellowship from the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture

1. *Writings on Cities*, ed. and trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 16.
2. See Sibel Bozdoğan's article in this volume.
3. Henri Lefebvre conceptualizes space as the inscription of time: see n. 1 above.
4. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architecture, Modernism and Nation-Building in Kemalist Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 10 (1994): 45.
5. Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 137.
6. Osman Ergin, a historian of the city and its administration, refers to the Fatih and Süleymaniye complexes as "each a flourishing monument, like a citadel amidst low wooden buildings," and to *imarets* in general as "each a product of prosperity, of civilization among ruinous buildings of cities." Osman Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi, 1936), 37, 38.
7. Ömür Bakırer, "Vakfiyelerde Binaların Tamiratı ile İlgili Şartlar ve Bunlara Uyulması," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973): 113, 126.
8. Ömer Hilmi Efendi's 1891 work on waqf deeds is cited both in Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 9 (1971): 17, and Emre Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde 'Eski Eser' ve 'Onarım' Üzerine Gözlemler," *Belleten* 49, 195 (1985): 519, 533.
9. The word "waqf" derives from the Arabic verb *waqafa*, "to stop, to stand still," as noted by Nazif Öztürk, *Menşe'i ve Tarihi Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1983), 27.
10. Mehmed II granted invaluable property to its pious foundation: land around the site of the Topkapı Palace besides numerous buildings, shops, and a major portion of the Kapalıçarşı, the covered bazaar. A madrasa was only the first of the several dependencies that would be added in time. See Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977), translated into Turkish as *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, trans. Ü. Sayın (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 91.
11. Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 4.
12. For instance, three Friday mosques built by Sinan supplanted masjids, and two took the place of churches. See Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 57, 58, 118.
13. Ahmet Refik, *Türk Mimarları*, ed. Z. Sönmez (İstanbul: Sander, 1977), 68, and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 57–58, 118.
14. Eyice counts the Sancaktar, Toklu İbrahim Dede, Sekbanbaşı İbrahim Ağa, Lala Hayreddin, Şeyh Süleyman, Manastır, Şeyh Murat, and Kasım Ağa masjids among churches reused in this manner. Semavi Eyice, "Tarih İçinde İstanbul ve Şehrin Gelişmesi," in *Atatürk Konferansları*, vol. 7 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 114.
15. Masjids were evenly spaced at about 150–200 meters from each other, and permission for the performance in them of Friday prayers was granted by the sultan according to the population served: Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 47–50.
16. Yerasimos construes that streets were not meant for use by the public at large but merely by residents to reach their homes. He regards blind alleys as essentially private spaces shared by the people living on them. Stefanos Yerasimos, "Müslüman Uzmanında Sınır Çizgisi ve Geçit," trans. Ö. B. Albayrak, in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. F. Keskin and Ö. Sözer (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 165–71.
17. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 110.
18. Orbay draws attention to the conspicuous absence of streets on maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where even the main street, Mese/Divanyolu, is merely suggested by the symmetrical alignment of monuments along an invisible course, rather than specified as a visible path. She also points to a "symbolic tension between the viewing place along the Golden Horn and the inner city space." İffet Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001), 57–59, 310.
19. Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed," 309, 315.
20. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 110.
21. Yahya Kemal, a renowned poet, would write in 1922: "Ever since the throne moved to the suburbs, İstanbul is like a forsaken house." Yahya Kemal, "Sayfiyede Payitaht," in idem, *Aziz İstanbul* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1989), 149.
22. The population more than doubled, increasing from 382,376 in 1882 to 873,575 in 1885: Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of İstanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, 2 (May 1979): 266, 276.
23. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, 9 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 3:1228–35.
24. Shaw, "Population of İstanbul," 276.
25. Ibid.
26. Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, "Community Organization," in *Constantinople Today*, ed. C. R. Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 150. This temporary solution to a pressing problem apparently became a surviving custom. In 1931 Eldem would point to minor monuments thus utilized: "... in order not to hinder the repair of valuable monuments, buildings of inferior worth are left to ruin; in other words, either refugees are settled in them or they are abandoned." Alişanzade Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," *Mimar* 1 (1931): 2. In later years, squatters would inhabit vacant historic buildings.
27. Fires were viewed ambivalently. Apparently destructive, they were also considered opportunities for opening up the stifling city. For instance, Osman Nuri Ergin claimed in 1914 that the Hocapaşa fire (*harik-i kebir* of 1865) brought more gratification than grief to İstanbul: *Mecelle*, 3:1222. The prominent poet Ahmet Haşim would voice similar sentiments in a newspaper article published in 1928: "The inhabitants of İstanbul should feel gratitude for fires that accomplish the duties of the municipality." Ahmet Haşim, "Yeni Mimari," in *Bize Göre, Gurebahane-i Lakkakan, Frankfurt Seyahatnamesi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969): 26–27.
28. Writer Falih Rıfkı refers to pre-1908 İstanbul as follows: "... with the downfall of the inhabitants of İstanbul, old mansions

- also fell, to be replaced by small, ramshackle houses...their furnishings barely filling two horse-carts...this Istanbul would also disappear in 60 years' time." Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Batı Yılları* (Istanbul: Bates, 2000), 13. The mansion burned or torn down is repeatedly used as a metaphor for the diminishing empire in Turkish novels from the late nineteenth century on: see Nur Gürani-Arslan, "Kaybolan Konağın İzinde," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Y. Sey (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası and Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 325–42.
29. Eyice recounts that the city recuperated within a couple of months after each disaster due to the facility of timber construction with the help of workers brought in from Rumelia and Anatolia. Eyice, "Tarih İçinde İstanbul," 118–19.
 30. Cited in Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 158.
 31. *Cumhuriyetten Önce ve Sonra Vakıflar* (Istanbul: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü, 1937), 9–12.
 32. Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde," 509–11, and Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2000), 82–84. Over time individual waqfs dissolved within the ministry. Even then, there were two kinds: *mülhak* waqfs continued to be administered by their trustees under the supervision of the ministry, whereas *mazbut* waqfs were directly managed by it.
 33. Sabih Alaçam, *Eski Şehremini Cemil Topuzlu'nun Başından Geçenler* (Istanbul: A. Halit Kitap Evi, 1939), 71, 110, 171.
 34. *Ibid.*, 103–5.
 35. İlhan Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning* (Istanbul: IULA-EMME, 1994), 60.
 36. Centralization had dubious results: the first ministers of Evkaf admitted they could not even determine the total amount of revenues due to waqfs, and fraud ensued within a short time: Çizakça, *History of Philanthropic Foundations*, 83.
 37. For instance, eighteen out of twenty public kitchens in Istanbul were closed down in 1909; schools, hospices, and hospitals of socio-religious complexes had to compete with their modern counterparts.
 38. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1971), 180. Yerasimos refers to a report in 1894 designating the Kapalıçarşı, the covered bazaar, as an antiquity after the damage it suffered during an earthquake (*mezkur çarşının asar-ı atikadan olarak muhafazası*) and cites it as one of the first Ottoman buildings labeled as such: Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Türkiye'de Kültürel Mirası Koruma Söylemi," *İstanbul* 54 (July 2005), 45–46. It is ironic that, after a fire, a public debate would ensue in the 1930s about whether the Kapalıçarşı was a historic building worth restoring or not: see *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 13 and 14, 1934. It would take years to finally reach a resolution to keep and repair it: *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 21, 1938.
 39. Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış*, 447, 449.
 40. "...herhangi devre a'id olur ise olsun kaffe-i emakin ve asar... asar-ı atikadan ma'duddur: Ergin, *Mecelle*, 4:1784.
 41. The council became a permanent body in 1917: *Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*.
 42. *Asar ve emakinin mail-i inhidam bulunmasından dolayı civarındaki emakin bir tehlike-i karibeye maruz bulunduğu...* Ergin, *Mecelle*, 4:1784.
 43. Public kitchens were no longer in use: see n. 37 above.
 44. This museum is in some ways similar to the Musée des monuments français, established by Alexandre Lenoir in 1795 to save artworks from churches and monasteries confiscated after the French Revolution. W. Shaw interprets the founding of the Evkaf Museum as a means of nationalist expression, divesting objects of their religious value at home and resisting European cultural supremacy abroad: Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 209–11. But given the 1912 law, creating a place to keep prized possessions and components of razed waqf buildings had probably become an exigency.
 45. It was Kemalettin Bey who prepared a report in 1908 directed towards the creation of a new department at the ministry. He called for constant maintenance (*nezaret-i mütemadiye*) and extensive repair (*tamirat-ı esasiye*) of *asar-ı aliye-i İslamiye*, or the superior monuments of Islam. See his "Evkaf-ı Hümayun Tamiratının Sureti İcrası Hakkında Mimar Kemalettin Beyefendi Tarafından Nezarete Takdim Olunan Layiha," in *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, ed. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin (Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı, 1997), 89–92.
 46. The mosques of Sultan Ahmed, Fatih, and Yeni Cami, and also the Hagia Sophia, the repair of which he undertook once more after his reappointment in 1925: Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1981), 16.
 47. Mimar Kemalettin, "Eski İstanbul ve İmar-ı Belde Belası" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 113–15.
 48. Sedat Çetintaş, "Mimar Kemalettin Mesleği ve Sanat Ülküsü," *Güzel Sanatlar* 5 (1944): 164–66.
 49. İnci Aslanoğlu, "Birinci ve İkinci Milli Mimarlık Akımları Üzerine Düşünceler," in *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri* (Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1984), 41.
 50. Çetintaş, "Mimar Kemalettin," 165.
 51. The restructuring in 1909 had been conducted by Hamed Pasha. Hayri Efendi (1910–16) and Sait Pasha (1911), his successors, reoriented the ministry's activities. See Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 16. In 1909, the state owed the waqf system 1,737,602 *kurus*: Çizakça, *History of Philanthropic Foundations*, 84. This is an indication of the failure to reform the waqf system through centralization and, possibly, a reason for seeking to generate funds for it.
 52. Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 147–48.
 53. Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, 62–69, and Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 173, 227. The new public kitchen bears an inscription with the date of both the original and the substitute, 1780 and 1917.
 54. Other replacements were his Harikzedegan Apartments for fire victims, constructed in the place of the decaying Laleli Madrasa (eighteenth century); the unrealized Sixth Vakıf Han, for which the public kitchen of the Atık Ali Pasha complex was demolished; and a school for judges, the Medresetü'l-Kuzat, built on the site of a bath: Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 222, 271, 314, 232.
 55. "İmar-ı Belde Fikrinin Yanlış Tatbikinden Mütevellid Tahribat" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 117.

56. Ebu'l Fazl Mahmut Efendi Madrasa, built before 1648, had been damaged during the 1894 earthquake, partially demolished for the tramway between Şehzadebaşı and Edirnekapi, and listed in 1914 as too ruinous to be conserved.
57. See Yıldırım Yavuz, "The Restoration Project of the Masjid al-Aqsa by Mimar Kemalettin (1922–26)," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 158–59, 162–64.
58. He also announced that if demolishers were to prevail, only the iron rails of trams bought from European factories would be left to bequeath to future generations: "Eski İstanbul" (1913), and "Mektuplar ve Cevaplarımız" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 114 and 111.
59. Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi I," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, 1–2 (1996): 64.
60. The Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu, or Superior Council of Monuments, replaced it, headed by Celâl Esad Arseven until 1953.
61. Aziz Ogan, "Halil Edhem," in *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı = In Memoriam Halil Edhem*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1947–48), 1:81–104.
62. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*, ed. E. Işın (İstanbul: İletişim, 1993).
63. Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 20.
64. Kemalettin Bey mentioned some details of the repair in a letter to his wife dated to September 10, 1926: Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 16, 75; also, Kemal Altan, "Ayasofya Etrafında Türk San'at Ekleri," *Arkitekt* 9 (1935): 264–65. The crack in Hagia Sophia's dome was considered significant enough to be discussed at a session of the Council of Ministers: *Cumhuriyet*, May 12, 1925. Lead placed on its dome during repairs constituted a major portion of the Evkaf's budget in these years: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 4, 1926, and Jan. 30, 1928.
65. Again, lead on its dome was renewed: *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 18, 1929.
66. By 1927 the population, which had reached 1,150,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century, had fallen to 690,857. The decline was more acutely felt in the historic peninsula, since its neighborhoods were no longer in demand. See Tekeli, *Development*, 50.
67. Alişanzade Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," 1.
68. Halil Ethem, "Abidelerimizin Hali," in Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korumağa Mecburuz* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933), 5.
69. *metruk kalmağa mahkum olmuşlardır*: Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz, Topkapı Sarayı* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932), 11.
70. *Ibid.*, 13, 15.
71. *ortadan kalkmaya mahkumdur*: Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Yeni Mimari* (İstanbul: Agah Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931), 18.
72. *ortadan kalkmağa mahkumdurlar*: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, "Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı," *Arkitekt* 4 (1936): 106.
73. Disparate uses were foreseen for madrasas that were retained; for instance, five madrasas of Mehmed II and the Beyazid II and Şehzade madrasas were turned over to the university, Darülfünun, to be converted to student hostels: *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 3, 1929; the madrasa of Mihrimah at Edirnekapi would be utilized as a children's home: *Cumhuriyet*, June 8, 1931; that of Rüstem Pasha for film storage: *Cumhuriyet*, July 6, 1931; and that of Sultan Ahmed for the storage of treasury documents: *Cumhuriyet*, Mar. 25, 1934. The hospice of the complex of Mehmed II was used for gasoline storage: Ali Saim Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943), xiii. "The Evkaf disowned the madrasas; the city administration only contemplated benefiting from them; the museum recognized its obligation to preserve them but did nothing except watch them": Kemal Altan, "Eski Medeni İzlerimiz," *Arkitekt* 7–8 (1935): 225–26.
74. Other religious and pious buildings, waqf properties whose ownership and use had been transferred to various institutions, would be returned to the Evkaf administration in 1957.
75. *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 16, 1931.
76. Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide*.
77. Halil Ethem, "Abidelerimizin Hali," 5, 8.
78. More than 500 mosques were under consideration at this point: *Cumhuriyet*, April 18, 1933 and February 14, 1934. A regulation was issued in 1932 and a law in 1935 for the classification of mosques and masjids and the sale of those unclassified. The reasoning behind this was either that unclassified mosques and masjids no longer had congregations and had *mamur* counterparts nearby, or that they were in a state of ruin or such condition that they might be given up for future roads. Three hundred eighty-six waqf buildings were sold in İstanbul alone, the sales peaking in 1938: Nazif Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi* (Ankara: Türk Diyanet Vakfı), 473–93.
79. The municipality, on its part, sold abandoned cemeteries, *metruk mezarlıklar*, apparently not counting the dead as inhabitants: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 3, 1931. It announced that it would pull down derelict houses and finance the venture by selling their wreckage: *Cumhuriyet*, May 11, 1935.
80. Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz*, 11.
81. *Cumhuriyet*, May 17, 1930.
82. Arif Müfit, "The Excavation of the Balaban Agha Mesdjidi in İstanbul," *Art Bulletin* 15 (1933): 210–29, cited in Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 99.
83. Zeki Sayar, "Bu Harabe Ne Olacak?" *Arkitekt* 1–2 (1952): 31.
84. Halil Edhem, "Müzeler," in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları* (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1932), 562, 566.
85. Edhem Eldem, "Necdet İşli'yle Vakıflar Üzerine," *İstanbul* 13 (1995): 87.
86. The impairment by lack of maintenance of such monuments as the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, and Fatih in addition to the Süleymaniye became the subject of a newspaper editorial by Yunus Nadi: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 3, 1933.
87. Ratib Tahir, *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 10, 1935.
88. Kültür Bakanlığı, Antikitelev ve Müzeler Dayresi, Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu, *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933–1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 17–20, 9.
89. See Gülrü Necipoğlu's article in this volume.
90. A resolution similar to the article of the 1912 Preservation Law that allowed the immediate demolition of dangerously damaged monuments was also included in this law, and like its predecessor it was freely utilized as justification for getting rid of historic buildings in the way of development: "Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu," *Mimar* 5 (1933): 192, 196. Yet again,

the Building Law of 1956 would also not only allow but oblige municipalities to demolish such buildings. The Superior Council would issue decisions in 1956, 1958, and 1970 to keep historic buildings from being subjected to this article: Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye'de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunları* (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1977), 42–43. The demolitions of 1956–60 in Istanbul would be legitimized with this article, as noted by Behçet Ünsal, “İstanbul’un İmarı ve Eski Eser Kaybı,” in *Türk Sanat Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri II* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 6–61.

91. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 6, 1935.
92. The 1927 census recorded 50,965 vacant plots, 685 vegetable gardens, and 949 gardens: Tekeli, *Development*, 52. Fifty thousand grapevines and ten thousand saplings were distributed to the populace in 1935 for the creation of vineyards and orchards in empty plots: *Cumhuriyet*, April 25, 1935. Building lots in fire areas were left unclaimed because they were in plentiful supply and not in demand—therefore, quite worthless. Their owners abandoned them to avoid taxation: *Cumhuriyet*, April 13, 1934. In 1950, the editorial of *Cumhuriyet* dwelled on the same issue: “While lettuce is being grown on land within the city, houses are being constructed way out in the outskirts”: *Cumhuriyet*, April 22, 1950.
93. Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide*, 21; *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 4, 1934, and Oct. 8, 1935.
94. Cited in Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında,” 74. In 1943, the minister of education, Hasan Ali Yücel, conceded the confusion over identity: “All antiquities, whether bequeathed to us from our ancestors or from people whose ancestry is still uncertain, are worthy of our care as our indisputable patrimony.” See the preface to Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması*, xiii.
95. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Anıtları Koruma*, 17. Arık would voice similar sentiments in 1953, citing “monuments over this land to be utilized as title deeds of the nation”: Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1953), 36.
96. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Anıtları Koruma*, 17.
97. *Cumhuriyet*, July 11, 1932. When their restoration was finally decided in 1936, its cost aroused concern: *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 1, 1936.
98. Altan, “Ayasofya Etrafında,” 264–67.
99. Henri Prost, “İstanbul’un Arkeolojik Durumu ve Tarihi Abideleri,” *Arkitekt* 9–12 (1948): 235.
100. Such criticism was also based on Prost’s long allegiance to the Byzantine heritage of the city, which had begun when, as a scholar at the Academy of Rome, he had come to Istanbul in 1904–7 to study the Hagia Sophia. At the time, he had found the edifice in a lamentable state. See Aron Angel, “Henri Prost ve İstanbul’un İlk Nazım Planı,” *Mimarlık* 222 (1987): 35. Prost aimed to clear the environs of monuments and also to preserve the precious silhouette of the city by limiting to three stories the height of buildings to be constructed on land with an elevation above 40 meters—a measure that proved to be particularly effective for its preservation. Yada Akpınar interprets Prost’s public spaces around monuments as a return to the pre-Ottoman, Greco-Roman tradition and as a quest to open up the introverted neighborhood bound by religious ties: İpek Yada Akpınar, “Pay-i Tahtı Sekülerleştirmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı,” *İstanbul* 44 (Jan. 2003): 20–25.
101. *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 2, 1957.
102. *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 2, 1939.
103. Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* (Istanbul: İTÜ Yayinevi, 2005), 14. In retrospect, Çetintaş’s friend and colleague Behçet Ünsal would interpret this venture as a “grave mistake” and note that Çetintaş was ousted in a short time: “Behçet Ünsal ile Çetintaş Üzerine,” *Arredamento* 37 (1992): 111.
104. *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 22, 1950.
105. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 14, 1950.
106. *Cumhuriyet*, May 26, 1951.
107. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Makaleler* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1985), 488.
108. *Ibid.*, 408.
109. Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 13.
110. The minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel described Çetintaş’s forthcoming books as “a corpus of Turkish architecture” and referred to his drawings as attempts to capture the original state of monuments that had been lost through centuries of misuse: see the preface to Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması*, xv.
111. Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 48. The exhibitions were held in Istanbul, Ankara, and Bursa, and in Paris.
112. Ödekan, who compiled his drawings and writings in two volumes, interprets them as “not technical drawings but attempts to nostalgically raise the fallen remains of a glorious age long since lost.” *Yazıları*, 59.
113. *asaletli mazileri ile fecaatli halleri: Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 25, 1951.
114. In its report pertaining to the years 1940–41, the Council for the Preservation of Monuments criticized Çetintaş’s deviation from objectivity in listing historic buildings because thirty buildings in the Süleymaniye neighborhood had been omitted, a condition that could have been conducive to their demolition: cited in Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında,” 81. Ünsal noted, “He valued mosques and grand buildings, not really *hans* and mansions; he considered *sebils* as Baroque, shoddy structures”: “Behçet Ünsal ile Çetintaş Üzerine,” 110. Çetintaş regarded any building constructed after the eighteenth century as worthless. For instance, he campaigned to have the Beyazıt Bath and the Archaeological Museum pulled down but to save the İbrahim Pasha Palace from demolition: Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 49.
115. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi = Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: TAÇ Vakfı, 1984), 1:10. The so-called oldest surviving timber building, which belonged to Beyazıt II’s pious foundation, was pulled down by the waqf administration: *Cumhuriyet*, Dec. 1, 1933. Eldem counted this demolition among the incentives for his undertaking: Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), “Amca Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı,” *Mimar* 11–12 (1933): 377. He referred to the houses surveyed as “extant for the time being but fated to disappear in the near future”: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, “Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı,” *Arkitekt* 4 (1936): 106.
116. Sibel Bozdoğan, Suha Özkan, and Engin Yenil, *Sedat Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2005), 26–33. Eldem’s “Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı,” about a seaside mansion on the Bosphorus, includes measured drawings but specifies neither

- the name nor the location of the building, "a representative example of the centralized plan type": 106, 110.
117. Sedat Eldem, "Maçkada Prof. A. A. Evi," *Arkitekt* 10–11 (1938): 277–83.
 118. Yunus Nadi, editor-in-chief of *Cumhuriyet*, hailed Eldem's endeavor and connected it to Mustafa Kemal's initiative for preservation: *Cumhuriyet*, Dec. 30, 1931. Eldem himself explained his position as "a double rebellion against the Neo-Turkish and the international cubic." Sedat Hakkı Eldem, "Son 120 Sene İçinde Türk Mimarisinde Millilik ve Rejyonalizm Araştırmaları," *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri 11–12 Haziran 1984* ([Istanbul]: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), 57.
 119. One of his former students, Asım Mutlu, reminisced that Eldem would urgently send them to houses about to be pulled down and added that he does not recall any initiative to save the buildings or to protest their demolition. Eradication of traditional buildings seemed to be considered natural. Asım Mutlu, "Asım Mutlu," in *Anılarda Mimarlık* (Istanbul: YEM, 1995), 54.
 120. Sedat H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (Istanbul: İTÜ, 1968) and idem, *Turkish Houses*.
 121. Celâl Esad (Arseven), 1906 and 1907, cited in Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 121.
 122. From the preface to his 1952 book, *Türk Mimari Anıtları*, cited in Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 48.
 123. Sedat Çetintaş, "Cumhuriyet Yapıcılığı Milli Geleneklere Dayanmalıdır," *Mimarlık* 3 (1948): 27–29.
 124. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 12.
 125. Sibel Bozdoğan, in her *Modernism and Nation-Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 240–94, interprets Eldem's efforts as part of an endeavor to "nationalize the modern."
 126. Cited in Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 30, 24.
 127. For a comparison of Istanbul and Ankara in terms of the politics of the founders of the Republic and their successors see Nur Altinyıldız, "Eskiye Muhafaza/Yeniye İnşa, İmparatorlukla Cumhuriyet Arasındaki Eşikte Siyaset ve Mimarlık," *Muhafazakarlık*, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2003), 179–86.
 128. At this point, in 1950, Istanbul's population had reached 983,000, with more refugees arriving in the following years: Ruşen Y. Keleş, "Şehirleşmede Denge Sorunu," *Mimarlık* 11 (1966): 27.
 129. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 27, 1957.
 130. *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 24, 1956. The sum set aside for the *Evkaf* to repair major monuments amounted to a mere 2.6% of the supplementary budget allotted for the redevelopment of Istanbul in 1957 (3 million out of 115.6 million liras): *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 8, 1957.
 131. This operation was equated with disasters in both its implementation and its consequences: "Istanbul acquired the appearance of a city that had been bombed" after "the devastating assault that struck it like lightning": Zeki Sayar, "İmar ve Eski Eserler," *Arkitekt* 2 (1957): 49; "Istanbul'un İmarında Şehirci Mimarın Rolü," *Arkitekt* 3–4 (1956): 97. "Urban development operation like an earthquake in Istanbul": *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: YKY, 1998), 408. "... What the explosives of wartime combatants had done in malice for the clutter of London and Berlin, the peaceful but restless ambition of Premier Adnan Menderes was doing for Istanbul. Night after night, all summer long, the sleep of tired Turks has been interrupted by the blasts of dynamite...": "Benevolent Bomber," *Time Magazine*, Aug. 12, 1957.
 132. "Istanbul is about to become a brand new, modern, and grand city, like Haussmann's Paris": *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 1, 1957. Like Prost before him, Högg would also be blamed for eradicating Turkish monuments while exposing Byzantine works, an accusation he vehemently denied: *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 2, 1957.
 133. The operation, personally conducted by the prime minister, did not rely on any plan. A great many losses could in fact have been avoided. One example of the randomness of the operation was the futile demolition of the Friday mosque of Kazasker Abdurrahman Çelebi, designed by Sinan. It had been repaired in 1951. Then, assumed to be on the course of Millet Caddesi, it was torn down. However, the new avenue bypassed the site of the mosque. Its plot was sold, and apartment buildings were later constructed in its place. Behçet Ünsal, then a member of the incapacitated Superior Council, later recounted the demolitions: Ünsal, "Istanbul'un İmarı," 13.
 134. *Cumhuriyet*, May 11 and 12, 1958. Prior to 1960, almost a hundred historic buildings were demolished, including forty-eight mosques and maşjids, eleven madrasas, and eighteen baths: Ayverdi, *Makaleler*, 407.
 135. Zeynep Ahunbay, "Surlar Nasıl Korunmalı?" *Istanbul* 13 (1995): 74–75; Cahide Tamer, *Istanbul Bizans Anıtları ve Onarımları* (Istanbul: TTOK, 2003), 13–27.
 136. Sayar, "İmar ve Eski Eserler," 50.
 137. A distance of at least 100 meters was foreseen between 14-to-16-story tower blocks: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 13, 1958.
 138. *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 1, 1960. Şehsuvaroğlu criticized the repairs of the 1950s as being applied to only the most significant monuments and even in those cases being defective: *Cumhuriyet*, May 3, 1961.
 139. "The crime and mistake was committed of removing the gray color formed on its countenance over centuries": *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 4, 1960, and Eldem, "Necdet İşli'yle," 88.
 140. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 72, 179.
 141. Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, 38.
 142. Cited in Bakırer, "Vakfiyelerde," 118–19.
 143. Published in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 91. Today manufacturers of lead plate are the only craftsmen among the permanent staff of the Evkaf administration (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü): Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi-II," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 17, 1–2 (1997): 80.
 144. "No lead remains on the roof of Yeni Cami": *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 16, 1932. Meriç recounted in 1938–39 that lead from the roofs of waqf buildings was being stolen: cited in Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi," 37. "The waqf administration auctioned lead at Edirne": *Cumhuriyet*, June 30, 1935. According to Ülgen, the primary cause of deterioration of monuments was the theft of building materials and the commercial dealing of stripped lead: *Anıtların Korunması*, 7.
 145. Already in 1722, a decree banned constructions atop the city walls in order to avert criticism by European travelers and

- ambassadors. Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze," 43.
146. Başar Başarır, "30 Yıl Restorasyon: Cahide Tamer," *İstanbul* 13 (1995): 97–98, and Tamer, *İstanbul Bizans Anıtları*, 121.
147. Cahide Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu* (Istanbul: TTOK, 2002), 7.
148. Ünsal, "İstanbul'un İmarı," 40.
149. Menderes had visited Tehran in April 1956 and was impressed by the new boulevards opened there: Burak Boysan, "Politik Hummanın Silinmeyen İzleri," *İstanbul* 4 (1993): 85, and *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı*, 408. However, equating the modernizing of the city with the opening of roads is a legacy of nineteenth-century Tanzimat reformers.
150. *İstanbul'un Kitabı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti, 1957[?]), 7.
151. *Anıtlarımızı ölmezliğe kavuşturan eser*: *Cumhuriyet*, Oct. 13, 1946.

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of fun, have led to works on autobiographical writing and to the editing of a Sufi lady's mid-seventeenth-century dream log. He is pursuing his interest in the narratives of modernity and tradition through research projects related to Ottoman social and cultural life in the late medieval and early modern era. He plans to publish a book on one of his central concerns, the politics of crowds and rebellions in Istanbul from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. He continues to work on what he considers to be related topics, including the history of coffeehouses, uses of the night, communities of dissent, and the early history of Bektashism.

GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU has been Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture at Harvard University and editor of *Muqarnas* and *Supplements to Muqarnas* since 1993. She received her PhD from Harvard University in 1986 and began teaching there in 1987. Her articles include studies on early modern Islamic art and architecture (Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal) and deal with cross-cultural exchanges between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. She has published *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA, 1995), and *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London and Princeton, 2005). Her *Topkapı Scroll*, winner of the Albert Hourani Book Award of the Middle East Studies Association and the Spiro Kostoff Book Award of the Society of Architectural Historians, has recently been translated into Persian (Iranian Academy of Art, Tehran, 2003). In 2006 the Turkish Studies Association awarded the M. Fuat Köprülü Book Prize to her *Age of Sinan*.

OYA PANCAROĞLU received her PhD from Harvard University in 2000 with a thesis on the transformation of figural art in the late Seljuk period. Her main research interests are the literary and material context of figural representation in medieval Islamic art, the visual expression of multicultural networks in medieval Anatolia, and the role of architecture in the process of the Turkish settlement of Anatolia. Her recent publications include *Perpetual Glory: Medieval Islamic Ceramics from the Harvey B. Plotnick Collection* (Chicago and New Haven, 2007), “Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography in Medieval Anatolia,” *Méso-*

geios 25–26 (2005), and “Convivial Congregations: The Architectural Integration of Devotion and Hospitality in Medieval Anatolia” (forthcoming).

SCOTT REDFORD is the author of articles and two books on the archaeology and architecture of medieval Anatolia: *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille* (Philadelphia, 1998) and *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia* (Oxford, 2000). He received his PhD from Harvard University in 1989 with a dissertation titled “The Ceramic Sequence from Medieval Gritille, SE Turkey.” His present research interests include the publication of the medieval levels from the site of Kinet Höyük, Hatay, Turkey, and of the inscriptions on the city walls of Antalya. He currently divides his time between Georgetown University’s McGhee Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, in Alanya, and Koç University’s Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, in Istanbul.

KISHWAR RIZVI teaches the history of Islamic art and architecture at Yale University. She writes on issues of gender, nationalism, and religious identity in the contemporary art and architecture of Iran and Pakistan. She has edited, with Sandy Isenstadt, *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (University of Washington Press, forthcoming 2008). Her primary research is on representations of religious and imperial authority in the art and architecture of Safavid Iran. She is finishing work on her book, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Piety, and Power in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Iran*.

WENDY MERYEM KURAL SHAW is interested in the visual effects of cultural adaptation during the modern

and contemporary periods, with a primary focus on Turkey in its relationship both with its own past and with the European Other. She is the author of *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (California, 2003), as well as articles concerning contemporary art and modern ideologies surrounding archaeology as part of nationalist discourse production. She currently teaches at Bahçeşehir University in Istanbul and is on the curatorial staff of the Istanbul Museum of Modern Art.

HEGHNAR WATENPAUGH is associate professor of art history at the University of California, Davis. She has published on Ottoman urbanism, issues of gender and space, and the preservation and commodification of architecture in the era of colonialism and nationalism in modern Middle Eastern societies. Her book *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2004) received the Spiro Kostof Book Award from the Society of Architectural Historians. She has received fellowships and awards from the J. Paul Getty Trust, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the office of the President of Rice University, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art. From 2001 to 2005 she held the Aga Khan Career Development Professorship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is completing a book titled *The City and Its Reverse: Performing Space and Gender in Islamic Urbanism*, which examines the intersection of spatial practice, urban development, and gender through the prism of a community of antinomian mystics in seventeenth-century Aleppo.

CORRIGENDUM

In Maryam Ekhtiar's "Practice Makes Perfect: The Art of Calligraphy Exercises (*Siyāh Mashq*) in Iran," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 107–30, the wrong image was reproduced as fig. 10. The correct illustration appears here with its caption.

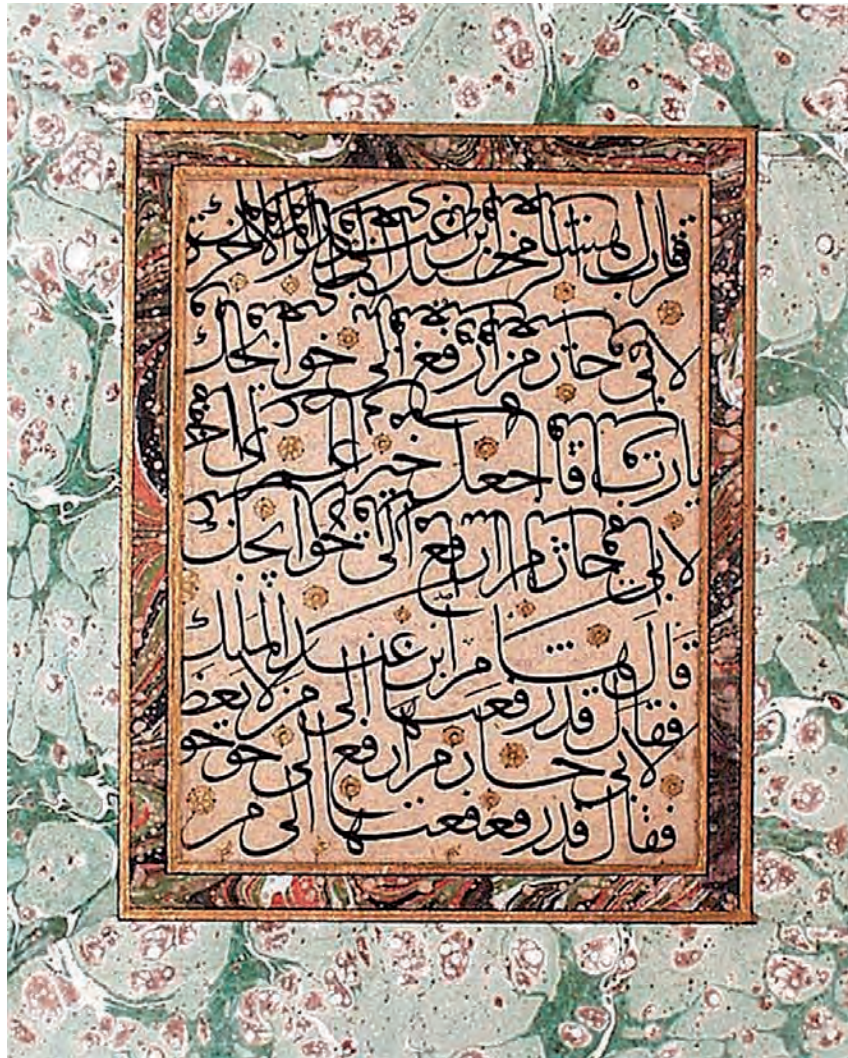


Fig. 10. Page of *karalama*, Turkey, eighteenth century. Ink and gold on paper with marbled border, 20.32 x 15.24 cm. Los Angeles County Museum, AC1995.124.8. (Courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art)